This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

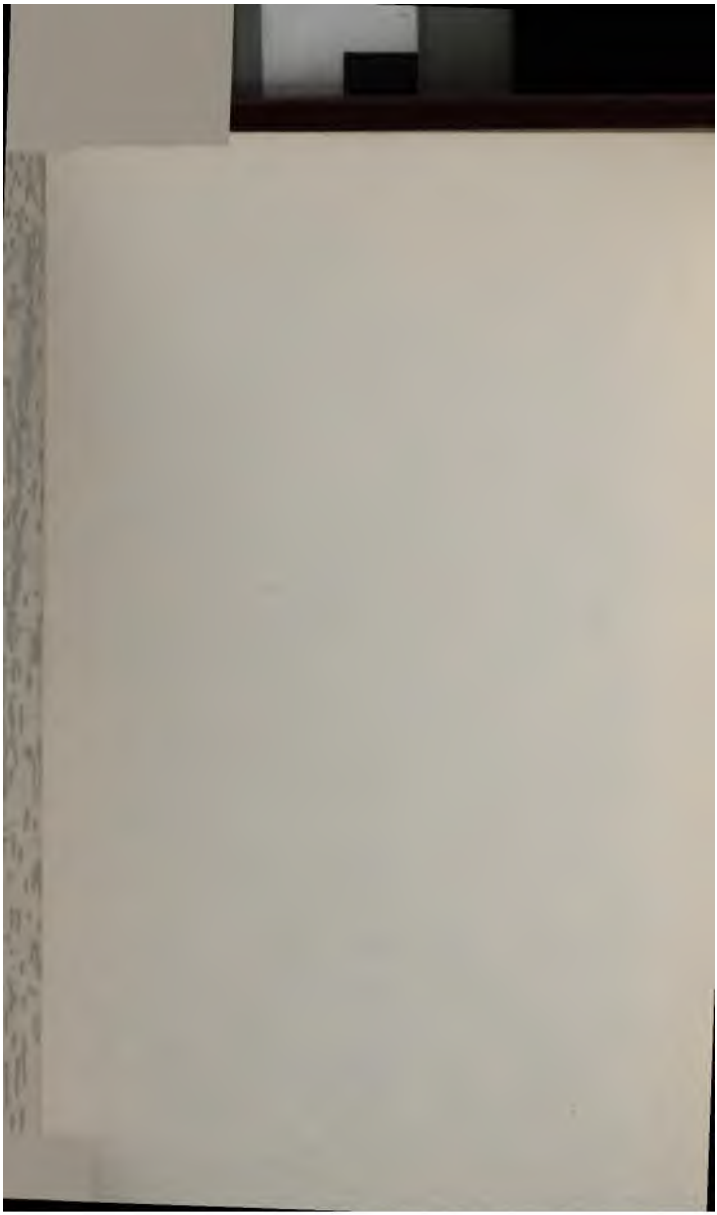
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

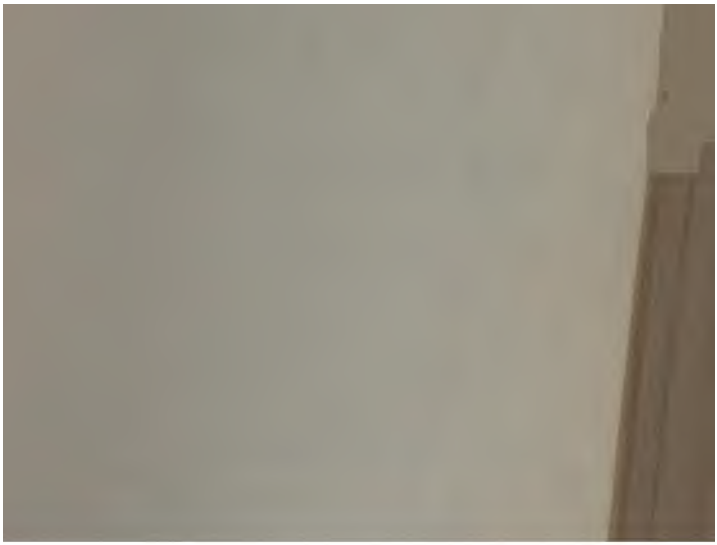
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

22482.31

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY





COLLECTION

OF

BRITISH AUTHORS

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

VOL. 1305.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

By the same Author,

DOCTOR THORNE	2 vols.
THE BERTRAMS	2 vols.
THE WARDEN	1 vol.
BARCHESTER TOWERS	2 vols.
CASTLE RICHMOND	2 vols.
THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN	1 vol.
FRAMLEY PARSONAGE	2 vols.
NORTH AMERICA	3 vols.
ORLEY FARM	3 vols.
RACHEL RAY	2 vols.
THE SMALL HOUSE AT ALLINGTON	3 vols.
CAN YOU FORGIVE HER?	3 vols.
THE BELTON ESTATE	2 vols.
THE LAST CHRONICLE OF BARSET	3 vols.
THE CLAVERINGS	2 vols.
PHINEAS FINN	3 vols.
HE KNEW HE WAS RIGHT	3 vols.
THE VICAR OF BULLHAMPTON	2 vols.
SIR HARRY HOTSPUR OF HUMBLETHWAITE	1 vol.
RALPH THE HEIR	2 vols.
THE GOLDEN LION OF GRANPERE	1 vol.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

COPYRIGHT EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LEIPZIG
BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
1873.

The Right of Translation is reserved.

22482.31.8

MAR 20 1883
Sewer fund.
(I.-III. in 1 vol.)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME I.

			Page
PTER I.		Introduction	7
		QUEENSLAND.	
—	II.	Occupation of Land	29
—	III.	Gladstone and Rockhampton	44
—	IV.	Aboriginals	62
—	V.	Gold	79
—	VI.	Squatters and their Troubles	94
—	VII.	Darling Downs	111
—	VIII.	Sugar. Labour from the South Sea Islands	132
—	IX.	Government	152
—	X.	Labour	162
		NEW SOUTH WALES.	
—	XI.	Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Steamboats	180
—	XII.	Early History of the Colony	190
—	XIII.	Sydney	200
—	XIV.	Religion and Education	213
—	XV.	Legislature and Government	223
—	XVI.	*Country Towns, Railways, and Roads*	237

Pa

CHAPTER XVII. Land 1
— XVIII. Meat 1
— XIX. Metals 1
— XX. Country Life in the Bush 1
— XXI. Scenery in New South Wales 1
— XXII. The Riverina 1

APPENDIX 1

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

I HAVE attempted in these volumes to describe the Australian colonies as they at present exist; and to tell, in very brief fashion, the manner in which they were first created. In doing so, it has been impossible to avoid speculations as to their future prospects,—in which is involved the happiness of millions to come of English-speaking men and women. As a group, they are probably the most important of our colonial possessions, as they are certainly the most interesting. Their population is, indeed, still less than half that of the Canadian dominion; but they are very much younger than the Canadas; their increase has been much quicker;—and we made them for ourselves. Canada and Nova Scotia, —of which New Brunswick was then a part,—we took, ready colonized, from the French. The Cape we got ready colonized from the Dutch, as also British Guiana. Jamaica and Trinidad we took from the Spanish. The early possession of Newfoundland was a moot point between ourselves and the French, till at last we obtained it by treaty from Louis XIV. Ceylon,—which, in truth, is not a colony, though reckoned in our list of colonies, —was possessed first by the Portuguese, and then by the Dutch, before it fell into our hands. The Mauritius we got from the French. Among the colonies, which we ourselves first colonized, Barbadoes and Bermuda are the most important that still remain to us,—excepting those of which I am now about to speak.

When we make mention of "colonies" we should l
understood to signify countries outside our own, whic
by our energies we have made fit for the occupation
our multiplying race. India is the possession of whic
we are most proud;—but India is in no respect a colon
It should be our greatest boast respecting India that w
hold that populous country to the advantage of the mi
lions by whom it is inhabited; but we do not hold it f
the direct welfare of our own race, though greatly
the benefit of our own country. The Europeans who a
spread over India, exclusive of the military, are le
numerous than the inhabitants of Tasmania.

The United States are, in the most proper sense,
British colony; and it is the colony in which, of a
others, Great Britain should feel the greatest glory,—
because therein has been achieved the highest prosperi
by those who leave the shores of our islands from ye
to year. That India and the United States,—so absolute
unlike each other in all the conditions of humanity, an
yet each so prosperous after its own fashion, should, th
one be governed from England, and the other speak th
English language, is a combination which makes a
Englishman conscious that, let the faults have been wh
they may, the race has been more successful than oth
races.

The Australias and New Zealand have been and sti
are colonies in every sense; and they are colonies whic
have been founded by ourselves exclusively,—for th
prosperity and the deficiencies of which we and th
colonies are solely responsible. No French element, n
Dutch element, no Spanish element can be pleaded b
us as having interfered with our operations in Australi
And the real colonization of these Eastern lands, whic
did not in truth commence till the system of using the

l settlements had been condemned, has been so hat the colonists and the Government at home id the advantage of experience, and have taken both from the successes and the failures of earlier ses. Colonizing theorists have arisen, who have mething for the better management of a new and philanthropists also have aided. Statesmen come wiser as they observed the errors of their ssors. Intending colonists themselves have left d homes with clearer ideas of their own wants. vancing science has carried out and acclimatized, men and women, but beasts, birds, and fishes, d vegetables, rich grasses and European trees, apidity and profusion of which our grandfathers eamed, and which even our fathers hardly ventured ipate. New Zealand, the latest of our great , of which in truth the occupation did not com- ill 1840, contained no animal life and no native ful to man when we first reached its shores. It o wonderfully prolific in life and vegetation im- rom Europe that the visitor sees there groves of ch-trees and herds of wild horses. Australia was qually destitute. Nevertheless, Australian capi- re already engaged in the task of sending from a European meats to our home markets, and are ieving the wants of those at home who are too to improve their fortunes by migrating to hap- ds.

t Australian colonization has prospered greatly no sees it,—no one who studies it without seeing doubt. Whether the progress might not have icker, greater, more thorough—whether it might been *made to contain* a more confirmed as- *of future well-being*, many profess to doubt. To

me it seems that the work, taken as a whole, has b
well done. That anything should ever have been so
done that it could not have been done better, few
be found to allege in reference to a matter as to wh
no standard of excellence exists. Had this or had
line of conduct been followed in colonizing these
countries, who can say what might have been the eff
Or if there be any one who thinks that he can show
such and such results would have followed a cer
course, there will be another equally sure that he
prove the contrary.

The assailants of our colonial work who are n
positive in asserting that mightier results and an
proved condition would have come from managen
other than that adopted, generally blame the Eng
Minister of the day for the alleged shortcoming of
colonists. There are many the tendency of whose mi
leads them to discredit statesmen; who are prone
antagonism against authority; and who believe, aln
as a matter of course, that the doings of Cabinet Minis
and their subordinates are customarily fatuous and o
dishonest. Such men in dealing with our colonies sp
of Downing Street,—where is the official domicile of
Colonial Ministers,—as a slough of despond whose
has long clogged the wheels of our colonial enterp
To such men it is enough that a member of Parlian
shall take a seat in that building to render him ha
unpatriotic, and unsympathetic, whatever may have b
his character before he stained it by taking office.
teaching of such men has been spread so far that a l
world of followers, who neither inquire nor think,
only hear, is educated in the idea that were it not
Downing Street our colonies might thrive. It does
occur to them to reflect that the man selected to si

g Street has a wider source of information than
a greater need to study the subject than others;
performs his functions with the light of day upon
d that he is chosen from among those who have
emselves prominent by their knowledge and sa-
We are all willing to admit that two sets of men,
abinet which is in and the Cabinet which is out,
in, as a rule, the best politicians of the day; but
us are ready to denounce the one Minister who
thority in any matter in which we are personally
d. In reading books on the colonies, mostly
by colonists, I have been struck by the very small
of praise ever bestowed on a Minister for the
at home, and by the repeated allusions made to
t of judgment and indifference displayed by these
en. I must add also, that the Australian colonists
resent day do not in ordinary conversation speak
husiasm of Downing Street.
uld be well if colonists and Englishmen interested
ubject, could learn what it is that is done for the
in Downing Street. I am speaking here of course
colonies as those in Australasia. I am inclined
that it is very little. The Colonial Office cannot
colony. It cannot even grant a patent to a great
order that he may plant one,—as was done in
of the Stuarts. It is called upon to judge,—and
dging must carry with it the support of Parlia-
at what period of its life a young community of
nen on a distant shore shall receive the sanction
Crown for its enrolment in the catalogue. And
this matter the judgment of the Minister of the
ontrolled by the circumstances of the case. When
ustralia obtained *her charter* as a colony, Down-
et could not have retarded it,—as, indeed, she

could not greatly have accelerated the granting of it. When, first, Victoria and afterwards Queensland separated themselves from New South Wales, Downing Street simply complied with the wishes of the colonists. When New Zealand was established, Downing Street, which was then notoriously timid in reference to the creation of a colony in a land inhabited by a race at the same time more than ordinarily savage and more than ordinarily intelligent, simply complied when compliance was demanded in a voice loud enough to show that it expressed an earnest conviction. It was the determination of Englishmen to settle there, which settled the question. The people have made the colonies. That which Downing Street has done, or could have done, is but a small thing.

And then, as these colonies have settled themselves, they have themselves prescribed the forms of government under which they would be ruled. That form has always been self-reliant. "You shall not rule us at all, but we will rule ourselves," the colonies have said; and in every case the concession has been made. No one reading the history of our colonies can doubt that further concessions would be made if further concessions were demanded. Let any one who knows the system of our Government at home think how long any Minister of the Colonies could have held that position, who would have attempted to impede this action after the demand for it had become earnest. That there must be some power to regulate such action, to prescribe limits here and there, to apportion the powers and privileges of communities so closely connected as are the colonies and the mother country, no one will deny. When the colony has been once established, and free government conceded, the operations of the Colonial Office are mainly confined to the accurate *observation of these limits.*

t now found in the colonies with Colonial
t they are prone to govern too little, not
n too much;—that they are anxious to
her the responsibility of any concern in
of colonies which have free institutions.
ıally grown among us, at home in Eng-
stronger than any of the same nature
olonies, that they are to do just as they
nselves. We say to them practically:—
sh just as we are, and therefore in the
ı, let us be friends to the end of time.
ust be conjoint interests, and our history
y. Let us not blot the history and mar
ny selfish divergence of political opinion.
nd probably you will agree with us in
cannot be, represented in our Parliament.
to you and to us to be politically one
he United States. But surely we can so
tters that there need be no quarrel and
ed. We will interfere with you as little
rliaments of your own? Certainly. You
llection and use of your own revenue?
are collecting and using it. Possession
ds,—which did by a sort of fiction be-
wn? Certainly. Your own lands are in
. Is there aught else? Would you think
together as one nation with one set of
Would you form one federation in all
you wish for—Separation?" Such words
, but they are nearly spoken; and that
oken is filled in by the ready imagination
The colonists *say* that they are spoken,
from men in office they signify the in-
land to her colonies. And then, not

unfrequently, there is a burst of eloquence in reference to England's fading glory.

I do think that some of us in England have been a little too forward in our assurances to the colonies that they have only to speak the word themselves, and that they shall be free, even from such slight control as England now exercises over them. I believe that any words so used have sprung from that tendency among us to lessen the bondage of authority, which has grown among the middle classes till it has become the doctrine of British statesmen. But they have been accepted as bearing a more defined sense in the colonies, and we are bound, as far as it may be in our power, to abstain from inflicting even sentimental grievances on our friends. Separation, though it may be ultimately certain, is, I think, too distant to have a place as yet in the official or parliamentary vocabulary of a Colonial Minister. Writers may speculate on it, and men of no political mark may discuss it in conversation. But when a Prime Minister in England or a Colonial Minister speaks of Separation in the House of Commons, or alludes to it in a dispatch as that which the future must bring forth, it is generally supposed that he intends to verify his own prophecy during his own term of office.

The loyalty of the colonies is very strong. In England, to speak the truth, we do not know much about loyalty. We believe in our form of government; we believe in the Crown and in Parliament; and we believe in the practical sense of the people at large. We are satisfied that we are doing well, and we think that should we make any material change,—such as would be the substitution of a democratic republic for the monarchy *we possess,*—*we* should improve ourselves not at all, *and might injure ourselves* very much. We value trial

y, primogeniture, and an hereditary House of Par-
it, because they have helped to make us what we
nd we are generally contented with our position.
may be better than loyalty, but it is not loyalty.
and again some spring may be touched, as when
ueen's household was attacked, or when the Prince
ying ill; but the feeling thus induced is not the
l condition of the British mind. England's great-
is too near to us at home to create sentiment;—
the far Antipodes loyalty is the condition of the
st's mind. He is proud of England, though very
ally angry with England because England will not
actly what he wants. He reconciles this to his
by telling himself that it is the England of the past
ich he is proud, and the England of the present
which he is angry. But his hopes are as bright as
emories,—or, at any rate, less dim than his insight
the evils of the day,—and he still clings to the
ects of England in the future. He does not like
told that he is to be divided from her. He is in
loyal. He always speaks of England as home. He
nbers the Queen's birthday, and knows the names
Queen's grandchildren. He is jealous of the fame
lson and Wellington; and tells you in praise of this
t favourite colonial orator, that—he would be
d to in the House of Commons. All this is true
,—which I take to be an adherence to certain
s or things from sentiment rather than from
.

may well be understood that on minds so im-
d threats of separation,—or allusions to separation,
by men ready to take offence are mistaken for
,—produce *anger and indignant* remonstrance.
want to get rid of us because we still cost you, or

in certain emergencies may cost you, some trifle. Y
are, in these degenerate days, indifferent to the glory
England. We have come out here as pioneers, and
our energies and our intellects have added a new wo
to your empire; and now, as a reward for our sufferin
perils, and labours, we are to be cut adrift from th
empire, and divided from our country!" Then there a
two forms in which the remonstrance is continued. Th
whose loyalty exceeds their anger declare that no su
cutting adrift shall be perpetrated, and that wiser m
with wiser councils must be found. But the more loud
indignant declare that if it is to be done it shall be do
in earnest, and that in such case the cutting adrift sh
be a total separation, and that the division from the o
country shall be a division in everything.

In all these differences it seems to me that the m
ther country is too rational, and the colonies too ir
tional. Something should be allowed to sentiment, som
thing to the impetuousness of youth, and something al
to its ignorance; something, perhaps, to the natural se
importance of juvenile legislatures, and colonial cabin
ministers whose opportunities for studying state-cr
have been limited. I do not say that any Minister
home has been provoked into speaking of Separation
the annoyance, either of demands or remonstrances se
home from the colonies. I can understand that the fi
operation on a statesman's mind, when a colony in t
plenitude of the power of self-government makes wi
demands, and answers the refusal of them with impet
ous language, should be one of anger and disgust.
can understand that he should be tempted to tell t
colony that if it can do better alone than when subje
to the slight control which at present binds it to En
land, it had better start at once and go alone. Bu

and also that he would not act on that first
and that he should resist that temptation.
t believe, however, that the colonies, either
separation from the mother country or ad-
it, will be guided by the discretion or in-
f any Minister. The work of separation, when
l, will be done by Ministers, but they will do
both of the mother country and of the co-
he servants of the people, and because the
thought that the time for such separation
There can be little fear now that the con-
of such a wish, were it once in truth expressed,
rcibly opposed by Great Britain; and as little,
t separation will be forced on the colonies.
ve an imprudent Secretary of State, his im-
ould not effect so great results.
natter of much importance that men should
minds the objects which they have in view
think of "holding" the colonies, or of the
of the colonies to Great Britain. There are
objects, which, without much thinking, we
lend together, and to regard as one whole.
they may for a while act together, they are
eparate, and, from the nature of things, must,
l on, be separated altogether. These two
the glory and greatness of Britain, and the
f a new home for Britons. Are we to "hold"
in order that England may be great, or that
may be happy? If it be conceded that the
be the one for which we should work, then
stand that it should be regarded as a crime
country even to speak of separation. But if
r ignore *the first, when* considering the wel-
colonies,—as I think we are bound to do,

both by justice and philanthropy,—then the discussion of separation is as open to us as is that of any other political condition.

Some years since it was undoubtedly the idea of all Englishmen that whatever England did was to be done for her honour, glory, and prestige. With this view we took distant spots on the globe from foreign nations because they would afford us shelter for our fleets, or opportunities of exercising power, or because wealth was to be obtained for ourselves at home, and wealth deducted from our enemies abroad. It was after this fashion, too, that the Spanish colonies were established;—and in no wise that happy homes might be formed for coming races of Spaniards. And when Englishmen lodged themselves on distant shores in order that they might live with less restraint or with greater material comfort than they could at home,—as was done by those who first colonized Massachussetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia,—though the colonists themselves were no doubt looking to their own future prosperity, there was no national movement in that direction. Certain privileges were granted as favours to certain individuals by certain kings; but after that these individuals were left to sink or swim by their own efforts. Raleigh, the first of them, sank. Lord Baltimore, and Lord Willoughby, and Penn were more fortunate. But the country did nothing till the colony was established, and then held it politically as forming a part of its own possessions, and as adding to its own power. Even Burke, than whom no politician of the last century was more philanthropical, clearly had this idea of the colonies. "My hold of the colonies," he says, "is the close affection which grows from common *names, from* kindred blood, from similar privileges, and *equal protection.* These are ties which, though light as

, are strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always
p the idea of their civil rights associated with your
vernment,—they will cling and grapple to you, and no
ce under heaven will be of power to tear them from
ir allegiance." Nothing can be grander,—nothing
eeter,—than this. There may still be some who think
t nothing truer could have been spoken. But the
od thing of which Burke is speaking, the result to be
tained by a certain noble line of conduct, is England's
ld upon her colonies, the perpetuation of England's
atness by the continued possession of these colonies,
nd not the well-being of the colonists. Those co-
ies are gone,—with what results most of us know.
ere are probably not many now who think that our
old" of them could have been continued to this day,
n had Burke's counsel been followed. They now
m the homes of more millions than live in our own
nd, and could hardly have remained subject to us,
ugh we had granted them privileges similar to our
n. To my thinking Burke's prophecy must have been
rue, let the British method of conducting that busi-
s in Burke's time have been what it might. But the
od things which he foretold for Great Britain were to
good things in respect of her power, of her prestige,
her national greatness, possibly of her lasting endur-
ce among the nations;—and the treatment of the
lonies was to be liberal and humane in order that this
ght be secured.

That, no doubt, was the view in which Britons gener-
y regarded the dependencies of the nation. It is the
w in which some still regard them. But, if I be not
staken, the tendencies of the national mind in this
tter are *changed. It is not thus* that the great body
Englishmen now think of such colonies as the Cana-

dian dominion, the Cape colonies, and the Australasian group. Malta, Gibraltar, and Bermuda we may keep as strongholds of power,—strongholds which in other hands might be pernicious to us and to the world at large. Others, which are but of little use to ourselves or to those who cultivate their soil, we may still hold because it would not suit Great Britain to abandon her children. One or two we retain, perhaps, simply because we do not like to lessen the long list. But of all these places it may be said that they are not true colonies. It is not in these that the working Englishman seeks a new home, in order that he may earn higher wages, get better education for his children, and enjoy what he regards as fuller freedom than he can do at home. In the Australias and New Zealand, in the colonies of South Africa, and in Canada,—as also in that much greater American colony, the United States,—this is the process which is now taking place. Our people are going out from us, as bees do,—not that the old hive is deserted, but that new hives are wanted for new swarms. For a while it is our duty to take some care of these new homes. The most populous has long been freed from our control and our protection, and is successful. To say that the others also will be freed is only to say that they also will be successful.

If this be so, I do not see how we can venture to cling to that idea of England's glory. Even if the theory be correct, and the glory of the nation, otherwise doomed to perish, can be thus maintained, upon whom or upon how many of us will this glory radiate? Will the ploughman between his stilts, with barely bread to eat and no shoes for his children's feet, be the better for it? Will *the artisan acknowledge* it who knows that the increase *to his wages bears no* proportion to the increased cost

ıe food and the fuel which he must buy? Will the ıg woman acknowledge it whose hard lot in life gives no chance of being a mother of children in a happy e? Will it warm the wanderer in the street, or teach destitute child, or in any way help us to remove e terrible burdens of poverty which every English-, proud as he may be of his country, should feel as ncubus on his soil? As we are the richest of people, re we also among the poorest. High as is our wealth, leep is our want. Proud as are our acquirements, amentable are our deficiencies. By that theory of ıtaining England's glory we can never cure these , or acquit ourselves of our disgrace. The system ıot intended to work in that direction. The gist t is to make the whole grand, and not to make the ı happy. But in the other direction there is hope. It must generally be the case that discussion on this ect, and the action following such discussion, will be ıe hands of those whose distant removal from want enable them to feel the glory. You, my friend, t no shoes for your children. Though meat and be dear, there is plenty of food and fuel at your th. Your daughter is not debarred from salutary al intercourse with those of the other sex. Your are not naked in the streets. Leisure and luxurious ıg allow you to indulge in glory. But for that poor you know of, would not 5*s.* a day, with no song, be er than 2*s.* a day, and Rule Britannia? And for that ng woman, would not £30 for a year's services, and ıe end of it a husband able to keep her, be better £16 a year and no husband, even though no re-ental hand should go by the windows once a fort-t, playing *up "Steady, boys,* steady," for the gratifi-*n of her patriotism.*

Gradually there has grown upon us a conviction t there is something more to be achieved than glory that, after all, glory in either a nation or a man is bu means to an end, and that that end is well-being;— regards a man, the well-being of himself and those wh happiness forms his happiness; and as regards a nat the well-being of the greatest number. A people spised, trodden under foot, and subject to injury fi without, cannot indeed be happy. It is well there that a nation should have power to protect itself aga these evils. Nor without power to be independent, po to support itself, power to hold its own, can a nation those great things which are necessary for the well-be of its members. Without the power which Great Bri possessed, Canada would have been French, South Af Dutch, and Australia and New Zealand either Frenc Dutch. Having the power which she did possess, G Britain was able to provide for her children homes these lands. It would be unwise, indeed, to aban the power which has enabled us to do so much. Bu would be equally unwise to regard the power and the well-being as the thing to be achieved.

I trust, indeed, that they may be inseparable,— as the one advances so must the other, and that greatness of England may for many years to come based, in part, on the increasing wealth, and the creasing population, of Australia. The one may be sequent on the other. The greatness of the nation be perpetuated by the strength of her off-shoots. Bu is not for that reason that we should endeavour to m these off-shoots strong. Every man who goes out thi has a right to demand that his political status shal *used so as best to* contribute to his own happiness, *that it shall not* be manipulated to the advantag

s, except in so far as he is part and parcel with
others. This was the mistake which we made with
revolted American colonies,—that we were to hold
for our advantage, not for theirs. I think it very
obable that we shall make such a mistake with the
ralias. But it would be well that every English-
who gives a thought to the colonies, should bear
ind the conviction that their connection with the
er country is to be weighed by colonial measures.
n the question of separation does arise, let it then
onsidered solely in regard to the interests of the
ists.

t may be taken as nearly certain that after some
h fashion colonists will manage things for themselves,
that they will not submit to much management from
. Military depôts must be governed from home.
r islands which are in fact inhabited not by white
but by negroes and half-castes, may be governed
home. Such dependencies as Ceylon and Singa-
in which again the real population is not European,
be governed from home or by home-sent governors.
I regard such government to be impossible in a true
h colony. The inhabitants are not represented in
British Parliament, and will not therefore be taxed
. They raise and spend their own taxes, and con-
ntly must govern themselves. It is out of the
ion therefore that we should hold them for our
and power, rather than to their own comfort, even
we so minded. But that theory of England's glory,
h is no longer permissible to us, is happily permis-
to them. How different are the words, whether
n by us at home or by colonists. "We will keep
in our hands *in order that* we may be great." That
at we in such case should say. "We wish to re-

main in your hands because we are proud of your gre
ness." That is what they may say. And as yet they
say it. In such a connection the adhesion should al
gether come from them. Let them be ours as long
such adhesion is felt by them to be for their bene
To us they are of infinite service, giving us room for
capital, room for our intellects, room for our energi
and above all some means of redemption for a porti
of our poor from that grinding poverty which we
unable to cure at home. To have founded such colon
is the greatest blessing which we have above other
tions. They are open to others as well as to ourselv
and are open with no privileges curtailed because
diverse nationalities. That it is so, is to be seen by
condition of the Germans who have gone in crowds
the United States and to Australia. But it may be se
with equal clearness that the language spoken indica
the superiority of the race which speaks it. The Engli
man who emigrates to a British colony has everything
his favour. Such favour is also his in the United Stat
—except in so far as it is lessened by the superior clai
of those who have been born in the land. So also
it be in the Australias when time shall have allow
them to produce for themselves their own leading m
But even then their Washingtons and Franklins, th
Websters, their Longfellows and Hawthorns, will be
sons and grandsons of British parents.

An Englishman visiting the United States, if he ha
any purpose of criticism in his mind,—any intention
judging how far the manner of life there is a good ma
ner, and of making comparison between British a
American habits, should be ever guarding himself agai
the natural habit of looking at things only from his o
point of view. As he would not buy gloves for

friend by the measure of his own hand, so should he not presume that an American will be well-fitted or ill-fitted in the details of his life according as he may or may not wear the customs and manners of his life cut after an English fashion. Should he find Americans to be educated, plenteously provided, honest, moral, and God-fearing, he might perhaps, in such case, safely conclude that they were prosperous and happy, even if they talked through their noses and called him Sir at every turn in their speech. We would not wish our sons to say Sir, and talk through their noses; neither would they like their sons to undergo the fagging which is common to our boys at school. Such things may influence the happiness of an individual, may make the United States an uncomfortable home for a middle-aged Englishman, or London a dreary domicile for an American well established in his own customs. They have no bearing at all on the well-being of a people, and yet they have often been taken as indicating national deformity, and sometimes national calamity. Our writers have fallen into this mistake in writing of America, and American writers have done the same in writing of us. On each side compassion has been expressed, so deep as to indicate a feeling that the persons so pitied must be the most miserable on the earth, and this compassion has been bestowed on account of habits of life altogether immaterial to actual well-being. The gloves are the worst gloves in the world, are absolutely worthless and abominable, because they do not fit our own hands.

And if this care be necessary in visiting America, if we are bound to rid our minds of such prejudices in looking at that now perfectly established British colony, —as to which *nothing which* we can say or do can *make much difference,—the* care is doubly necessary,

and the obligation twice as sacred, when we attempt to form a judgment on young colonies, the success of which must still in a great degree depend on the opinion respecting their condition which shall gradually spread itself among the inhabitants of the old world. Nothing that any of us can say or write can now influence much the prosperity of the United States. But there are still many in England who have to learn whether Australia is becoming a fitting home for them and their children, and the well-being of Australia still depends in a great degree on the tidings which may reach them. The great object of those who undertake to teach any such lesson, should, I think, be to make the student understand what he, in his condition of life, may be justified in expecting there, —and what are the manner and form of life into which he may probably fall. With this object in view, hoping that by diligence I might be able to do something towards creating a clearer knowledge of these colonies than at present perhaps exists, I have visited them all. Of each of them I have given some short account, and have endeavoured to describe the advancing or decreasing prosperity of their various interests. I hope I have done this without prejudice for or against the ways of a country to which I would not willingly migrate myself, being too old for such movement; but in which I have a son who has made his home there.

I should, perhaps, explain to the reader the method in which the different colonies are taken in my narrative. The course has been neither chronological nor geographical,—but has been arranged as I arranged my journey. I went first to Queensland, thence south to New South Wales,—the parent of Queensland; south again to Victoria, one of Queensland's elder sisters, and the most prosperous of the family,—and thence south again across

to Tasmania, a daughter also of New South
the elder of the three. These colonies, which
t, all came from the convict depôt founded
harbour in 1788, in consequence of Cook's
which we used erroneously to call Botany
n truth Botany Bay was found to be unfitted
pose, and was never used. I next visited
stralia, which is far distant from the other
d but little connected with them,—and from
nt back to South Australia. Neither of these
s has sprung from any connection with New
s. Having thus visited the six Australian
vent on to New Zealand, and returned home
Jnited States, journeying always eastwards.
der might perhaps have found it more con-
I taken the colonies in the order of their
New South Wales, and then Tasmania,—
Queensland. But I felt that by doing so, I
vriting of things almost in the present tense,
ney had occurred. Statistics which were new
in Queensland in August, 1871, had become
by the time that I had reached New Zealand
1872. I will, too, take the reader into my
nce, and let him know that my book has
as I went on. I do not know that I could
ny task otherwise. Queensland, and all that
ned about that colony,—her land-laws, her
her prosperity, had been as it were dis-
cleared out of my mind before I had reached
on my return journey. Tasmania and Western
ere finished before I quitted Adelaide—and
d having written my book in this order, I
If obliged so to publish it,—convinced that

the confusion created by any other arrangement would be greater than any which this may produce.

I will venture to say once more that in all that I have written, I have endeavoured to keep in view the conviction that the mother country, in regarding her colonies,—such colonies as those of which I have written,—should think altogether of their welfare, and as little as may be of her own power and glory.

QUEENSLAND.

CHAPTER II.

Occupation of Land.

AFTER a few days spent in Melbourne, the great tropolis of our Australian empire, I went direct to eensland, in order that I might see and hear what s to be seen and heard in that semi-tropical colony fore the great heat commenced. I arrived there on e 11th August, 1871. The hot weather is supposed begin in October and to last till the end of April. e subject of heat is one of extreme delicacy in eensland, as indeed it is also in the other colonies. e does not allude to heat in a host's house any more n to a bad bottle of wine or an ill-cooked joint of at. You may remark that it is very cool in your end's verandah, your friend of the moment being sent, and may hint that the whole of your absent end's establishment is as hot as a furnace; but though u be constrained to keep your handkerchief to your ow, and hardly dare to walk to the garden gate, you st never complain of the heat then and there. You y call an inn hot, or a court-house, but not a gen- man's paddock or a lady's drawing-room. And you ould never own to a musquito. I once unfortunately ted to a Queensland gentleman that my coat had en bitten *by cockroaches at his brother's* house, which *ad just left.* "*You must have* brought them with

you then," was the fraternal defence immediately se
I was compelled at once to antedate the cockroach
my previous resting-place, owned by a friend, not
brother. "It is possible," said the squatter, "but I
you must have had them with you longer than that
acquiesced in silence, and said no more about my
till I could get it mended elsewhere. It was winte
called, when I reached Queensland, but I found
bane very warm,—warmer than when I left it two m
later.

Queensland calls itself the biggest of the Er
colonies. South Australia, however, may dispute
question with her, as her territories run through
the southern to the northern coast. The Queensla
boast that she is larger than England, Ireland, Scot
France, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, added
gether. There is room enough therefore for al
energies of all its possible future inhabitants for
years to come. It now contains 120,000 inhabitan
and is therefore, in point of population, inferior to
a second-rate English or American city. But it o
public debt of four million pounds, and spends a p
revenue of about £800,000 a-year, or nearly £7 a-
Justice is administered and property protected a
rate of £1 per head for every inhabitant of the co
At the same rate in the British Isles the administr
of justice would cost over thirty millions! To a
Englishman who has all his life heard English tax
complained of as an incubus which no nation can
bear, these amounts seem to threaten instant ruin;
in a young colony they are not much feared, an
least a moiety of the politicians of Queensland see
think that the welfare of the community is chiefly
peded by a niggardly parsimony which is afraid

ood lively debt, and is not sufficiently awake to the ad-
ntages which accrue from a plentiful scattering of
ublic money. In speaking of the taxation of the colony,
must be remembered that a portion of the public
evenue arises from the sale of public lands, and is not
herefore felt as a direct impost by the people. But the
mount so brought annually to the public credit is not
early as large as I had expected. The average for the
ast ten years has been £170,000 per annum. This
eaves the amount to be collected from taxes £630,000
er annum, or about £5 5*s.* per head.

Queensland was separated from New South Wales
n 1859, as had been Victoria in 1850, and the name
was given to the new colony by her Majesty. The ques-
ion of separation had been mooted for the last nine or
en years, and with it the other question,—hardly less
important than separation itself,—whether the new colony
should or should not receive convicts. All the world
knows that Queensland as a separate colony has never
aken convicts, nor were convicts sent to its districts
ince 1850. In that year the last ship-load of English
uffians was landed on her shores. But the question
was one open to much discussion. In the old days,
Moreton Bay,—as the district was called in which Bris-
ane the present capital of Queensland is situated,—
as a penal settlement dependent on the Government
f New South Wales. It was so named by that great
an Captain Cook in 1770. Though it kept its name,
seems to have attracted no notice till 1823—24, and
5. A penal settlement for doubly dyed ruffians was
en founded at Moreton Bay, where Brisbane now
ands, and many of the public works, and not a little
f the cultivation *of the lands round* Brisbane, are due
the forced labour of these unfortunates. There are

terrible tales told now of the horrors attending ope
tions of this nature,—of the wickedness, treachery, a
rebellion of the men, and of the cruelties of their ta
masters. But they did work, and as far as the sett
ment was concerned they did it cheaply. It was toc
fact not to be doubted that gangs of convicts sent
to many of the pastoral districts of New South Wa
had turned wildernesses into Edens,—had in no f
instances turned themselves or been turned from fier
into useful human beings. When the great questi
was being mooted within the would-be new colony,
whole population did not exceed 15,000 souls. Amo
the pastoral aspirants,—squatters as my readers m
learn to call them,—the want of labour was the one gr
difficulty of these days. The squatter was not afraid
the convict. The freeman, whose lot it would be
work alongside of him should he come, and the sh
keepers, and the small nascent agriculturists did
wish for him. It was therefore decided that the colo
should never take convicts, and it never has taken the
What became of those who had been sent thither up
that date, it is hard to say. They have been
thoroughly absorbed, that one hears little or nothi
about them in Queensland,—much less than is heard
New South Wales. It may occasionally happen that
gentleman who has been unfortunate in his youth for
his way up to some place of note,—in the legislatu
or elsewhere,—and then a whisper is heard abroad t
the gentleman came to the colony in the old-fashion
way. Otherwise, one hears but little of convicts
Queensland.

Before Queensland became a separate colony, t
only great commercial interest of the country was p
toral,—including the breeding, rearing, and shearing

ep, and the care of cattle. The country had been
en up by squatters in large masses up to the line of
tropics, and even within the line. In 1858, just
ore separation was effected, the first gold rush was
de to Canoona, which is just on the line. Since that
re have been gold rushes in various parts of the
ony, and new rushes are still made from time to
e. Having said so much, we will now take Queens-
d as an established colony, and make no further re-
ence to its ancient history. I have already spoken of
dimensions. I trust to spare my readers many re-
ences to maps, as I wish to write of men and their
nners and welfare, rather than of rivers and boundaries,
d such references are always troublesome; but one
ht glimpse at the maps furnished of each of the
onies may be beneficial. It will be seen that Queens-
d is bisected by the tropic of Capricorn; I have there-
e called it semi-tropical. In the way of fruit it pro-
ces grapes, oranges, and pine-apples, but not apples,
oseberries, or currants. Wheat has been produced,
not so as to pay the grower of it. Oats are grown,
are cut green or half ripe and made into hay.
tton is grown in the southern parts of the settled dis-
ts, but only in small patches. It has not as yet be-
ne one of the staples of the country, nor do I think
ever will. Sugar is produced largely, and will pro-
bly become the great rival of the wool trade. Cattle
well in most of the various districts, but the dis-
ce from the necessary markets makes the trade pre-
ious. Gold rushing is of all pursuits,—here as in all
d-producing countries,—the most alluring and the most
carious. There is a considerable trade in timber,
ecially from the rivers on which the town of Mary-
ough stands. And vineyards have been made, the

owners of which make wine, and think that in a little time they will make good wine. I have drank fairly good wine made in Australia, but none made in Queensland. If on this head any wine-growing Queensland squatter should accuse me of falsehood,—remembering the assenting smile with which I have seemed to acknowledge that his vintage was excellent,—let him reflect how impossible it is for the guest to repudiate the praises with which the host speaks of his own cellar. All the world over it is allowed to the giver to praise his own wine,—a privilege of which Australians avail themselves; but it is not allowed to the receiver to deny the justness of such encomium, except under circumstances of peculiar intimacy. Here, in these pages, truth must prevail; and I am bound to say that Queensland wine was not to my taste. I am delighted to acknowledge that their pine-apples were perfect.

By the last land act of the colony—that of 1868—to which I must often refer, Queensland was divided into settled and unsettled districts. The former consists of the whole sea-coast line, varying in breadth from about two hundred to about twenty miles. The unsettled districts stretch back over vast distances, from the 152nd to the 138th meridian of longitude. Within the narrow line of the settled districts are all the towns which can be called towns, the best of the sheep stations, most of the gold mines, all the navigable rivers,—which, as is the case throughout Australia, are few and but poorly gifted,—and, as a matter of course, the great bulk of the population. In the unsettled districts pastoral pursuits,—that is the wool trade and the cattle trade,—progress, but do so slowly. That great difficulty of immigration,—which in Queensland has been *especially great*,—prevents that speedy filling up of the

ry which has been the making of the American
ates.

be as well to say a few words here about
l immigration. The colony, from the first,
uite alive to the expediency,—it may almost
: necessity,—of bidding high for Englishmen,
, and Irishmen, and has been tempted to bid
There have been various acts passed by the
of the colony with the object of inducing
come out and occupy land in Queensland on
table to themselves; passages have been paid
nd lands allotted on certain terms; and to
would pay for their own passages, lands have
ed on other terms, more seductive of course.
has been to make the "land orders,"—the
er which the land was to be given up to the
,—not transferable; so that the man with his
se passage had been paid out of the colony's
r the other comer who had paid for his own
h the object of obtaining the fuller grant of
ld be a bonâ-fide beneficent Queensland im-
nd not simply a traveller passing through the
ailing himself of the liberality of the colony
ew of going on elsewhere,—and, in fact, rob-
olony by selling his land orders. But these
rable land orders granted under the Immigra-
f 1864 were sold, and the poorer class of im-
ho had come out with free passages did pass
r lands. Emigrants from home did come to
d with the express view of leaving it, after
sed its liberality. In 1869, there came from
Isles to Queensland 1,635 souls,—1,635 souls
above the comparatively small number who
d home. *And in* that year 2,272 souls left

Queensland for the other Australian colonies,—2,272 soul over and above the number that came into Queensland from the other Australian colonies. So that not only did Queensland lose in that year all its immigrants from England, but sent also 637 emigrants to the other Australian colonies. Now this was by no means what Queensland meant when she made her liberal overture to the would-be emigrant from our own islands;—nor is it the way in which any young colony can prosper. It was simply a wasting of her funds. She therefore passed another immigration law in 1869,—which is now in force,—the express intention of which is to compel those who take land orders in Queensland to live on the land so bestowed, and also to compel those who accept assisted passages or free passages to work out within the colony the money which has been expended on them. Great dissatisfaction already prevails because they who have recently brought out themselves and families under the recent act cannot sell their land orders or avail themselves of the land without residence. They have thought that the old plan of transferring non-transferable orders would still be practicable. There is ground for hope therefore that the colony will no longer be defrauded in that direction. But I fear much success will not attend the giving of free or assisted passages. They who accept them bind themselves to repay to the government within a stated time £8 for assisted or £16 for free passages —and when such payments have been made, orders for land are given to them. But there is nothing to prevent such persons from re-emigrating; and it seems clear that it is their practice to do so.

That such practice should be general must probably *be taken* as evidence that the colony among colonies is *not popular. It implies* that Queensland had found

to offer higher bounties than have sufficed with
colonies,—or these re-emigrating immigrants
trouble themselves to come to Queensland in
istance; and it implies also that when she has
early purchased immigrants she cannot keep
is no doubt is so at the present period of her
One cause of this will probably not be per-
the greatly superior success namely of the New
old-diggings. What number of men go from
d to New Zealand cannot be told, as the route
ey, and these gold-seekers are therefore counted
se who depart to the other Australian colonies;
the number has been great there is no doubt.
cause may probably be found in the heat of
e, and must be permanent. Setting aside for
t the allurements of gold, I think that wheat-
ountries offer the greatest inducements to the
nen who generally emigrate from our own
n Queensland the bounties offered to emigrants
ed chiefly with the view of creating a class of
iers,—men who shall select small portions of
lands, by means of land orders or by gradual
and who shall become freeholders and thus
ly wedded to the colony. In Queensland, and
nerally throughout Australia, the farmer is a
as opposed to the squatter, who is a great man
istocrat. But a small farmer must have a con-
arket for his produce before he can thrive, and
able to produce what that market demands.
wants wheat, but the Queensland farmer can-
ce it. Queensland produces wool and meat,
but these things as articles of trade are generally
e reach of the small farmer. If one is to be-
ueensland squatter, these "free-selecters," or

small farmers, do deal in beef, but they steal the
from the large cattle-runs. The stealing of cattle
doubtedly a trade, but I hope is not so general
friends the squatters have represented to me.
corn, or maize, is grown on these small farms, and
hay, and something is done in the manufacture of
But the markets for these things are bad. The
with his Indian corn is generally forced to take
goods for his produce,—tea, or clothes, or perhaps
Wheat he could no doubt sell for money. Such
the case the prospect to the small farmers is not
and they who manage things in the colony n
naturally find a difficulty in establishing peri
agriculturists on their soil.

The term "free-selecters" used above is one
which the traveller soon finds himself very inti
acquainted in the Australian colonies, and if
fortunate enough to become hand and glove w
squatters, he always hears it as a term of rep
The normal squatter hates the "free-selecter" alm
thoroughly as the English country gentleman ha
poacher. As I shall speak at large in another c
of Queensland squatters and Queensland sheep-r
will not say much of them here; but to explain th
dition of the free-selecter, it is necessary to state
considerable portion of a squatter's run within the
districts is always open to be selected by any
being above twenty-one years of age. You, oh
ignorant of your privilege, may go at once and se
less than 10,280 acres on the run of any Quee
squatter within the line of settled districts who
much as yet unselected and unprotected by the p
laws from immediate selection. You may take n
than 210 or more than 640 acres of agricultural

an acre; also if you please not less than 80 or more
2,560 of first-class pastoral land at 10*s.* an acre;—
also, if you are so minded, not less than 80 or more
7,680 acres of second-class pastoral land at 10*s.* an
; and for these purchases you need only pay a tenth
the price the first year, and so on for ten years when
whole estate will be your own. Or, if you be more
mble,—and are not a married woman,—you may free-
lect a nice little farm of 80 acres of agricultural land,
160 of pastoral, on still easier terms. This you do
nder the homestead clause;—but as to this you are
ound down to residence. This you have at 9*d.* an acre
er annum for agricultural land, or 6*d.* for pastoral, and
d at the end of five years you shall have lived on it
continually, and have either fenced it in or cultivated
the tenth of it, it is yours for ever with an undefeasible
title-deed without further payment. Now 80 acres out
of a squatter's run is nothing. Even 10,280 acres out
of a larger run is not much. But one squatter may be
subject to many free selecters; and when the free-selecter
makes his selection with the express object of stealing
the squatter's cattle,—as the squatter often believes to
be the case,—the squatter of course omits to love his
neighbour as himself.

It must be understood that from this order of things
arises a very different condition of feeling with regard
to land from that to which we are subject at home. With
us the owner of the land, the freeholder, is the big man,
and he who holds by lease is the little man. In the
Australian colonies the squatter who holds his run by
lease from the Crown, and who only purchases in order
to keep others from purchasing, and who is half ruined
by being *compelled thus to become the owner of the*
soil, is the big man; whereas the freeholder, who

free-selected his holding, is the little man. But he is
no degree dependent on the squatter, and their interc
are altogether at variance.

There has, however, latterly arisen a point of ju
tion between the classes which does to a certain deg
bring them together. The squatter when he washes a
shears his sheep,—during the period that is of his harv
—requires a great deal of temporary labour. Now
free-selecters cannot live on their farms, and are c
sequently glad to hire themselves out during three
four months of the year as washers and shearers. I
this work they receive high wages,—and rations, wh
enable them to take their earnings home with them.
is always for the advantage both of the employed a
of employers that they should think well of each oth
and hence some kindly feeling does spring up tendi
to allay the irritation as to cattle-stealing on the one si
and the anger produced by contempt and perhaps
false accusation on the other. The squatter's money
necessary to the free-selecter, and the free-selecte
labour is necessary to the squatter, and in this way
two classes amalgamate. Nor do they often quarrel o
their work, though the laws laid down by the squat
for the governance of his men are somewhat perempto
Order must be kept in the wool-shed. There must
no drinking there, and no smoking except at stated
tervals. And shearers must be subject to fines if th
shear badly,—as to which the squatter's superintende
are the judge. But peace usually prevails, and the co
tracts made are carried out to an end. Occasionally
shearer may be dismissed, who will then leave the sh
in disgust,—not always without some expression.
squatter, who will allow me to call him my friend, fou
the following plaintive melody nailed up on one of

gates no doubt by a melancholy free-selecter from a distance, who had been found to be unequal to his work:—

"Farewell to the wild emu.
Farewell to the kangaroo.
Farewell to the squatter of the plain.
I hope I may never see that ——— rascal again!!"

In this great question between the squatter and the free-selecter of land,—for with its different ramifications in regard to immigration, agricultural produce, and pastoral success, it is the greatest of all questions in Australian life,—it is almost impossible for the normal traveller not to sympathize with the squatter. The normal traveller comes out with introductions to the gentlemen of the colony, and the gentlemen of the colony are squatters. The squatters' houses are open to him. They introduce the traveller to their clubs. They lend their horses and buggies. Their wives and daughters are pretty and agreeable. They exercise all the duties of hospitality with a free hand. They get up kangaroo hunts and make picnics. It is always pleasant to sympathize with an aristocracy when an aristocracy will open its arms to you. We still remember republican Mrs. Beecher Stowe with her sunny memories of duchesses. But the traveller ought to sympathize with the free-selecter,—always premising that the man keep his hands from picking and stealing his neighbour's cattle. He, we may say, is the man for whom colonial life and colonial prosperity is especially intended, and without whom no colony can rise to national importance. The pastoral squatter occupying tens of thousands of acres, and producing wool that has made Australia what she now is, has done great things for the infancy of the country. *But in all discussions on this* question it must *be remembered that he has no right* to the permanent

occupation of the land on which his flocks wande
Even though he may have purchased the use of hi
present run and purchased it for a high price, the lan
is not his. It belongs, in the language usually used, t
the Crown;—or, in more rational language, to the peopl
of the colony; and should be sold or leased or retaine
as may be best for the public advantage. The squatter'
run, in ordinary colonial language, has been taken up b
some original squatter who has driven his sheep or hi
cattle on it when it knew no other occupant than th
black man. In the very early days of squatting som
attempts were made to connect this occupation wit
possession; but this was at once refused by the Crown
which peremptorily and most properly asserted its own
rights. When independent government was conceded t
the Australian colonies, these rights became the right o
the people, and squatters held their runs and knew tha
they held their runs simply as tenants under the govern-
ment which acted as agent for the people. Nor have
these tenants been in possession of leases running over
any long term of years. The rents which they pay are,
at any rate in Queensland, hardly more than nominal,
and no fixity of tenure has ever been accorded to them.
In Queensland, by the land act of 1868, every squatter's
run was divided into two moieties, of which one moiety
was at once made open to free-selection, whereas the
other moiety cannot be touched by free-selecters till
1878,—unless a further land act giving further power of
free selection should be passed before that time. When
the law of 1868 was passed it was perfectly understood
that no tenure even for the ten years was given to the
squatters of the moieties which were then left to them.
The lands were public lands and not their lands. The
area open to squatters in Queensland is so vast, and

genuine free-selecters unfortunately are so few in number and so limited in means, that there need be no fear that the squatter will be banished from the face of the colony. Of his own condition I shall speak in a further chapter; but in the mean time it should be understood that the encouragement of the free-selecter, — of the genuine free-selecter who intends to cultivate and reside upon the land, — is and should be the first aim of colonial government. A race of men, who will people the earth at the rate, say, of a soul to ten acres, must be more important to a young community than an aristocracy which hardly employs one man permanently for every ten thousand acres. Population is the thing required, and, above all, an agricultural population. But agriculturists, especially on a small scale, do not love a land that does not produce wheat. Hence the difficulty; — but on this account our warmer sympathies should be given to those who make the attempt, and every possible effort should be made to induce such men to settle upon the land.

I have commenced my remarks upon Queensland with these observations as to the tenure and purchase of land, because I felt, in regard to myself, that any chance I might have of understanding the present and future position of these colonies depended on my capacity for comprehending the condition under which the soil was or might be held by its occupants. The tenure of land in England is so complex, and has come to be what it is by such a variety of old laws and old customs, that it is almost impossible to arrive at a first principle in the matter. And then land itself is so valuable that we can hardly understand that vast districts should be occupied *without any real* right of possession. *In the colonies the matter is simple*, but the simplicity

should be understood. The land belongs to the people When not occupied it may be taken up by any one fo pastoral, or indeed for agricultural purposes; but such taking up and occupation gives no possession. But possession of certain amounts may be had on certain terms, as above explained, and when those terms have been complied with, the possession of a freehold follows. The taking up of land for pastoral purposes does give a certain right which is defined, and that right can be sold. Such rights of occupation are daily in the market, and the limiting of the tracts so taken up are well known. In a settled district a squatter using such a tract of land cannot stretch his limits, because he is bounded by other squatters. In this way he has almost come to regard his run as his estate. If he be distant from the seaboard he may almost do so with security, because the free-selecters will not penetrate so far. He is, however, tenant at will of the Government, which is the agent acting for the people, paying a very small rent, and subject at any period of his occupation to the capricious purchases of new comers who may fancy this or that corner of his land. Nevertheless, had the squatter no one to contend with but the free-selecter, he would be a great and happy man. Of the real troubles of the Queensland squatter I will speak more at length in a few pages.

CHAPTER III.

Gladstone and Rockhampton.

On my first arrival at Brisbane I spent but a few *days there, and then* hurried up north to Rockhampton *again endeavouring* to anticipate the heat. Brisba *is a commodious* town, very prettily situated on

ne River, with 12,000 inhabitants, with courts ice, houses of parliament, a governor's residence, gardens, and all the requirements of a capital for and independent colony. I had an opportunity ng a new governor sworn in. The ceremony was y august, and I was chiefly amused with the vain ours of an unfortunate photographer to bring his ent to bear upon the performance. It may be ing to know that the governor took his oath ly in a tight-fitting, tight-buttoned blue uniform, was no doubt prescribed to him by official rule, ich seems to be as ill adapted to the climate as ess that could possibly be desired. But I envied house, which was airy, spacious, well-built, and His house will be there for him always till his f government be over, and no doubt he can put blue uniform on occasions.

must be understood that the voyaging of Aus- chiefly done by steamboat, and on this occasion on by steamboat from Brisbane to Rockhampton. route we stopped at Maryborough and Gladstone. yborough I will speak in reference to the return . Of Gladstone I will say a few words now. It port in the so-called Port Curtis district, and a spot or more melancholy town than Gladstone uld hardly find in any country, new or old. It d its name, of course, from our own statesman, said to have been peculiarly favoured by him. been spoken of as the future capital of Queens- nd there are many in Queensland,—including the premier of the colony,—who think that it should *cted, as was Ottawa in* Canada, because it has *ble advantage of a somewhat* central position,— *oast,—and of possessing* nothing to offend the

jealousies either of Brisbane to the south, or Rockhampton to the north. Other apparent fitnesses for a capital it has none,—except that of a fine harbour. Though it has been essentially fostered by the affections of certain politicians, that first primary necessity of a city population, has refused to cleave to it. The busy part of the town, consisting of a little wharf, two or three stores, and a custom-house, stands about a quarter of a mile up a small creek just broad enough to allow the steamboats to be turned in it. The creek opens into a magnificent harbour,—magnificent in scenery certainly, and equally so, I should imagine, for the use of ships lying at anchor; but for vessels to lie against the shore the little muddy creek at present affords the only useful spot. But a fine harbour and beautiful scenery will not make a city,—or even help to make one, unless people can find on its shores the means of earning their bread. Gladstone is land-locked by mountains, and has no back country to support it. There is nothing there to produce trade, or to induce people to choose the place as a domicile favourable to their hopes in life. Consequently the streets, which are many, spacious, and long, are simply beautiful glades running through the wild woods, with here a cottage and there a house, so sparsely scattered as to give to each habitation the appearance of having been rudely built for some Paul and his Virginia. They inflict on the forest no look of invading humanity. In passing through the western districts of the United States, in Canada, and also in these Australian colonies, visitors are accustomed to find large straggling collections of straight, fenced roads from which the last relics of the primeval forests have *not as yet* disappeared, and to hear them graced with *the names of streets* though the houses be as yet un

frequent. These are baby towns;—but they are babies strong with signs of increasing life. The grass has given way to the pressure of men's feet. The happiest sites, the corners and double frontages, are generally occupied. The pioneers have got the better of the forest, and population is manifestly alive and afoot. But, again, there are selected spots in which it is too clearly evident that man's endeavours in regard to that enterprise is destined to failure. The wildness of the woods is too strong for the amount of energy which the limited advantages of the place can produce. Sometimes these failures in the founding of cities are most wretched to the eye. Perhaps the most miserable which I ever beheld was Cairo, in Illinois,—the Eden of Charles Dickens. There was nothing on that spot but mud, idleness, whisky, and despair. Cairo, no doubt, had more of life in it than Gladstone; but Gladstone is beautiful to the eye, and is thus redeemed to the traveller. From green glades within a quarter of a mile of the wharf one looks down upon a sea lake surrounded by wooded mountains, and feels all the pride of distant desolation and forest silence.

The trade of the place, such as it is, consists in the exportation of cattle, chiefly, I believe, to the South Sea Islands, and the importation from other ports of the colonies of stores for the consumption of the graziers. Such a trade, if there be enough of it, may make a town; but at Gladstone, owing to the formation of the land, the cattle-stations which use it as their mart are few. Consequently the forest remains, and the houses do not spring up, and there is no life. The traveller to the place wonders that men and women should ever have chosen the *spot as that on* which they would try *their lot in life, and feels an irresistible* pity for those

who have made so vital a mistake. Nevertheless, Gladstone is still spoken of as the future capital of the colony, and is in favour with those who acknowledge that dominion cannot remain over all Queensland in a city so remote as Brisbane from the centre,—but who are still averse to division of the colony and the creation of another chief city. They allege that the majority of the United States have thought it expedient to place the seats of their legislatures in small central towns unknown to fame, and chosen solely as being on that account serviceable for political purposes. They argue that a practice which has answered its required purpose in America may probably do as well in Australia. Whether the choice of capitals has been judiciously made in the United States may be questioned. Legislatures assembled in the great cities of New York and Philadelphia would probably attract more of the dignity and wealth of the rich States to which they belong than is now to be found in the Houses which sit at Albany and Harrisburgh. But Albany and Harrisburgh, though comparatively small towns, are not as Gladstone, with its population of some two or three hundred souls, and its streets just marked through the forest. The legislators of Queensland are perhaps not exacting, but from what I saw of them I fancy that they would be unwilling to find themselves removed from Brisbane to the little town built on the creek which runs into Port Curtis.

When at Gladstone I found that an "aboriginal" negro was to be tried for breaking into a shop, and I walked through the woods to the little court-house, which stands about a mile from the wharf, in order that I might *see the ceremony.* There I found a magistrate, four *policemen, a young* woman who attended as a witness *and the prisoner.* The black man was described in t

sheet as "Aboriginal Boney." He had taken away a slab from the corner of a wooden store in the hope of getting a bit of tobacco. He had been disturbed before making good his booty, and had left behind him a small pouch which he had taken from his waist to enable him the better to get through the hole. In this pouch there was elevenpence in silver,—for even a black man will not condescend to carry copper in the colonies,—and a lock of hair. Let us hope that it was a lock from the head of his favourite gin or wife. There was no evidence against him except his own,—for the woman had only seen the form of a man escaping. Boney, when taxed by the sergeant, had confessed at once, seeming to have been more willing to bear the brunt of the offence than the loss of his purse. I wished I could have learned how much of his regret was sordid as attaching to the money, and how much tender as attaching to the lock of hair. He had gone, he said, for tobacco, but had got none, and had escaped when disturbed, leaving behind him his little property. The sergeant of police had it all his own way,—examining the witnesses, putting himself into the box and giving his own evidence, taking the statement of the prisoner, and managing the matter in a manner that would be very serviceable if introduced at the Old Bailey. Aboriginal Boney was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and seemed to be perfectly satisfied. He had, in fact, pleaded guilty,—but had probably done so without comprehending much of the nature of the proceeding. I saw him afterwards in the prison at Rockhampton, and he seemed to be enjoying life in that retreat.

I went up to Rockhampton in the same boat with ..ney, and at once was initiated into the great question "Separation." Rockhampton is a town lying exactly

...stralia and New Zealand. I.

on the line of the tropic of Capricorn, some miles up t
Fitzroy River, with about seven thousand inhabitan
which considers itself to be the second town of t
colony, and thinks a good deal of itself. It has bee
seized with the ambition to become a capital, and ther
fore hates Brisbane. It is so hot that people going fro
it to an evil place are said to send back to earth f
their blankets, finding that evil place to be too chilly f
them after the home they have left. But the Rockham
tonites are energetic as become the aspirants to metr
politan honours. They do, in truth, do those thin
which are necessary for the well-being of a communit
They have a hospital,—and an excellent hospital it i
also a jail, not so excellent; a good hotel,—or, as I w
assured, one or two good hotels; wide streets; a gran
post-office;—they ought to keep it open for the accon
modation of the public after six o'clock in the evenin
and no doubt would do so if they knew that here i
England post-offices are not closed at the earliest befo
nine. They have excellent shops, a good quay, and th
have a railway. Perhaps the railway is the crownin
glory of Rockhampton.

I must say a word of the Rockhampton railway, an
it certainly will not be a word in praise. I have n
regrets, for I was carried over it free of charge, and w
accompanied by the gentleman who manages it, an
who made himself very pleasant on the occasion. Neve
theless I can say nothing good of the Rockhampton ra
way. It was made as a job, and now that it is made
is not only useless but infinitely worse than useless.
would be a great saving to the colony if it could be sh
up and abandoned. I asked in my innocence whethe
independent of the cost of making, it supported itself
whether it paid for its own working. I was told th

paid for the grease used upon it. Now the cause meaning of the Rockhampton railway may be de- d as follows: Queensland, a colony vast in extent, s been described, was at first populated in her rn districts, those which were contiguous to New Wales, from which she had succeeded in separat- rself. But even at the time of her separation, a and scattered few had driven their cattle up to the northern lands. Then there were gold rushes, oiling-down establishments,—some explanation of shall be given presently; and so the town of Rock- on was formed, while the population and prosperity eensland was as yet in her southern borders,— Brisbane, and the towns of Ipswich, Warwick, and omba, and on the Darling Downs. It was then d expedient that there should be a railway in the —not running out of Brisbane, which has easy communication with Ipswich; but from Ipswich to her towns above-named, and so across the Darling , where are the grand sheep-walks of that country. t be understood that railways in Australia, with one exceptions, have been made by government,—as o have all roads, river clearances, and the like. overnment makes the railway and works it, taking xpending the money, and doing all by the hands cial servants. That it should be so is to me dis- g. Whether or no the practice is necessary shall discussed now, but at any rate such is the fact. e government can only make its railway when the ture has sanctioned the making of it, and the bor- of the *money for the purpose.* When the making *Darling Down railway* was mooted,—by which *edly the produce of a very* fine district would be *down to the sea, and the* people of various towns

would be brought within easy reach of the metropolis, no very strong objection seems to have been raised the scheme. It was not much debated whether or the young colony could or could not bear the weight the borrowed millions. But this was debated, and ma very clear in debate;—that if the southern division of t colony had its railway, then also must the northern. T southern population were ten times greater than t northern no doubt. Well;—then let the southern railw be ten times greater than the northern. But if the D ling Downs people were to have their railway, then shou Rockhampton have its railway. On no other terms wou any northern member dare to vote the appropriation the money. Unless this were done, Rockhampton, whi is not a meek place nor forbearing in its nature, wou make such a row that the colony should split to piec with it. It had to be done, and hence there are thi miles of a railway that barely pays for its own grease. goes out thirty miles to three public-houses in the for which call themselves Westwood; but it does not get t traffic incident to these thirty miles, because for so sh a distance it is not worth the while of waggoners, w take down wool and bring back stores, to unload th burden. The squatters can communicate with Roc hampton cheaper by the old way than by using thi miles of railroad.

And yet we can hardly blame Rockhampton. I fan that had I been a Rockhamptonite. I should have be eager for my railway. Why should Rockhampton su mit to a debt, and pay taxes, in order that the wool Darling Downs should get to market at a cheaper r than the wool from their own districts? That questi *of levying taxes* and spending public money for oth *purposes than those* of direct government, including

e and protection of the nation, is very seducing
ry dangerous. There has been a hankering among
en at home after government railways, and an
hat a patriarchal government would do better for
untry than competing companies. There is still,
ve, a desire with some politicians to buy up the
s at any rate in Ireland. When a government
ake ever so much a year by monopolising tele-
, it may seem to be very well;—but when a govern-
has to lose ever so much a year by distributing
s it is surely very bad. The Rockhampton and
ood railway is the very bathos of such attempts.
d this brings me to the great subject of Separa-
hich I found to be in every man's mouth at Rock-
n. Separation nowadays in Queensland means
ision of that colony into two colonies, as in old
t meant the division of New South Wales into
more colonies. Though Queensland is hardly
teens she is already held by the people of her
n districts to be ready for further division. Let
e Queensland and—Albertland some wish to call
uld-be future colony. Why should taxes levied in
rth go to make roads round Brisbane? Why
northern legislators travel four, five, six, and seven
d miles to a southern town built on the very
s of New South Wales? Why should we northern-
ith our unlimited area, our high ambition, with a
future looming upon us in gold and sugar, be
ed to Brisbane and the Darling Downs? Brisbane
d at Rockhampton, but I think that the Darling
are more odious. It must be remembered always
e Darling Downs squatters are the aristocrats of
land, and are *about as much in* favour at Rock-
n *as a marquis is at Manchester.* We have, say

these northern men, ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand inhabitants,—according as the line may be drawn. Let us have a governor of our own,—and above all the privileges of legislation. We are old enough to go alone and go alone we will. The sweat of our brow shall no longer go to Brisbane.

But where shall the line be drawn? Just south of Rockhampton say the Rockhamptonites, so that the new colony, the finest that will bear the flag of England, may have this well-built, elegantly organized, and populous town for its capital,—a town with real streets, and hotels, with a grand post-office and a railroad. What more can a colony desire? But in that case Rockhampton also would be at the extremity, and the people north of that, —ay, five hundred miles to the north of it, as any man may see by looking at the map,—would have to send the sweat of their brows to that city. The coming golden era of sugar and northern gold is destined to bless a region nearer to the sun even than Rockhampton. Let Cape Palmerston be the point, and Bowen or Townsville the new capital. And so the matter is debated.

With this question of course is mixed up that other question of moving the capital from Brisbane to Gladstone,—by which some southern politicians think that the difficulty may be tided over, and separation avoided for a time. Brisbane is certainly very much in a corner. Mr. Palmer, the present premier, happens to sit for the district in which Gladstone is situated, and might thus do a double stroke of business,—keep the colony together and serve his own constituents. But others of the cabinet and the large majority of the legislature are alive to the *comforts of Brisbane*, and desire no change.

As to the intrinsic merits of the case, one is tempted *to say,—on this* as on almost all political questions of

ected with the colonies,—that the more men can divert eir minds from such questions to their own individual terests, the better for them. There must be politicians ong young colonists, and there must be houses of legisla-n, but the less there is of ambition in that direction, quicker will fortunes be made and families established. e future sugar-grower of Port Mackay will not be so ch injured by sending taxes to Brisbane as by having devote his time to some nearer little parliament whether Rockhampton or Townsville. Parliaments with their ates and all that volubility of words which Mr. Car- hates with such genuine vigour, are dear to my heart. liaments are to me the very salt of the earth. But I bt the expediency of a fresh parliament for ten thou- d people,—the population of a one-membered borough ome,—when that ten thousand has so little of which omplain as have at present the inhabitants of Northern ensland.

An Englishman cannot be a month in Australia with- finding himself driven to speculate,—almost driven ome to some conclusion as to the future destinies of colonies. At present they are loyal to England with xpressive and almost violent loyalty of which we hear see little at home. There may be causes of quarrel his or that subject of custom duties and postal sub- s. One colony may expostulate with a Secretary of at home in language a little less respectful than an- r, in accordance with the temperament of the minister e moment. But the feeling of the people is one of tionate adherence to England, with some slight anger ed by a growing *idea that England* is becoming in- ent. *The withdrawal of our troops*, especially from ealand, *has probably done more* than anything else uce *an apprehension which is* certainly unneces-

sary and, to my thinking, irrational. But the love of the colonies for England, and the Queen, and English govern ment,—what may best probably be described as the ad herence of the colonies to the mother country,—canno be doubted. An Australian of the present day does no like to be told of the future independence of Australia I think that I met no instance in which the proposition on my part was met with an unqualified assent. And ye it can hardly be doubted that the independence of Austra lia will come in due time. But other things must com first. Before that day shall arrive the bone and sinew of the colonies must be of colonial produce. The lea ing men must not only have lived but have been born Australia, so as to have grown up into life without t still existing feeling that England is their veritable "hom And I venture to express an opinion that another g change must have come first, as to the coming of wh there is at present certainly no sign. The colonies join themselves together in some Australian federa as has been done with our North American provi and will learn the political strength and commercia vantage of combined action. But there are difficult the way of such a union, which existed indeed ference to the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New wick, but which make themselves felt with much violence in Australia. Nova Scotia and New Bru were hardly strong enough to persist in their jealo of a stronger sister, and the two Canadas had become one before the Dominion was framed. The lian colonies are very jealous of each other, and *present moods* are by no means ready to unite. *claims supremacy*, New South Wales dispute *Queensland looks* to a future in which she sh *as large as either*. South Queensland, thou

bitious, by no means desires separation;—but in all probability separation not only of Queensland, but further separation of New South Wales and of South Australia will come before the federal union which will precede absolute independence. As Maine and New Hampshire were allowed to become States in the early days of American independence, as Kentucky was separated from Virginia, and Tennessee from North Carolina, so will Albertland,—by that or another name,—be divided from Queensland, the Riverinan districts from New South Wales, and some great northern province from South Australia. Whether Victoria will ever submit to division I will not venture to prophesy,—but even that may come. And thus a union of States will be formed infinitely stronger in its interests than can be any one of the colonies as they now exist.

I have rushed at once into this subject, finding it necessary to speak of separation as connected with Rockhampton. Such may probably be the future condition of Australia, and doubtless any further immediate subdivision among the colonies would have a tendency towards producing it; but it cannot be said that the time has yet come for combined action, or that it is near at hand. There is no such feeling yet as Australian ambition. There is ambition enough,—Victorian ambition, New South Wales ambition, Queensland ambition; and, above them all, there is British ambition, very pleasant to the ears and to the heart of an Englishman. The other will come, and separation will indirectly lead to it. But it is not with such view as this that the separation of Queensland is now devised. Rockhampton wishes to be a capital, and the sugar-growers of Port Mackay and the North want to do without Rockhampton. There is society at Brisbane, some of the pleasures of which might be transferred northwards if they could have a governor and

parliament of their own. Believing such to be the pr
sent inducements, I think that separation might be d
layed for a while with advantage, and that the distar
magnificence of ascendant Brisbane might be endured f
yet another decade with a balance of advantage to th
whole community. Against that plan of transferring th
honours of the capital to Gladstone, were I a Queens
lander, I would certainly raise my voice with all my vehe
mence. I do not think that such transfer will be mad
I do not believe in Gladstone, the city. But I think
probable that further separation will have been effecte
before the decade shall have passed away.

On my way up to Rockhampton, at Maryburgh, an
again at Rockhampton, and at other places in the co
lonies, I went through the unsavoury duty of inspectin
various meat-preserving establishments, to which is, a
a matter of course, attached the still more distressing oc
cupation of boiling down tallow. Engaged in these pur
suits at Rockhampton I found the son of an Englis
baronet, whose great grandmother I had known well a
a boy, and whom I remember now with affectionate bu
awful reverence. I should not like to meat-preserve o
boil down myself, though I am assured that no mor
healthy employment can be found. The boiling dow
is an old trade in Australia, and has followed naturall
on the growth of wool. Something has to be done wit
the dead sheep, and tallow can at any rate be exported
The sheep used to be boiled down without any referenc
to meat, and as they were of course bought at a propor
tionate price the boiling-down trade was not a bad one
That of preserving meat and sending it over to Europ
is more speculative, and will be infinitely more impor
tant if it can be carried on successfully. With mutton a
10d. a pound in England and 1$1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* a pound in Australi

there seems to be a large margin for expense and profit, if only the thing can be done so as to make the meat popular in England. If there be one thing that England wants and cannot get,—or at any rate has not yet gotten,—it is cheap animal food for her working classes.

Before I left England I bought some Australian preserved meat as an experiment, and for that I then paid 6*d.* a pound. It was sweet and by no means unpalatable, but was utterly tasteless as meat. Whether it did or did not contain the nutritive qualities of meat I am unable to say. Servants in my house would not eat it,—because, no doubt, they could get better. With such of the working classes as can afford themselves meat occasionally or in small quantities,—as to whom a saving in the cost of meat would be a matter of greatest consequence,—I could never find that it was in favour. As the preserved meats are without bone, they may, at the price above-named, be regarded as being half the cost of first-class English meat. But I think that by most English workmen half a pound of English fresh meat would be regarded with more favour than the whole pound of Australian tinned meat. The tinned meats are cooked and only require to be reheated. That they may be sent in better condition in regard to flavour as experience is gained,—sent with less cooking, for at present they are always overcooked,—is probable. Whether they can be sent cheaper is more open to doubt. One manufacturer assured me that the trade would not pay him unless he got 4*d.* a pound. After that there is the freight, and the article must pass through two at least,—probably three hands, before it reaches the consumer.

There is another plan of preserving meat by artificial freezing, which, if successful, will send meat home in *such a condition that the* Australian roast leg of mut-

ton will not be known from the English roast leg o mutton,—unless, as my informant the freezer suggested by its manifest superiority,—of which I am not nov speaking, as the scheme belongs to New South Wale and not to Queensland.

But meat is not only preserved. There is anothe operation by which beef or mutton is converted int essence, and this trade seems to thrive well. The essenc is sold at 5*s*. a pound, and I was assured that it wa sold as quickly as made. By means of this operatio the traveller may carry an entire sheep, or all the nutri tive part of his sheep, done up in a small parcel, in hi coat pocket. On board ship, in hospitals, and for com missariat purposes, this essence,—which I presume owe its origin to Liebig,—is invaluable. For purposes o soup I declare it to be most excellent. I was once in duced by a liberal manufacturer to put as much into m mouth as I could extract by thrusting my thumb into can of it, and I felt as though I were pervaded by mea tiness for many hours. I believe in the tallow. I be lieve in the essence. But I shall not believe in th cooked preserved meats, till growing science and in creased experience shall have lessened the expense an raised the merit of the article. And yet how grand thing it would be to have Australian meat in our markets palatable and nutritive, at, say, 4*d*. a pound; how gran a thing for our carpenters and masons,—and how gran a thing also for the Australian wool-grower.

I fancy that it may be wise to abstain from an en deavour to interest the reader in the working details o these establishments. The sheep is speedily but no pleasantly boiled down, potted, or made into essence;— and that, perhaps, may be sufficient on the subject.

I went to a deserted gold-field in the neighbourhoo

hampton and found two melancholy men wash-
a cradle, mud out of a gully. We stood and
, and at the end of the washing the men had
about 1*s.* 6*d.* each by three days' work. They
od-humoured and not much disappointed, merely
ıg that they must "go away out of that." Rock-
ı is the centre of a certain gold district, and I
ıe statistics for the previous year, 1870, to be as
—1,496 miners had been employed,—represent-
ı women, children, &c., a total population of
-and these men had procured 31,017 ounces of
hich had realised £112,234. This would give
each miner;—from which some deduction, pro-
ɔout £10 per head, must be made for machinery
ɛnses over and above the labour. This would
ɛ earnings of each man to about 25*s.* a week.
ı gold-fields in other parts of Australia I have
ıat miners, paid by wages, receive about 50*s.* a
If the men's work be rated at the general price
ɔor labour through the colony,—which, taking
ss of labour with another, exclusive of that of
averages 20*s.* a week and diet,—the miners as
's are poorly paid; and they who have gone to
khampton gold-fields as speculators with a little
n search of fortune have failed utterly. All that
ɛen in Australia teaches me to believe that every
f gold raised has cost more in its raising than
ɛ for which it has been sold. In a few pages
I get to the Gympie gold-fields.

nnot leave Rockhampton without one word as
Gracemere sheep and cattle station, owned by
ily of the Archers, and taken up by them long
Rockhampton *was a town.* Indeed the present
ɛ town was a part of the Gracemere run. The

hospitality of Gracemere is proverbial throughout Queen land and is unbounded. The place is very pretty, an the Archers are respected by all who know them. met only one, the younger brother of nine, who was the in charge of the station. It was the first squatter's ru which I had seen, and, though then things were in bad plight from want of water, he made me much i love with a squatter's life.

CHAPTER IV.

Aboriginals.

FROM Rockhampton I returned to Maryborough, wit the intention of returning thence overland by Gympi to Brisbane;—and I did so. I had touched at Mary borough on my way northwards, and as I saw a greate cluster of Australian black men at Maryborough tha elsewhere, and as the question of the treatment of th black men is at present more important in Queensland than in the other colonies, I may as well say here wha has to be said on this very disagreeable subject. Ther is an island—Frazer's Island—at the mouth of the Mar River, in which they are allowed to live without moles tation,—no doubt because the place can be converte to no use by white settlers,—and here they seem to b almost amphibious. They live on fish, opossums, iguana and whatever can be filched from or may be given t them by their neighbours on the main land. As th steamers run up the river they swim off, thirty or fort of them coming together. A rope is flung out, and th captain generally allows one or two to come on boar These are taken up to Maryborough, where they lo about, begging for money and tobacco, and return by same boat on its downward journey. They are no

d without some article of clothes, and this they tied on to their heads. When seen in the water, re very picturesque,—an effect which is lost altoon terra firma. I have heard many speak of a dignity of deportment which is natural to them. I say that I have seen it. To my eyes the deportof the dignified aboriginal is that of a sapient imitating the gait and manners of a do-nothing dandy.

will be as well to call the race by the name offigiven to it. The government styles them "abls." We saw "Aboriginal Boney" on the policewhen he was standing his trial in respect of the tobacco which he had not succeeded in stealing. s more necessary to be understood, as the word is almost universally applied to white colonists n Australia. We have some slight account given of these aboriginals by Dampier, the buccaneer, ade acquaintance with them on the western coast tralia in 1688, and again in 1699. He tried to riends with them; but they attacked his men with wounding some of the party; and at last he shot them,—a circumstance which he mentions with egret. He was good to them, and thought to hem work, but in vain, for, as he says, "they ike statues, without motion, but grinned like so monkeys .... so we were forced to carry our ourselves." This we can imagine very well, rering that these Australians had never been called or an hour's work in their lives. Dampier tried he some of them, *but they preferred* being naked. *chiefs were painted.* He tells us of one young *who was daubed with white* paint;—"not for *for ornament, one would think,* but, as some

wild Indian warriors are said to do, he seemed th
to design the looking more terrible. This, his pai
added very much to his natural deformity; for th
of them have the most unpleasant looks and wors
tures of any people I ever saw,—though I have
great variety of savages."

A hundred years afterwards, in 1770, Cool
countered them at Botany Bay, on the eastern
and he endeavoured to make friends with them, a
trade with them,—but in vain. He observes in refe
to their nudity, "We thought it remarkable that
the people we had yet seen, not one had the lea
pearance of clothing, the old woman herself being
titute even of a fig-leaf." But then Adam and Eve
equally naked till sin had convinced them of s
Cook, however, certainly endeavoured to treat them
but without effect. "They did not appear to be n
ous," he says, "nor to live in societies, but like
animals, were scattered about along the coasts, a
the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we
know but little, as we were never able to form the
connection with them. After the first contest a
landing they would never come near enough to p
nor did they touch a single article of all that w
left at their huts and places they frequented, on
pose for them to take away."

When Governor Phillip,—the first governor,—a
on Cook's foot-tracks in 1789, he fared a little
with the blacks. He found them still naked,—as a
ter of course,—but they took the presents he o
them, and they were at first tractable with hin
courteous. When the white men came to settle in
bers round the grand inlet of the sea, which
Sydney Harbour, the kangaroo ran away, and

became scarce in the waters, and the black men lost their usual food. They began to perish from starvation, and of course were not fond of their visitors. They could not depart inland because other tribes would not have them;—for it seems that though no man owned individual property, inland tribes were very jealous of their confines.

Captain Hunter, who was with Governor Phillip, and was afterwards himself governor, took great pains with them, and seems to have succeeded in conciliating them for awhile; but quarrels arose, as was so natural when everything that the black men had was taken away from them,—and white men were killed. Many of the blacks were starved, their accustomed food having been driven away, and others were slaughtered in return for injuries done by them,—which injuries were the natural result of wrongs done to them. And so the quarrel began,—with that result between civilised and savage it is almost needless to say. In 1788 "the aborigines were rendered so desperate by hunger,"—I am quoting Bennet's history of Australian discovery and colonization,—"that on the 31st of August a large party of them landed near the observatory, attacked the people who were employed there, and killed a goat and carried it off in triumph. This was the boldest attempt yet made and caused the governor himself to go in pursuit. The live stock were so few in number that even the loss of a single goat was looked upon as a public misfortune. The governor, however, neither succeeded in recovering the carcass of the goat, nor in overtaking the sable cattle stealers. In the following month the natives made another attempt on the stock. On this occasion those who had charge of the sheep and goats were prepared for the attack, and the blacks were beaten off without the loss of a

Australia and New Zealand. I.

single animal. From this a chronic state of hostilitie may be said to have existed between the two races, an lives were sacrificed almost daily on one side or th other." Thus, with the goat which Governor Phillij with great but feeble energy, endeavoured to redeem fc his puny settlement, commenced that system of cattl stealing which, on the part of the black men, has bee so natural,—we may almost say, so innocent,—but whic it has been essential that the white man should stam out and make to cease, unless he made up his mind t abandon his purpose of peopling Australia.

Philanthropical advocates for the black man,—wh seem, by reason of their negro-philanthropy, to be calle upon to constitute themselves the enemies of the whi settler,—talk of the bloody revenge which is taken fc petty pilferings. This, I think, is unfair, and I am qui sure that no unfairness either on one side or other ca lead to good results. The Australian grazier cannot li unless he defend his cattle. The pilferings have n been petty, and in many districts, I believe in all di stricts, would have absolutely destroyed the flocks ar made grazing in Australia impossible, had not the squatt defended himself either with a red hand,—or with hand prepared to be red if occasion required. T stealing of cattle by tribes of black men,—or rather t slaughter of cattle, for the black man never has an id of taking away the cattle and making them his own, a desires to appropriate no more than he can eat at t time, but, nevertheless, will kill as many as he c master,—has in many cases been accompanied by p concerted attacks upon the stations; and these attac are made in the absence of the owner, when his w and children are there almost unguarded. It is not d *ficult to imagine that* the squatter, in such circumstanc

should choose to be regarded by his black neighbours as a man who was prone to be red-handed on occasions. Of course there arises, as the result of this, much rough justice,—perhaps also much rough injustice. When white men steal cattle the individual thief can be traced and brought to punishment;—but this cannot be done with a tribe of Australian aborigines. The execution must be of the Jedburgh kind, or there must be none,—and if none, then the squatter must vanish. No doubt there have been dreadful instances of indiscriminate and perfectly unjustifiable slaughter;—but then it must be remembered also that the law has interfered when evidence has been attainable, and that white men have been hung for their barbarity. There seems to be an idea prevalent with many that the black man is not defended by the law. This is an erroneous idea. The black man has been treated with all possible tenderness by the law;—but his life is such that the law can hardly reach him, either to defend or to punish.

The promiscuous slaughter of the races by each other was continued through Governor Hunter's time, which lasted from 1795 till 1800. This took place still in the Sydney district of New South Wales, that being the only district then colonized;—but similar circumstances have produced similar results throughout Australia. It is difficult, "if not impossible," says the authority I have quoted before,—and I believe there is none more impartial or trustworthy,—"to arrive at anything like a correct estimate of the number of settlers killed by the blacks, but there is every reason to believe that it was scarcely a tithe of the number of aborigines whose lives were sacrificed in return." He again says, quoting the words of Colonel Collins, the judge-advocate, "These people, *when spoken to or censured* for robbing the

maize grounds, to be revenged, were accustomed to assemble in large bodies and burn the houses of the settlers if they stood in lonely situations, frequently attempting to take their lives. . . . The governor also signified his determination, if any of the natives were taken in the act of robbing the settlers, to hang them in chains near the spot as an example to others. Could it have been foreseen that this was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear." Of course it was their natural temper. The land was theirs and the fulness thereof, or emptiness as it might be. The white man was catching all their fish, driving away their kangaroos, taking up their land, domineering over them, and hanging them in chains when they did that which to them was only natural and right. The white man, of course, felt that he was introducing civilisation; but the black man did not want civilisation. He wanted fish, kangaroos, and liberty. And yet is there any one bold enough to go back to the first truth and say that the white man should not have taken the land because it belonged to the black man;—or that if, since the beginning of things, similar justice had prevailed throughout the world, the world would now have been nearer to truth and honesty in its ways than it is?

These people were in total ignorance of the use of metals, they went naked, they ill-used their women, they had no houses, they produced nothing from the soil. They had not even flint arrow-heads. They practised infanticide. In some circumstances of life they practised cannibalism. They were and are savages of the lowest kind. With reference to their cannibal propensities I heard many varying stories, but I never heard one which *accused them of eating* white people. When they do

devour human flesh, it is the flesh of their own people. They have laws which they obey,—or at least used to obey,—most rigidly. In reference to these two propensities, that of eating each other and obeying the laws, Mr. Bennet gives the following details. "A very painful and striking proof of the stringent nature of their laws, the fixed character of their institutions, and the great pressure upon their means of existence under ordinary conditions, is afforded by circumstances which have taken place in the Bunya-Bunya district of Queensland. The district in which the bunya-bunya tree bears fruit is very restricted, and it bears in profusion only once in about three years. When this occurs the supply is vastly larger than can be consumed by the tribes within whose territory the trees are found. Consequently, large numbers of strangers visit the district, some of them coming from very great distances, and all are welcome to consume as much as they desire; for there is enough and to spare during the few months while the season lasts. The fruit is of a richly farinaceous kind, and the blacks quickly fatten upon it. But after a short indulgence on an exclusively vegetable diet, having previously been accustomed to live almost entirely upon animal food, they experience an irresistible longing for flesh. This desire they dare not indulge by killing any of the wild animals of the district. Kangaroos, opossums, and bandicoot are alike sacred from their touch, because they are absolutely necessary for the existence of the friendly tribe whose hospitality they are partaking. In this condition some of the stranger tribes resort to the horrible practice of cannibalism, and sacrifice one of their own number to provide the longed-for feast of flesh. It is not the disgusting cruelty, the frightful inhumanity, or the curious physiological question involved, that is now under con-

sideration; but the remarkable fact educed of an un hesitating obedience, under circumstances of extraordinary temptation, to laws arising out of the necessities of their existence, and the indirect proof afforded of the severe pressure on the supply of food which, under ordinary circumstances, must have prevailed among the aboriginal tribes. The strangers dared not, in their utmost longing, touch the wild animals, because they were absolutely necessary for the existence of the tribes to which the district belonged. They might eat their fill with the bunya-bunya, because that was in profusion, and pre scription had given them the right to it. Such a singular condition of things could never have arisen but in an old, over-populated country, the laws of which had ac quired that immutable character which is conferred only by immemorial custom." I myself believe this story of the bunya-bunya feast, having heard it corroborated by various persons in Queensland; but I do not believe that cannibalism has ever been general among the Australian blacks.

Their laws, especially with regard to marriage, are complex and wonderful. Their corroborees, or festival dances, are very wonderful. Their sagacity, especially on the tracking of men or cattle, is very wonderful. The skill with which they use the small appliances of life which they possess is very wonderful. But for years probably for many centuries, they have made no pro gress, and the coming of the white man among them has had no tendency to civilise,—only a tendency to ex terminate them.

The question I am now endeavouring to discuss is *that of the white man's* duty in respect to these blacks,—*and also the further* question whether the white English *man in Australia* has done his duty. There is a str

sect of men in England,—a sect with whom I fully sympathize in their aspirations, though I have sometimes found myself compelled to doubt their information,—who think that the English settler abroad is not to be trusted, except under severe control, with the fate of the poor creatures of inferior races with whom he comes in contact on the distant shores to which his search for wealth may lead him. The settler, as a matter of course, is in quest of fortune, and is one who, living among rough things, is apt to become rough and less scrupulous than his dainty brother at home. When this philanthropy first became loud in its expression in England, we were ourselves the owners of slaves in our own colonies, and the great and glorious task of abolishing that horror for ourselves, so that other nations might afterwards follow in our steps, had to be achieved. Wilberforce, Clarkson, Buxton, Brougham, and others, did achieve it, and it is natural that their spirit should remain with those on whose shoulders their mantle has fallen. When the West Indian blacks were manumitted it was felt to be necessary that they should be defended and protected. Some years since I ventured to express my opinion on that matter. Of all the absurdities in political economy which I ever encountered, that of protecting the labour of the negroes in Jamaica from competition was to my eyes the most gross. And it appeared to me that the idea of training negroes to be magistrates, members of parliament, statesmen, or even merchants, was one destined to failure by the very nature of the man. That a race should have been created so low in its gifts as to be necessarily fit only for savage life *or for the life of* servants among *civilised men was a fact on which* I could only speculate,—*or hardly speculate; but* I could not on that account *abstain from forming* the opinion. Since that time

negroes, many more in number and certainly upon the whole more handy in the use of such gifts as they possessed than those in the West Indies, have been made free in the United States, and have then been put in possession of all the privileges belonging to white men. The more I see of the experiment the more convinced I am that the negro cannot live on equal terms with the white man, and that any land, state, or district in which the negro is empowered for awhile to have ascendency over the white man by number of suffrages or other causes, will have but a woful destiny till such a condition of things be made to cease. White men will quit such land in disgust,—or the white minority will turn, and rend, and trample into dust the black majority. This allusion to the African negro in the western hemisphere would be out of place here, were it not that the mantle of which I have spoken, resting still on most worthy shoulders, is now used,—or a skirt of it is used,—to cover up the nakedness of the poor Australian aboriginal. The idea prevails that he also may be a member of parliament, minister of state, a man and a brother, or what not. That he is infinitely lower in his gifts than the African negro there can be no doubt. Civilisation among the African tribes is not very high, and our knowledge as to the point which it has reached is still defective. But where he has come within the compass of the white man's power, he has been taught to work for his bread,—which of all teaching is the most important. The Australian black man has not been so taught, and, in spite of a few instances to the contrary, I think I am justified in saying that he cannot be so taught. Individual instances are adduced,—instances which are doubtless true,—of continued service having been rendered by aboriginals; but they are so few,—so contrary to the life

ribes as any traveller may see it,—that they do
e the rule. That dignity of black deportment
one hears not unfrequently is simply the dignity
ss. The aboriginal walks along erect through
ts of the little town, or more frequently in the
tskirt, followed at humble distance by his gin,
s evince something of that pride with which
idleness in civilised life is able to encounter
y toil. His sinews are never tired and torn and
y burdens, and he can go erect. He does in
despise the working white man, and he shows
untenance the fact that he has resolved to beg,
or eat opossum,—and at any rate to be free from
is so-called dignity has to me been the most
art of his altogether low physiognomy. When
ixed much among white men, and has learned
quite safe in numerous communities from the
ch would be made upon him and his tribe if he
himself on cattle-stealing at a distance, he ex-
his ferocity for a cunning good-humoured im-
which is more revolting than his native savagery,
d be more dangerous were it not that he ceases
lific in this begging, slouching life, with trailing
dignity of deportment.

friends at home with the philanthropic mantle
Australian colonist repeatedly that he has taught
man nothing but his vices,—and they mean
ge to contain the bitterest reproach. A man
t among other men gets taught what he will
e aboriginals have become drunkards and thieves;
said of them, *that they sell their* women to white
at there are white drunkards and white thieves
is certainly true; and no doubt there is im-
regard to women,—though in new colonies

and thinly inhabited countries such vice is always l
prominent than in the large towns of an old count
But good qualities of living,—the finer characteristics
manhood,—are at any rate as prominent in the Australi
colonies as the bad qualities. Men are energetic,
dependent, and good to their wives. Women are kind
unexacting, and careful. Why have not the black m
learned also some of the virtues? I assert that eve
effort has been made to teach them the lessons,—as w
be evident to any one who will reflect of how great val
would have been their thews and sinews if only th
could have been induced to work. But how can y
teach any good lesson to a man who will only hold l
head erect as he grins and asks you for sixpence, o
glass of grog, or a bit of tobacco, or a pair of old trouse
If he get the sixpence, no doubt he will drink it;—w
some little difficulty, for the law in its endeavour to sa
the poor aboriginal from learning the bad lessons, mak
it illegal for the publican to sell him liquor. Of cou
a virtuous publican obeys the law. But all publicans
not virtuous, and so far it may be said with truth th
we teach the black man our vices. So far as the l
can protect the black man from the learning of vice
has striven to do so;—but no law in any country w
ever efficacious to such purpose.

It is difficult to make intelligible to those who kn
nothing of Australia the strange condition of these peop
—the mixture of servility and impudence, of ferocity a
good-humour, which prevails among them. I heard o
gentleman who trained one to be his gamekeeper,—
they learn to shoot with skill, and are quick in the purs
of game. At last, confiding in his black gamekeeper
he would in one at home, he gave the man his flask
carry. When he shot till he was thirsty, he asked for

bottle. "Es massa," said the grinning nigger, handing over the empty flask. "Here him is; no noting in it." He was not a bit afraid of his master because he had stolen all the drink;—nor in such circumstances could there be any idea of punishing him; you would as soon think of punishing a dog for eating a mutton chop you had put in his mouth. It might be possible to teach a dog to carry a mutton chop without eating it;—and perhaps an aboriginal might be found who after many lessons would not swallow all the wine.

Children of mixed breed,—of white fathers and black mothers are found, but do not become a race as they have done in the western world. I have seen and heard of instances in which girls so born have been brought up as domestic servants. But it seems that they always return to the bush and become some black man's gin,—or strive to do so. I heard of one girl who had been trained to take care of children till she was fourteen. She had never known savage life, and had become docile and affectionate. But at fourteen she vanished into the bush. In another house I saw a girl about fourteen waiting at table, and was told that she had made repeated attempts at escape. I ventured to ask the lady by what right she was retained, and how caught when she had fled. The lady laughed at my scruples as to retention, and told me with a boast that she could always put a black fellow on the girl's track if she made an attempt. Here at any rate was something like slavery,—for the girl was not apprenticed, nor her position recognised by any legal transfer of service. She had been picked up, and bred, and fed, and used kindly,—and was now the possession of the lady. When a little older no doubt she will escape and become a *gin*.

I once asked a member of parliament in one of the

colonies and a magistrate what he would do,—or ra
what he would recommend me to do,—if stress of
cumstances compelled me to shoot a black man in
bush. Should I go to some nearest police station,
any one would do who in self-defence had shot a w
man;—or should I go on rejoicing as though I had
a tiger or killed a deadly snake? His advice was c
and explicit. "No one but a fool would say anyth
about it." The aboriginal therefore whom you are ca
on to kill,—lest he should kill you or your wife, or
cause he spears your cattle,—is to be to you the s
as a tiger or a snake. But this would be in the back
tricts, far away from towns, in which the black man
not yet learned to be a fine gentleman with digni
deportment, barely taking the trouble to open his mo
as he asks for sixpence and tobacco.

There can be no doubt that the law does ha
reach him in those distant districts for purposes ei
of punishment or protection. He cannot be numbe
up and classified. If he disappears his absence is kn
only to his tribe, who do not recognise our law,
will not ask for its interference. He cannot be tra
The very hue of his face prevents evidence as to
identity. He cannot be found, and he is never mis
The distant squatter, whom he attacks or whose be
he kills, knows that he must be red-handed himself,
that the black man will go unpunished;—and he kn
too that unless some black man be punished, life
him on his distant run will be impossible. It is not
petty pilferings that he is concerned;—but for life
the means of living. The black men in his neighb
hood have determined to be his enemies, and as ene
he feels himself bound to treat them. No doubt
unscrupulous,—but scruples won't serve his turn

as come to a country in which savage life prevails,—
nd he finds it necessary to be, not savage, but ruthless.

In saying so much I have endeavoured to state the ase fairly between the squatter and the aboriginal; for he real question at issue now lies between them. And I find that it resolves itself to this;—had the first English settlers any right to take the country from the black men who were its owners, and have the progressing colonists who still go westward and northward in search of fresh lands the right to drive the black men back, seeing as he does that they cannot live together? If they have no such right,—that is, if they be morally wrong to do it,—then has the whole colonizing system of Great Britain been wrong, not only in Australia, but in every portion of the globe. And had Britain abstained from colonizing under the conviction of conscientious scruples, would it have been better for the human race? Four nations struggled for the possession of Australia, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and ourselves? It fell into our hands, chiefly through the enterprise and skill of Captain Cook. Should we have abstained when we found that it was peopled,—and, so to say, already possessed? And had we done so should we have served the cause of humanity? I doubt whether any philanthropist will say that we should have abstained;—or will think that had we done so the Australian aborigines would at the present moment have fared better with Dutch or French masters than they are now faring with us. It is their fate to be abolished; and they are already vanishing. Nothing short of abstaining from encroaching upon their lands,—abstaining *that is from* taking possession *of Australia could be of* any service to them. *They have been treated, I think,* almost invariably with *offered kindness when first met,*—but they have not

wanted and have not understood the kindness. Fo
time they would not submit at all, and now their s
mission is partial. In 1864 an expedition was made
take cattle from Rockhampton overland to Cape Yo
the northern extremity of Queensland, by two broth
Frank and Alexander Jardine. The cattle were t
driven up to save the lives of the occupants of a n
settlement. The enterprise was carried through with
mirable spirit and final success after terrible difficult
But their progress was one continued battle with bl
tribes, who knew nothing of them, and who of cou
regarded them as enemies. Which party was to bla
for this bloodshed,—the Messrs. Jardine who were riski
their own lives to save the inhabitants of a distant set
ment,—or the poor blacks who were struggling agai
unknown and encroaching enemies? In this case th
was certainly no cruelty, no thoughtless arrogance,
white man's indifference to the lives of black men. T
Messrs. Jardine would have been glad enough to h
made their progress without fighting battles, and fou
when they did fight simply in self-protection. And
the blacks were invaded,—most unjustly and cruelly
they must have felt.

Of the Australian black man we may certainly
that he has to go. That he should perish without
necessary suffering should be the aim of all who are c
cerned in the matter. But no good can be done
giving to the aboriginal a character which he does
deserve, or by speaking of the treatment which he
ceives in language which the facts do not warrant.

CHAPTER V.

Gold.

HITHERTO my travelling had been chiefly by steamboat from one town along the coast to another. From Maryborough I determined to return to Brisbane by coach, in order that I might see Gympie, famous for its gold. I found Maryborough to be an active little town with a good deal of business in the way of meat-preserving, timber-sawing, and sugar-making. Of Queensland sugar-growing I shall say a few words before I have done with the colony, as also of the Islanders, Polynesians, or Canakers, who are now much employed in Queensland, and whose services are specially needed among the sugar canes. At present I will pursue my journey on to Gympie.

I had been very much advised against the coach. I was told that the road, and the vehicle, and the horses, and the driving were so rough as to be unfit for a man of my age and antecedents. One anxious friend implored me not to undertake it with an anxiety which could hardly have been stronger had I been his grandfather. I was, however, obstinate, and can now declare that I enjoyed the drive most thoroughly. It lasted three days, and took me through some magnificent scenery. Woodland country in Australia,—and it must be remembered that the lands occupied are mostly woodland,—is called either bush or scrub. Woods which are open, and passable,—passable at any rate for men on horseback,—are called bush. When the undergrowth becomes thick and matted so as to be impregnable without an axe, it is scrub. In Queensland the scrubs are filled with tropical plants,—*long vine tendrils,* palms, and the *parasite fig-tree,—and when a way has* been cut through

them the effect for a time is very lovely. The fault of all Australian scenery is its monotony. The eye after awhile becomes fatigued with a landscape which at first charmed with its park-like aspect. One never gets out of the trees, and then it rarely happens that water lends its aid to improve the view. As a rule it must be acknowledged that a land of forests is not a land of beauty. Some experience in travelling is needed before this can be acknowledged, as every lover of nature is an admirer of trees. But unceasing trees, trees which continue around you from six in the morning till six at night, become a bore, and the traveller begins to remember with regret the open charms of some cultivated plain. I had to acknowledge this monotony before I reached Brisbane;—but I acknowledged also the great beauty of the scrubs, and found some breaks in the mountains which were very grand.

But the wonder of the journey was in the badness of the roads and the goodness of the coachmanship. I have been called upon by the work of my life to see much coaching, having been concerned for more than thirty years with the expedition of mails,—and I remember well the good old patriotic John Bull conviction that go where one would round the world one could never find a man to drive like the English mail-coachman of the olden times. There was a fixed idea that coach-driving was a British accomplishment, and quite beyond the reach of any one out of Britain. Since that I have seen something of driving over the Alps and other European mountains; something also of driving in America; which lessened my belief in the "unapproachability" of the excellence of the Englishman. I have now travelled over *the Gympie* road, and I feel certain that not one of my *old friends of the* box,—and I had many such friends,—

would, on being shown that road, have considered it possible that a vehicle with four horses should have been made to travel over it. There is often no road, and the coach is taken at random through the forest. Not unfrequently a fallen tree blocks up the track, and the coach is squeezed through some siding which makes it necessary for the leader to be going one way while the coach is going another. But the great miracle is in the sudden pitches, looking as though they were almost perpendicular, down which the coach is taken,—and then the equally sharp ascents,—not straight, but at a sharp angle,—up and round which the coach is whirled. The art of driving on such roads depends very much on the foot. The vehicle is supplied with strong machinery for dragging the hind wheels, so as almost altogether to stop their rotation,—and this the coachman manages with his right foot. I heard of various accidents to the coach, but of none to passengers. I at any rate went through in safety, and I recommend others to make the journey. We slept during the night between Gympie and Brisbane at a place called Cobb's Camp, at which the pleasant manners of the pretty German hostess almost atoned for the miraculous profusion of fleas. It may be as well to observe here, that all stage-coaches in Australia and New Zealand are called Cobb's coaches,—one Cobb, an American, having started a vast business in the coaching line. Two or three different companies now carry on the trade through the colonies. I here pronounce my opinion that the man who drove me from Cobb's Camp to Brisbane was the best driver of four horses I ever saw. Had he been a little less uncouth in his manners, I should have told him what I thought of him.

The coach *journey from Maryborough to Brisbane takes three days; but as I stayed a day at Gympie and*

Australia and New Zealand. I. 6

left Maryborough the evening before the coach, I wa
four days and a night on the road. I travelled the firs
twenty miles in an open boat up the Mary River, with
gentleman who owned the boat, and who had got to
gether a crew of Polynesian rowers. None of the part
however had made the journey before; and as it wa
done in the dark, and as the river is in part crowde
with rocks, and as both I and my friend went to slee
while we were steering, and as we had to land at a spo
which was in no way different from any other spot o
the river bank, we were not without the excitement o
some little difficulties. When we were ashore we had t
walk a couple of miles through the forest in search o
the village in which we were to sleep, a place called
Tiaro, and when we found it, about two in the morning
the first innkeeper whom we knocked up, a German
took us for bushrangers and would not let us in. But
there was a second innkeeper who was more courageous
who gave us brandy and water and beds, and who had
been butler in the house of a friend of mine at home,—
or, rather, of my friend's father. He sent home many
messages to Mr. John, and declared himself to be happy
in his new career. The next morning, before the coach
came up, he took us round to see the institutions of the
place. The most wonderful institution was a butcher
who had lately established himself there, and who wa
loading a cart with meat to send round to families o
the river bank. A year or two since he was lieutenan
in an English regiment, but did not find that to be
lucrative business. I hope he may be more successfu
with his new trade in the bush. His life I should thin
must be desolate; for he had no wife, and seemed t
live all alone among his carcasses.

Now for Gympie and its gold. Gympie in its ear

was a great rush;—which means that when first
dings were spread about through the colonies that
was found at Gympie, the sudden flocking of miners
: place was very great. In those days, some ten
ago, when a new rush came out, the difficulty of
ing the men was excessive, and everything was
quently very dear. The rushes were made to spots
: middle of the forest, to which there were no
and to which carriage therefore was very difficult.
dition to this, men half-intoxicated with the pro-
of gold, which is both the cause and consequence
ew rush, are determined to have, not comforts, for
re unattainable, but luxuries which can be carried.
r of sheets will be out of the question, but cham-
may be had. In this way a singular mode of life
to have established itself,—and the more singular
s, that the champagne element does not seem to
interfered with work. The miners when they are
g do not drink. Men drink at the gold-fields who
out to mine, or who have mined, or who are hav-
"spell,"—what we would call a short holiday. But
do not drink at their work,—will frequently work
Monday to Saturday, drinking nothing but tea,—
g a fixed and wholesome opinion that work and
should be kept separate. And it may be well to
k here that Australian miners are almost invariably
ous and civil. A drunken man is never agreeable;
ven a drunken miner is rarely quarrelsome. They
t steal, and are rough rather than rowdy. It seemed
: that very little care was taken, or was necessary,
: preservation of gold, the men trusting each other
great freedom. There are quarrels about claims
nd,—and *a claim is sometimes* unjustly "jumped."
umping of a claim consists in taking possession of

the land and works of absent miners, who are presu
by their absence to have deserted their claims. But
bickerings rarely lead to personal violence. The mi
do not fight and knock each other about. They n
constant appeals to the government officer,—the p
magistrate, or, above him, to the gold commissione
the district,—and they not unfrequently go to law.
do not punch each other's heads.

At the beginning of a rush the work consists, I t
always, in alluvial washing. Some lucky man or s
men,—three or four together probably,—"prospect
about the country, come upon gold. This they are b
to declare to the government, and it is now thorou
understood by miners that it is for their interest to
clare it. The "prospecter" is then rewarded by b
allowed to take up two or three men's ground, as
case may be. And every miner is allowed to take
certain fixed share of ground on the sole condition
it has not already been taken up by any other m
and that gold has been found in the neighbourh
But the "prospecter" has the double advantage of ch
ing his ground where gold has certainly been found,
of having more ground than any of his neighbours.
this prospecting may go on from one side of a hi
another, or from one patch of ground to another.
original "prospecter" of Gympie had a large pecu
reward besides his double claim; but at Gympie t
have been many "prospecters," whose shafts, as a
are placed in the middle of others bearing the s
name, belonging to men who have followed the
specter. Thus there will be Smithfield "prospec
claim," and the Smithfield Number One, north, and N
ber Two and Three, north; and on the other side
Smithfield Numbers One, Two, and Three, south.

But before there were any shafts Gympie was great with surface washing. The auriferous earth was dug up out of gullies, creeks, and holes, and was then washed out by cradles. The gold cradle has been so often described as to make it hardly worth the reader's while to have the description repeated to him. Puddling for gold I will attempt to explain when I come to the New South Wales gold-fields. At Gympie, when I was there, the search for gold had taken the phase of regular mining in rock reefs. Shafts are sunk to the necessary depth,—say, perhaps, two hundred feet,—and the auriferous rock or quartz is drawn up in buckets by whins or wheels worked by horses. This rock is taken to a quartz-crushing machine—which consists of fifteen or twenty stampers, which are worked by steam. The stone is thrown under the stampers, and is crushed by them almost to powder in a stream of water. The water carries the atoms through wire gauges on to a sloping bed, which is covered with flannel spread with quicksilver. And there are troughs filled with quicksilver across the beds. The quicksilver collects the gold, which is afterwards separated from it in a retort. So the gold is got out of a quartz-reef; but I have been assured that as much as twenty-five per cent. of the gold escapes with the refuse or is carried down by the water in the shape of minutely thin, floating gold-leaf. That there is gold in the refuse, or tailing as it is called, is known; but the re-working of it had not as yet been found to be a paying business when I was at Gympie.

An ounce of gold to a ton of raised quartz will, as a rule, pay very well. Of course this calculation cannot be taken to be applicable to all reefs, as the expense will be very various *in different mines. At* the New Zealand *prospect shaft, down which I was taken,* they were then

getting six ounces of gold to the ton of stone,- the shareholders were prospering greatly. The or shafts are generally held by small companies haps four or five each. Very little capital is for the commencement of the work;—just enou up a little woodwork, buy a horse or two, and men going,—who are the shareholders themse they find gold or give up the claim as worth miner while at this work will live on 12*s.* a w the shareholding miner will probably be in pa with another man who is earning miner's wages other claim. These wages run from £2 10*s.* week. The two men therefore will live out of earned by the one, and have a residue to throw expenses of their joint speculation.

I was astonished at the small amount of m used in comparison with the largeness of the Indeed there was none except that applied to fectly distinct operation of crushing. The cr done by a distinct company, and the charge Gympie when I was there was 12*s.* 6*d.* for quartz. The water is pumped up by horses, pumped by steam. The quartz is dragged up b No company of miners crushes for itself. All s be in a little way, although in some few insta profits were very large. Different reasons for given; but the real reason was the precarious the work, making it inexpedient for the miner large outlay on operations the productiveness may be brought to an end on any day. If it for this, the various little bands of men would club together, so as to acquire space for mac for the claims as at present divided are not larg to permit the erection of buildings for steam

and the heavy work of lifting and pumping could be done with a very great decrease of expense. But the gold found in any shaft may come to an end any day,—and then the money invested would be lost.

I have spoken of a happy family of miners,—of men who were getting six ounces of gold to every ton of quartz, and were realising, perhaps, £10 a day per man. They were a rough, civil, sober, hardworking lot,—four or five as I think, who were employing some four or five others, experienced miners, at £3 a week each. Among such a company it is impossible to recognise the social rank of each. There are what we call "gentlemen," and what we call "workmen." But they dress very much alike, work very much alike, and live very much alike. And, after awhile, they look very much alike. The ordinary miner who came perhaps from Cornwall or Northumberland, and whose father was a miner before him, gets a lift in the world,—as regards manners and habits as well as position. The "gentleman," even though in the matter of gold he be a lucky gentleman, gets a corresponding fall. He loses his gentility, his love of cleanliness, his ease of words, his grace of bearing, his preference for good company, and his social exigencies. There are some who will say that these things lost constitute a gain,—and that as long as the man is honest and diligent, earning his bread by high energy and running a chance of making a fortune, he is in every way doing better for himself than by thinking of his tub of cold water, his dress coat and trousers, his last new novel, and his next pretty girl. I cannot agree with these. Idle gentility doubtless is despicable. Idle, penniless, indebted gentility, gentility that will not work but is not ashamed to borrow, *gentility that disports itself* at clubs on the *generosity of toiling fathers, widowed* mothers, and good-

natured uncles and aunts, is as low a phase of life as any that can be met. From that the rise to the position of a working miner is very great indeed. But gentility itself,—the combination of soft words, soft manners, and soft hands with manly bearing, and high courage, and intellectual pursuits,—is a possession in itself so valuable, and if once laid aside so difficult to be regained, that it should never be dropped without a struggle. I should be sorry to see a man I loved working in a gold-mine, sorry to see him successful in a gold-mine,—doubly sorry to see him unsuccessful, which has been the lot of by far the majority of enterprising gentlemen who have sought fortune on the Australian gold-fields.

I have spoken of a happy family,—but most of the mining families at Gympie were not so blessed. There were, perhaps, fifty or sixty reefing claims at Gympie on which mining was actually in progress when I was there, but I did not hear of above ten in which gold was being found to give more than average wages, and I heard of many from which no gold was forthcoming. This had been abandoned,—that other was about worked—a third had been a mere flash in the pan,—at a they had not got deep enough, and did not know they ever would or could go deep enough, though were still working hard with no returns;—at a fifth gold would not pay the expenses. The strange course taken to see the more successful ventures, the thick streaks of gold which are shown him, the pet lumps of rock, kept by the miners in hut instead of being thrown out among the unguarded of quartz, produce a strange fascination. When man who would not like to have a chest three *big as a coffin* full of such noble stones? But *veller who* desires to understand Gympie or

ging, should endeavour to see the failures also. It is no means every little wooden shanty near the mouth shaft that has such a box so filled. The unfortunate are not far to seek,—and they are very unfortunate gh almost invariably brave. It seems to be an under- thing among Australian gold-diggers that a man is to be querulous or downhearted in his plaints. They free enough in speaking either of their good or bad ne,—will own either to the one fact of £10 a day, the other that they have not earned a brass farthing he last three weeks;—but they neither whine nor . They are gamblers who know how to bear the nes of the table.

Probably the class of miners which as a class does is that of experienced men who work for wages. ood man, who has either come out from England miner, or has learned his trade in California or the nies, can generally earn £2 10*s.* or £3 a week. For he must work underground nine or ten hours a day. he can live very cheaply,—for 12*s.* or 15*s.* a week, d yet, as far as bread and meat and tea are con- ed, can live plenteously. To such a man two or hundred pounds is a fortune, and he may earn his ne very quickly. In ten years' time a man intent his object, and able to resist temptation, might n with £1,000. But unfortunately this is not the t on which they are intent, and they do not resist tation. They all want to work for themselves, and rally, as I have said before, put their savings into mines,—or rather live on their 12*s.* a week, in order they may speculate with the money they save. The who works for himself and runs the hazard of the is regarded *as a higher being* than he who con- *himself with wages.* Men will tell you that the

real miner always "goes on his own hook." This
and the remote chance of great wealth stand in t
of that permanent success which the working mine
otherwise enjoy.

And probably the class of miners which as
does worst is that composed of young gentleme
go to the diggings, led away, as they fancy, by
of adventure, but more generally, perhaps, by a
of homely work at home. An office-stool for
eight hours a day is disagreeable to them, or t
fession of the law requires too constant a stra
they are sick of attending lectures, or they have ne
the hospitals;—and so they go away to the di
They soon become as dirty as genuine diggers, b
do not quickly learn anything but the dirt. The
to work, but they cannot work alongside of expe
miners, and consequently they go to the wall. T
treated with no contempt, for all men at the d
are free and equal. As there is no gentility, suc
are not subject to any reproach or ill-usage on tha
The miner does not expect that any airs will be as
and takes it for granted that the young man will
in that direction. Our "gentleman," therefore, is
treated; but, nevertheless, he goes to the wall, a
comes little better than the servant, or mining ho
of some miner who knows his work. Perhaps he
little money, and makes things equal with a par
this way; but they will not long be equal,—for his
will go quicker than his experience will come. C
gold-field I found a young man whom I had kn
home, who had been at school with my sons, ar
frequented my house. I saw him in front of h
tent, which he occupied in partnership with an expe
working miner, eating a beefsteak out of his fry

with his claspknife. The occupation was not an alluring one, but it was the one happy moment of his day. He was occupied with his companion on a claim, and his work consisted in trundling a rough windlass, by which dirt was drawn up out of a hole. They had found no gold as yet, and did not seem to expect to find it. He had no friend near him but his mining friend,—or mate, as he called him. I could not but think what would happen to him if illness came, or if his mate should find him too far removed from mining capability. He had been softly nurtured, well educated, and was a handsome fellow to boot; and there he was eating a nauseous lump of beef out of a greasy frying-pan with his pocket-knife, just in front of the contiguous blankets stretched on the ground, which constituted the beds of himself and his companion. It may be that he will strike gold, and make a fortune. I hope so with all my heart. But my strong and repeated advice to all young English gentlemen is to resort to any homely mode of earning their bread in preference to that of seeking gold in Australia.

I do not believe that gold-seeking in Australia has been remunerative to any class of men as a class. The gold found is sold to the mint or to the banks at prices varying from £3 10*s.* to £4 2*s.* the ounce. £3 15*s.* the ounce may perhaps be taken as an average price. I have been assured by those whose profession it has been to look into the matter that all the gold in Australia has been raised at an expense of not less than £5 the ounce. For myself, I can only say that I fully believe the statement. The calculation is one which cannot be made with such accuracy as to afford statistics in the matter. It is impossible to say at what price gold has been raised. *If all the capital* expended could be *known,—expended not only in* work, but in bringing

gold-seekers into the country,—still it would be
sible to estimate the value in wages of the tin
work which have been consumed. This, howe
clear, that if a man could have earned £5 wh
has been getting an ounce of gold to be sold
15s., he has raised that gold at £5 the ounce, a
thus lost £1 5s. by the venture. And if, as w
case in the early days of gold-digging, his living
his gold work cost him 10s. more than would hav
his living at other employment, then he raised h
at £5 10s. the ounce, and lost £1 15s. by the v
All rates of wages and cost of living were so
out of gear throughout the colonies by the earl
rushes, that no exact calculation can be made. S
demanded and got £10 a hundred for shearing
whereas the present price may be about 17s.
hundred. £1 a-day was by no means extravagant
for a groom. Everything for a while was on th
footing, because every man was taught to belie
he had only to rush to the gold-fields to pick up
tune. But the men who picked up fortunes a
rare. One never meets them. But the men wh
failed during this time to pick up fortunes meet
every corner. "Ah," says one, "if I had gone
from such and such a rush when I had that £
"I might have walked off with £12,000 after th
three months at Ballaarat," says a second. '
£15,000 at one time out of Ophir," says a
"Gympie was Gympie when I was rolling up £2
month," says a fourth. Of course a question is as
to what has become of these grand sums. The
is always the same, though probably not always
true. The fortunes already made have been
pursuit of greater fortunes. It is not admitted

ney has been spent in useless, new-fangled luxuries; t that much has been so spent is certain. The Phœnix o has made his fortune at the diggings, and kept it, a bird hardly to be found on Australian ground.

Gympie as a town was a marvellous place, and to eyes very interesting, though at the same time very y. Its population was said to consist of about six usand souls, but I found throughout the country that statement of the population of a gold-field could be en as accurate. The men go and come so quickly the changes cannot be computed. It consists of a g street stretching more than a mile,—up and down —without a single house in it that looked as though had been built to last ten years. And probably no se had been built with any such ambition, although mpie is now more than ten years old. The main et contains stores, banks, public-houses, a place of rship or two, and a few eating-houses. They are med of wood, one storey high, generally built in the t place as sheds with a gable-end to the street, on to ich, for the sake of importance, a rickety wooden ade has been attached. The houses of the miners, ich are seldom more than huts, are scattered over the rounding little hills, here and there, as the con-ience of the men in regard to the different mining ces has prompted the builders. All around are to be n the holes and shallow excavations made by the ginal diggers, and scattered among them the bigger ips which have been made by the sinking of deep fts. When a mine is being worked there is a rough oden windlass over it, and at a short distance the ular track of the unfortunate horse who, by his atory motion, *pulls the buckets* up with the quartz, *lets them down with the miners*. Throughout all

there stands the stunted stumps of decapitated t
giving the place a look of almost unearthly desol
At a distance beyond the mine-shafts are to be see
great forests which stretch away on every side
almost unlimited distance. If at any place on
tempted to quote the "aurum irrepertum et sic n
situm," it is at such a place as Gympie.

There is a hospital, and there are schools, whic
well attended, and, as I have before said, various p
of worship. I put up at an inn kept by a ca
which I found to be fairly comfortable, and by no n
expensive. There were a crowd of men there, all
or less concerned in the search of gold, with wh
found myself to be quite intimate before the se
night was over; and from whom,—as from everybo
Gympie,—I received much civility, and many invita
to drink brandy and water.

CHAPTER VI.

Squatters and their Troubles.

UNDOUBTEDLY the staple of Australian weal
wool, and the growers and buyers and selle
Australian wool are the chief men of the colonies
Queensland, when I was there, six out of the
ministers of the Crown were squatters, men owning
for sheep or cattle. Though many squatters,—pro
the majority,—confine themselves to sheep, very f
those who breed cattle do not keep sheep also.
cattle are reared chiefly for home consumption.
wool is all exported. As wool goes up or down i
London markets, so does the prosperity of Au
vacillate. Any panic in commercial matters of E
which brings down the price of wool,—as panics

done most cruelly,—half ruins the colonies. Sheep sink in value from 10*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* a head to 4*s.* or 2*s.* Squatters' runs become valueless and unsaleable, and the smaller squatters, who are almost invariably in debt to the merchants, have to vanish. Then, when trade becomes steady again and wool rises, sheep again resume their former value, and the rich men who during the panic have taken up almost deserted sheep-walks become richer and richer.

The great drawback to the squatter's prosperity is to be found in the fact that a large proportion of them commence a great business with very insufficient capital. A man with £5,000 undertakes to pay £30,000 for a run, and finds himself enabled to enter in upon the possession of perhaps forty thousand sheep and the head station or house which has been built. To all outward appearance he is the owner. He manages everything. He employs and pays the various hands. He puts up fences and erects wash-pools. He buys and sells flocks. He makes great bales of wool which he sends to Sydney, to Melbourne, or to London as he pleases. Any rise in the price of wool is his good fortune, any fall is his calamity. But still he is little more than the manager for others. He has probably bought his run from a bank or from a merchant's house which has held a mortgage on it before, and the mortgage is continued. He has simply paid away the £5,000 to make the security of the mortgage commercially safe. At home when we speak of mortgaged property we allude as a rule to some real estate in land or houses. The squatter's real estate is generally very small,—and, as I shall explain presently, the smaller the better. The property mortgaged consists of the squatter's sheep,—and of his precarious right to feed his flocks on certain large tracts

of land, which are the property of the public, and which are for the most part open to purchase. He is not therefore in reality left to himself in the management of his business, as would be a land-owner in England who had mortgaged the land which he either farmed himself or let to a tenant. In such case the security of the mortgage would rest on the land, and the farmer would conduct his farming operations without let or hindrance. It is far otherwise with the squatter. The security he has given rests on his wool, and the price of his wool therefore must pass through the hands of the merchant to whom the debt is due. Nor can he lessen his stock of sheep without accounting to the merchant for the price of the sheep sold. The merchant is of course bound to see that the security on which his money has been advanced is not impaired. Consequently the whole produce of the run goes into the merchant's hands. When the wool is sent off,—say direct to London,—an estimated sum on account of its value is placed to the squatter's credit. When the wool has been sold the balance is also placed to his credit. But the money does not come into his hands. The same rule prevails very generally in regard to sheep sold. Consequently the squatter's produce all goes from him, and he is driven to draw upon the merchants for the money necessary to maintain his station, to pay his wages, and to live. It would appear at first sight as though the squatter could lose nothing by such an arrangement. As soon as the merchant receives the money for the wool, the squatter ceases to be charged with interest for so much. And when a sum is advanced to him, he again pays interest for so much,—according to *the terms which may* exist between him and the merchant. *The rate of* interest may be eight, nine, or ten

t., according to the value of the original security. addition to this the merchant adds a commission and a half per cent. on every new advance,—so squatter in giving up his produce pays off a aring say eight per cent. interest, and in drawing to defray his expenses incurs fresh debt at say a half per cent. interest. If things go well with may no doubt free himself even at this rate. If sell his wool and sheep every year for £6,000, ry on his station for £3,000, he will gradually, very slowly,—lessen his debt in spite of the in- which he pays. And he will live and the mer- will probably not disturb him. If everything go well with him,—if his ewes be prolific, if do not decimate his flock, if neither droughts ds oppress him, if wool maintain its price, if he his work and be able to deny himself the re- of long absences from his station,—he may suc- working himself free. But against a man so tanced the chances are very strong. Sheep are to diseases. Lambing is not always prosperous. t and floods do prevail in Australia. And the f wool vacillates wonderfully,—very wonderfully yes of a non-commercial man who observes that r happens in the world men still wear coats and . And when these misfortunes come they fall er on the squatter who has begun by owning e-sixth of the property, and not at all on the t who has owned the other five-sixths. At such —when misfortune comes,—the squatter's debt to swell instead of dwindle. The produce will for the expenses and the ever-running interest. *onsands down in the book* begin to augment, *merchant begins* to see that he must secure

himself. Then the station passes into other hands,—into the hands probably of some huge station-owne who, having commenced life as a shepherd or a drove has now stations of his own all over the colonies, an money to advance on all such properties,—and ou friend with his £5,000 vanishes away, or becomes per haps the manager with a fixed salary of the very shee which he used to consider his own.

For a squatter of the true commercial kind not t owe money to his merchant or his banker is an unusua circumstance,—unless he be one who has stuck to hi work till he is able to lend instead of borrow. Th normal, and I may almost say the proper, condition o a squatter is indebtedness to some amount. The busi ness of squatting would be very restricted, country lif in Australia very different from what it is, the amount o wool produced for the benefit of the world wofull diminished, and the extension of enterprise over ne lands altogether checked, if no capital were to be investe in the pursuit of squatting except that owned by th squatters themselves. No doubt this, the greatest interes of Australia, has been created and fostered by the com bination of squatters and merchants. If the squatte commencing business can do so owing no more tha half the value of his run he will probably do well, an in time pay off his debt. If the man with £5,000 wi content himself with 12,000 sheep instead of 40,000, an will borrow another £5,000 instead of £25,000, he wi find that there is something like a fair partnership b tween himself and the merchant, and that gradually h partner will be unnecessary to him. His partner, whi the partnership lasts, will be getting at least ten per cen *for his money,* but in such a condition of things th *squatter will get twenty* per cent. for his money. N

doubt there will still be risks, from which the town partner will be comparatively free,—but unless there come heavy misfortunes indeed these risks will not break the squatter's back if his burden be no heavier than that above described.

The amount of debt in some stations is enormous, and the total interest paid, including bank charges, commission, and what not, frequently amounts to twenty per cent. When this state of things arises, the nominal squatter enjoys a certain security arising from the ambitious importance of his indebtedness,—due even to his own absolute insolvency. Were the merchant to sell him up and get rid of him, more than half the debt must be written off as absolutely bad. In such cases it may be better to maintain the squatter, on condition that he will work the station. The squatter is maintained,—and lives like other squatters a jolly life. The rate at which his house is kept will depend rather on the number of the sheep to be shorn than on his own income. He has no income, but the station is maintained, and among the expenses of the station are his wife's dresses and his own brandy and water.

I don't know that there can be a much happier life than that of a squatter, if the man be fairly prosperous, and have natural aptitudes for country occupations. He should be able to ride and to shoot,—and to sit in a buggy all day without inconvenience. He should be social,—for he must entertain often and be entertained by other squatters; but he must be indifferent to society, for he will live away from towns and be often alone with his family. He must be able to command men, and must do so *in a frank and easy* fashion,—not arrogating *to himself any great* superiority, but with full

power to let those around him know that he is r
He must prefer plenty to luxury, and be content t
things about him a little rough. He must be a
brave troubles,—for a squatter has many troubles.
will go amiss. Lambs will die. Shearers will som
drink. And the bullocks with the most needed su
will not always arrive as soon as they are exp
And, above all things, the squatter should like n
In squatters' houses plenty always prevails, but that
often depends upon the sheep-fold. If a man hav
gifts, and be young and energetic when he begi
work, he will not have chosen badly in becon
squatter. The sense of ownership and mastery, th
viction that he is the head and chief of what is go
around; the absence of any necessity of asking le
of submitting to others,—these things in themselv
a great charm to life. The squatter owes obedie
none, and allegiance only to the merchant;—wh
no questions so long as the debt be reduced or r
creased. He gets up when he pleases and goes
when he likes. Though he should not own an a
the land around him, he may do what he please
all that he sees. He may put up fences and knoc
down. He probably lives in the middle of a fo
his life is always called life in the bush,—and h
cut down any tree that he fancies. He has always
to ride, and a buggy to sit in, and birds to sh
and kangaroos to ride after. He goes where h
and nobody questions him. There is probably r
so big as himself within twenty miles of him, an
proud with the conviction that he knows how to
sheep better than any squatter in the colony. B
joy that mostly endears his life to him is the joy t
need not dress for dinner.

Queensland is divided into settled and unsettled districts, of which the settled districts include only a very small portion as compared with the immense area of the whole colony. It comprises the coast line running back in some places hardly more than twenty miles, and in others, in which the space is broadest, hardly more than two hundred. The law in regard to the tenure of land within these so-called settled and unsettled districts is different,—the chief difference consisting in this, that half of every run within the settled districts is open to purchase by any selecters after the fashion described in a previous chapter. In the unsettled districts no such privilege was granted by the law of 1868, because no such privilege would have been of use. No intending agriculturist, purposing to fix his family and to live on a portion of land for which money must be paid, would dream for some years to come of fixing his abode and sowing his seed beyond the line as marked by government. Nor would the survey of such lands have availed anything. There the squatters reign supreme,—more supremely even than the squatter nearer to civilisation. But the very distance of his station makes his existence less important to the colony than that of his nearer brother. His enterprise is not so great, though his courage and perseverance may be quite equal. The Darling Downs are within the line of the settled districts, and beyond them I did not go.

It must be understood, therefore, that the run of the Darling Downs squatter is open to sale, and that he has been terribly injured in his otherwise prosperous career by the law of 1868, which devoted half of his run to free-selection. But the free-selecter who has most injured the Darling Downs squatter is the squatter himself, and for this reason I said that the less land the

squatter owned himself the better. The land selected o the Darling Downs district greatly exceeds in area tha purchased in any other, but the squatters have themselve made the selections. In 1868, the year in which th land law was passed, 57,070 acres of land were sold i Queensland by the government. Of this area no les than 41,680 acres, or nearly four-fifths of the whol were purchased on the Darling Downs. It has bee stated that any man may select 10,280 acres for himsel The man's son, or brother, or father, or partner, o friend,—or the man's Mrs. Harris, if he can raise a Mr Harris,—can do the same. Now, in their hatred of free selecting neighbours, these great squatters of the Darlin Downs have in many cases thought themselves com pelled to become purchasers of land on their own run to the full extent given them by the law,—not becaus they wanted to possess the land in fee, but in order tha others might not come near them and disturb them Anything to them was better than a free-selecting cattl dealer at their gates. They have, therefore, purchase land by tens of thousands of acres. Each partner in- run has purchased his ten thousand, and there have bee many Mrs. Harrises. The Mrs. Harris system is generall called dummying,—putting up a non-existent free-selecte —and is illegal. But I believe no one will deny that has been carried to a great extent. In this way a va extent of country has fallen into the hands of squatter so as to become veritably their own, if the due insta ments are paid to the Crown as they become due. a squatting firm,—for the larger stations are generall held by firms, or by two or three of a family together,- should have thus purchased, say 40,000 acres of eve *the lower class* of pastoral land, land to be purchase *within ten years* at *6d.* an acre in each year, £1,0

year would have to be paid to the Crown for those ten
ars. But this payment would in no degree increase
e squatter's means. He would enjoy no power of pro-
cing wealth from the land which was not his to the
me extent before. His sheep would still run there as
sheep ran before. But the squatter in but few cases
s prepared to make these payments out of his own
cket. He was in partnership with the merchant, and
e merchant would generally make the payment. But
e matter was of no great concern to the merchant him-
lf. He was not to be even part purchaser. He pays
e money annually, but charges the account with his
ht, ten, or twelve per cent. according to his agree-
nt, and so the squatter's debt is increased from year
year without any increase to the squatter's means. It
y be imagined, therefore, how odious must be the
e-selecter to the squatter, although of all free-selecters
is himself by far the most extensive.

I had heard much of all this before I went to the
rling Downs, and I was prepared to hear the question
scussed. I cannot but think that it would have been
tter to welcome the free-selecter,—to have let him come
d select if he would,—and to have endured him. In
78, even if no new law should do so before, the half
each run not now open to selection will be in the
ne category, and the same play must be played again.
e more I have seen on the subject, and the more I
ve heard, the more certain I feel that pastoral pursuits
Queensland will not bear the expense of purchased
d. The very system of squatting is based on the idea
t the land shall be free,—free with the exception of
ne annual fee paid to the Crown for license to pasture.
e buying *up of lands for agricultural* purposes has
gressed, and must progress slowly, and the squatters

feel secure in the fact that large purchases could not be remunerative to anybody. No free-selecter, selecting for the purpose of living on the agricultural produce of his land, could buy any great number of acres. Gradually but very slowly, men of this class would spread themselves over the settled districts,—and it was the wise intention of the colonial legislature that they should be encouraged to do so. Gradually, but very slowly, the squatters would be driven back from the neighbourhood of rising townships into the vast pastoral areas further back from the coast line. But these men, the aristocracy of the country, were impatient of such treatment, and too proud to endure such neighbours; and therefore they have bought the land themselves. They argue that, as the climate is unsuitable for agricultural pursuits,—as wheat cannot be made to grow in these regions with any permanent success,—the free-selecting farmer cannot live on his farm by honest labour, and that he will therefore live dishonestly. The squatter declares that the normal free-selecter makes his small purchase in order that he may be enabled to steal cattle with impunity, and live after that fashion. He will make any effort,—almost any sacrifice,—to keep the normal free-selecter from his paddocks.

Undoubtedly, the crime of cattle-stealing,—of cattle stealing and sheep-stealing and horse-stealing,—is one of the greatest curses of the Australian colonies. The pastures are so extensive, and therefore so little capable of being easily watched, that the thefts can always be made without difficulty. Every animal is branded, and the brands are all registered. One never sees even an unbranded horse in Australia, unless it be a wild animal in the woods. But the brands are altered, or else the carcasses are carried away while the skins are left. An

there is undoubtedly a feeling in the pastoral districts of Australia, among the class of men who labour on the land, that the squatter is fair game for such depredations. We all know the difficulty which is felt in Ireland as to getting evidence against the perpetrators of agrarian violence. There is the same difficulty in these colonies with reference to the cattle-stealer. He has with him much of the sympathy of all men of his own class,—and there are many who do not dare to give evidence against him. The law is severe, but is too often inoperative.

Very much that the squatter alleges against the free-selecter is true. In arguing the question, as I have done with many a squatter, I always took the part of the free-selecter, expressing a strong opinion that he was the very man whom the colony should be most anxious to encourage, and urging that if here and there a free-selecter should become a thief, the law should be made to deal with him;—but not the less did I feel that the gentleman with whom I might be conversing knew very well where his own shoe pinched him. A peculiar crime has grown up in Australia,—and is attended by one of the worst circumstances which can accompany crime. It has assumed a quasi-respectability among the class of men who are tempted to commit it. It is like smuggling, or illicit distillation, or sedition, or the seduction of women. There is little or no shame attached to it among those with whom the cattle-stealers live. It is regarded as fair war by the small agriculturist against the ascendant squatter. A man may be a cattle-stealer, and yet in his way a decent fellow. I was once standing by, over a kangaroo which we had hunted, and which a free-selecter who had made one in the hunt was skinning. There were two or three others also by. *The man was* a good sportsman, *but I had been told that he liked* other people's meat.

"You have heard of the cattle-stealers, sir," he said, looking up at me. "This is the way they do it by moonlight, I'm told." He skinned the kangaroo with great skill and quickness, and I was sure that he was no novice at the business. He knew well enough that by what he did and what he said he was owning himself to have been a cattle-stealer, but he was not a bit ashamed of it.

Nevertheless, I think the free-selecter should be welcomed as a farmer,—although it may often be necessary to punish him, or even but to try to punish him as a cattle-stealer. The more general he becomes, the less necessary will it be for the squatters to depend for their work on the nomad tribe of wandering men which infest the pastoral districts. The squatter's work is of such a nature that he requires very few hands during, perhaps, eight or nine months of the year, and a great many during the other three or four. From the commencement of the washing of his sheep to the packing of the last bale of wool, all is hurry, scurry, and eager business on the station. During those three or four months men are earning from him very high wages, and it is indispensable to him that he should have a large amount of skilled labour. Through the other eight or nine months, these men vanish from the station, and have to live elsewhere, either on their savings, or on other labour,—or by a species of beggary which is common in the colonies and the weight of which falls altogether on the squatters. Now the free-selecter, who is also a shearer, has a home to go to, and other pursuits of his own. This temporary work suits his needs, and enables him to live on his bit of land without stealing cattle. And then the free-selecter will come whether he be welcomed or not. As he is a necessity, it must surely be wise to make the best of him.

The nomad tribe of pastoral labourers,—of men who

ess to be shepherds, boundary-riders, sheep-washers, rers, and the like,—form altogether one of the strangest tutions ever known in a land, and one which to my is more degrading and more injurious even than other institution of sheep-stealing. It is common to he Australian colonies, and has arisen from the general ng of hospitality which is always engendered in a country by the lack of sufficient accommodation for llers. In the pastoral districts it is understood that hospitality is demanded from a squatter it shall be n. At small stations there are two classes of wel- e. The labouring man, with his "swag" over his ,—the "swag" being his luggage, comprising pro- y all the property he has in the world,—is sent to "hut." There is a hut at every station, fitted up with ks, in which the workmen sleep. Here the wanderer llowed to stretch his blanket for the night,—and on uch occasions two meals are allowed to him. He meat and flour in the morning, and meat and flour ne evening. Then he passes on his way. If the tra- r be of another description,—a squatter himself, an seer journeying from one station to another, a man on any pretence claims to be akin to gentlehood— is taken into the squatter's house, and sits at the tter's table, and has tea as well as bread and meat, nd brandy and water, if brandy and water be the ly beverage. On large stations, at which the overseer a separate residence, travellers of this superior class relegated to his house, and the great squatter hears ing about it,—except that he defrays the cost of the rtainment. In this way a wide hospitality is exercised, h has become proverbial; which, when thus de- ed, has *an Arcadian charm* about it which is quite *thing to the imagination;*—but which has led to a

terrible evil under which the squatter groans with al
acknowledged impotence.

This evil concerns only the first-named class of
derer. I have heard no squatter complain of the bu
of entertaining men who are travelling from one pa
the colonies to another on legitimate business. A ce
allowance is made for the expense, and the practi
recognised as being convenient to all parties. But i
come to be very far from convenient as regards th
called workman with his "swag." By many men i
been found to be a way of living which enables the
spend in rapid debauch the money earned by the la
of a few months, and to exist in idleness during th
mainder of the year. By many others it has been ado
as the practice of the entire twelvemonth. The exp
thus entailed upon stations has become incredibly g
One gentleman told me that such men cost him
a-year. I heard of a squatter's establishment in Vic
at which £1,000 a-year was expended in this involu
entertainment of vagabond strangers. And the evi
no means ends here. A mode of life is afforded t
cusant labourers which enables men to refuse wo
fair terms, and to rebel against their masters when
work or their wages are not to their liking. They
that the squatters of the colonies do not dare to r
them food and shelter.

Such men, when they appear, generally ask for
They not unfrequently come on horseback, and al
bring their luggage,—a blanket, a tin pot, and
small personalities wrapped up in the blanket.
squatter,—or more probably the overseer,—knows
well from the man's aspect that he does not mea
work. Sometimes he is asked to chop wood befo
has his supper, but as a rule it is understood that

will not be efficacious for any good purpose. tter to let him have his lump of meat and his th use of a bunk,—and then pass on to the next . But the lump of meat, and the flour, and the he bunk he must have.

why must he have them? The overseer could e accustomed liberality, and the man with some ; would pass on and "camp out" with an empty under some log. Or why, at any rate, should food be refused till it have been first earned by t work? "There be the logs, my friend. Reduce convenient firewood,—as may be done by three ork,—and you shall be fed. Dark is it? Then uld come earlier and earn your victuals. But without earning you shall not have." The squatter so would be at once known; his sheep would ghtered; his fences would be burned; and his ould be houghed. The vagabond wayfarers are erous and too strong, and are able to obtain by that which hospitality no longer bestows. A with his fences burned would be a ruined man. social injury which I have endeavoured to de- worse even to the pastoral labourer himself than squatter. The squatter can live and bear it,— he burden is grievous to him. Meat is cheap,— he station be small the calls on him are com- y few. But the men themselves who practise are reduced almost to savagery. They become o better than the blacks. They wander about in solitude, idle, worthless, and wretched. The has been the charm;—but we all know how in- the misery which that charm produces.

is *there no remedy? I do believe* that no squatter, *combination of squatters* in one district, could

safely rebel against the custom, and at once refuse the accustomed dole. A man is not to ruin himself and his family for the sake of showing a right course to others. But I venture to think that a large combination might effect with safety what a small combination could not dare to commence. When I have suggested this I have been told that squatters can never be made to combine. If associations were formed at Brisbane, at Sydney, at Melbourne, and at Adelaide, the thing might certainly be done. Rules should be laid down and printed, to which every squatter should be invited to agree, and these rules should specify the amount of work which a man should be required to do before a meal was given to him. No doubt some injury would be done to property,—but a combination of squatters could by a very small subscription repair any amount of injury which could be inflicted, and which to a single individual would be ruinous. If six months' notice were given, and printed bills were circulated, the regulation would be known to every vagabond in Australia, and men would soon learn, there as elsewhere, that they must either starve or work.

No vagabond ever received more extensive hospitality from the squatters than was accorded to me; and in order that they may feel that I for one do not like to take all that has been given without making some small return, I hereby offer them my scheme, and promise to make no demand for remuneration should it be adopted and found to be successful.

I have attempted to describe some of the great troubles under which squatters labour,—namely debt, free-selecters, and vagabonds. But they have also many others. Drought, floods, foot-rot among their flocks, wild dogs,—or dingoes, —*which prey* upon their lambs and flurry their sheep, *grass-seed which* injures the wool, and works its way

through the skins of the lambs, utterly destroying the poor little bleaters, grass that is overgrown and rank, grass that won't grow, poisonous grass, too much grass, no grass,—and then that worst of all miseries, panic in the wool trade. But these are not social in their nature, and I will not venture to give any opinion of the best way of meeting them. As to the debt,—I am clear on this point, that a moderate station with a moderate debt, is better than a big station with a big debt. As to the free-selecter,—I believe it will be the wisest course to welcome him and make the best of him. As to the vagabond labourer who won't labour, I do not doubt that all squatters will agree with me in saying that he should be abolished altogether.

CHAPTER VII.

Darling Downs.

And now for the Downs. When I was in Brisbane in the beginning of August I was told by one of the great squatters of the district which I intended to visit that if I would come up about the second week in September I should see the Downs in all their glory,—vast expanses of verdant plain, waving with grass, and greener than fields in England in the month of May. In regard to date I obeyed my friend to the letter, leaving Brisbane on the 4th of September, and returning to it on the 21st. But, alas, my friend had made his promise without remembering how fickle on occasions are the winds which bring, or the winds which withhold, rain from the Australian plains. Rain was due, and my friend had counted on genial showers. But not a drop had fallen. When I was in the neighbourhood of Rockhampton, sheep and cattle were dying from want of water and want of grass.

I was told then that not a drop had fallen for six months. Not a drop had fallen when I started to the Downs and not a drop had fallen when I left them. I saw the plains, but I saw them either black with fire,—for it is the custom there to burn off the old dry withered grass which the sheep will not eat in order that the young shoots may have room to spring,—either black with fire or brown with droughts. The roots stood apart, stiff, rough, and unappetizing to any sheep,—showing the bare black soil between the intervals, showing here and there broad fissures, thirsty, gaping, and ugly. It seemed to me to be a miracle that any sheep could live so pastured. The name of "Darling Downs" is given to this district because it differs from the great majority of the area occupied by Australian squatters in this,—that the land is open instead of being covered by wood. It consists of vast level plains more like the prairies of Illinois than any other region I have seen,—though very much less in extent than the prairies. Even on the Darling Downs one gets almost beyond the sight of trees; whereas the squatter generally lives "in the bush," as the phrase goes, and pastures his sheep among thick woodlands.

I went by coach to the town of Ipswich, and stayed there a day, seeing with due diligence all the institutions of the place. There was a handsome school for the sons of men of the better class, towards the expense of which £1,000 per annum is defrayed from the general taxes of the country. Of this I could not approve, remembering all I had heard at Rockhampton of the wrong appliance by those southern aristocrats of the money levied from the colony at large. There is a similar school similarly assisted at Brisbane,—and this was the excuse for the *grant made at Ipswich*. But Brisbane and Ipswich are *but twenty-four miles* apart, and are both in the favoure

south. The argument thence to be deduced for separation seemed to be strong,—but I could not get one of the three or four gentlemen who were with me to agree with me. Then there was the post-office, and a public room for purposes of amusement and instruction which did not seem to be much used, two or three mercantile establishments, and the usual assortment of rectangular streets which no doubt is convenient, but which seems to forbid any new town to be picturesque. But the great glory of Ipswich is the fact that it returns three members to parliament. It has a population of about five thousand persons. Rockhampton with about the same number returns one member. This appeared to be another argument for separation. But I was assured that as Brisbane had four members,—or in reality five, for its suburb of Fortitude Valley returns a member,—it was indispensable that Ipswich should have at least three. The two favoured towns, with a joint population of eighteen thousand, return exactly a quarter of the members sent to parliament by the entire colony, with a population of one hundred and twenty thousand. This also seemed to tend the same way.

From Ipswich I rode across Cunningham Gap, through the range of hills which runs down the whole eastern coast of Australia, dividing the narrow eastern strip of the continent from the wide plains of the interior, staying a night at a station on each foot of the mountains. I am inclined to think that this was the prettiest scenery that I saw in Queensland. The two houses were beautifully situated, and the ride between them was magnificent. In going over the Gap itself we were obliged to dismount and climb; but the climbing was by no means Alpine in its nature,—as *will be understood* when I say that we *drove our horses before us.* Any one who may visit

Queensland as a tourist should certainly pass throu
Cunningham Gap.

At one of these stations a story was told me b
lady which may serve to exemplify the trouble aris
to squatters from the unfortunate aboriginals. She
on another station, belonging to her husband, in one
the back districts, and her husband was away. The o
man about the place was a coolie cook, and this m
was not very manly. She had babies,—or a baby, an
nurse, and so forth. And things being in this conditi
a black man made his way into the lady's kitchen a
there took up his quarters. She asked him to go,
he declined to go, and there he remained,—I forget whet
it was one or two nights. He committed no great violen
but grinned, and demanded food, and gradually m
himself very much at home. "What on earth did
do?" I asked. "My husband had a revolver," she s
"and I walked up to him with it and pointed it at hi
"Well, and what then?" "I did it two or three tim
and he didn't seem to mind it much." "And what nex
"I couldn't bring myself to shoot him, you know,"
said. I quite sympathized with her there, remarking t
it would be difficult to shoot a man who only grin
and asked for food. I went on to ask again what
did do;—for an aboriginal who gets with ease all that
demands is likely in the end to ask for a good deal,
it may be a question whether, after all, the shooting
might not be the least of the possible evils. "I remembere
she said, "that my husband had a sword-stick. I w
and got that, and drew it out before him. When
retreated I ran on at him and pricked him. He did
like it at all, so I pricked him again. When I prick
him the third time he ran away and never came b
any more." It was a happy and in some sort a glor

termination;—but then the lady might have had no sword-stick at her command, or might have lacked the courage to make upon a savage an attack so merciful and yet so persistent.

I was hardly yet upon the Downs, and at these stations under the mountains did not find things all black and brown as I did when I reached the plains, but even here there was a cry for rain, and a feeling that unless rain came soon squatting affairs would begin to "look blue."

Thence I went to the little town of Warwick, which in that part of the world is held to be the perfection of a town. "You will think Warwick very pretty," everybody said to me. I did not think Warwick at all pretty. It is unfinished, parallelogrammic, and monotonous; and the mountains are just too far from it to give it any attraction,—as is also the sluggish Condamine River. It is not so rugged as are many of the towns. And, though here as in other colonial towns the houses are intermittent and every other lot apparently vacant, there has been an eye to decency. But when I am told that such a place is pretty, I do hot know what the speaker means. That it should be clean is creditable; that it should be progressive is satisfactory;—but that it should be ugly is a necessity of its condition. I found Warwick to be clean, and I believe it to be prosperous;—and, which was very much to my purpose, I found in it an excellent inn, kept by one Bugden. And I found there Chang, the great Chinese giant, about to show himself at 2*s.* a head on the evening of my arrival. But I had not come from London to Warwick to see Chang, and I neglected an opportunity which, perhaps, may never occur to *me again.*

From Warwick I got by railway to the first of the

great Darling Down stations, which I visited, and fro
thence went on across country from one to another t
I had visited some six or seven of those which are t
largest and the most renowned. It is not my purpo
to give any description of each, as I could hardly
so without personal references which are always d
tasteful when hospitality has been given and taken.
say that Mr. Smith's house is well-built or his wi
agreeable is almost as great a sin as to declare th
Mr. Jones's wine was bad or his daughter ugly. At
these houses I found a plentiful easy life, full of mater
comfort, informal, abundant, careless, and most unli
life in England. There were two great faults, name
these,—that a man was expected to eat two dinne
every day, and that no credence could be given wh
any hour was named for any future event. Breakfast
eight would simply mean to the stranger, after son
short experience, that the meal would be ready son
time after nine. A start promised for ten is thought
be made very punctually if effected at eleven. As r
gards the evening meal, the second dinner, there is
pretence of any solicitude as to time. There is nothi
to be done after it, and therefore what can it matte
This second dinner differs from the first only in this,
that there is always tea on the table. There is oft
tea also in the middle of the day. But the genero
liver need on that account have no fear at all that
will be debarred from other beverages. In the squatte
house there is always brandy and water within rea
and the teapot, after breakfast, never appears witho
being flanked by the decanter. The products of t
colonies are always dear to the colonial mind, a
sometimes praise is expected for colonial wine which
prejudiced old Englishman feels that he can hardly

ruth. I have also been frowned upon by bright
ecause I could not eat stewed wallabi. Now the
i is a little kangaroo, and to my taste is not nice
even when stewed to the utmost with wine and

nay, perhaps, take this opportunity of saying one
as to colonial character which must be in the
of censure,—though of censure of the mildest
And I beg my friends on the Darling Downs,
this book ever reach so far, to understand that
ference is not made to them, but is altogether
l in its nature. Colonists are usually fond of
dopted homes,—but are at the same time per-
by a certain sense of inferiority which is for the
part very unnecessary. But it exists. Men and
will apologize because they cannot do this or
s it is done in England. But this very feeling
es a reaction which shows itself in boasting of
hey can do. And soon the boast becomes much
than the apology,—and very much more general.
s, however, as does all boasting, from a certain
of inferiority. In the Australian colonies it has
e so common, that the salutary fear of being
ed to boast does not produce that reticence as to
ich is considered to be good manners at home.
re told constantly that colonial meat and colonial
colonial fruit and colonial flour, colonial horses
lonial sport, are better than any meat, wine, fruit,
horses, or sport to be found elsewhere. And this
spreads from things national to things personal;
en boast of their sheep, their cattle, and their
s;—of their riding, their driving, and their prowess.
one man *asserts that he has shot* a hundred and
d horses in a day, it is natural that another man

should have shot two hundred. And so the thing grows, and means perhaps not a great deal. The colonists themselves have a term for it, and call it—"blowing." I met a gentleman who had once shot a bushranger. He had not been in my company five minutes before he had told me,—nor an hour without his mentioning it half-a-dozen times. He always "blows" about that, said a friend who was with me;—and those who heard him thought no more of it than if he bit his nails, or had a trick of stroking his beard. That gentleman always "blew." Now if I was sending a young man to the Australian colonies the last word of advice I should give him would be against this practice. "Dont blow," —I should say to him.

It was a very pleasant life that I led at these stations. I like tobacco and brandy and water, with an easy-chair out on a verandah, and my slippers on my feet. And I like men who are energetic and stand up for themselves and their own properties. I like having horses to ride and kangaroos to hunt, and sheep become quite a fascination to me as a subject of conversation. And I liked that roaming from one house to another,—with a perfect conviction that five minutes would make me intimate with the next batch of strangers. Men are never ashamed of their poverty; nor are they often proud of their wealth. In all country life in Australia there is an absence of any ostentation or striving after effect,—which is delightful. Such as their life is, the squatters share it with you, giving you, as is fitting for a stranger, the best they have to give. Upon the Darling Downs the stations are large and the accommodation plentiful; but I have been on many sheep-runs which *were not so* well found, – at which bedrooms were *scarce, and things* altogether were less well arranged.

ut there is never any shame as to the inferiority, never y pretence at superiority. What there is, is at your rvice. If there be not a whole bedroom for you, there half a bedroom. If there be not wine, there is brandy rum;—if no other meat, there is at least mutton. If house be full, some young man can turn out and to the barracks, or sleep on the verandah. If all the ung men have been turned out the old men can low them. It is a rule of life on a sheep-run that the tion is never so full that another guest need be ned away.

These houses, — stations as they are called, — are lt after a very simple and appropriate fashion. There not often any upper storey. Every room is on the und floor. There is always a verandah, running the gth of the house, and not unfrequently continued nd the ends. The rooms all open out upon the andah, and generally have no communication with h other. The kitchen is invariably a separate build-, usually attached to the house by a covered way. en first building his residence the squatter probably had need for but small accommodation, and has structed his house with perhaps three rooms. Children e come, and guests, and increased demands, and in-ased house-room has been wanted. Another little se has therefore been joined on to the first, and then haps a third added. I have seen an establishment sisting of seven such little houses. Many hours are ed in the verandah, in which old people sit in easy-irs and young men lie about, seeming to find the rds soft enough for luxurious ease. Attached to the ion there is always a second home called the barracks, the cottage, in *which the young* men have their ms. *There are frequently one* or two such young

men attached to a sheep-station, either learning th
business or earning salaries as superintendents. Acco
ing to the terms of intimacy existing, or to the arran
ments made, these men live with the squatter's family
have a separate table of their own. They live a life
plenty, freedom, and hard work, but one which is
surrounded by the comforts which young men requir
home. Two or three share the same room, and
washing apparatus is chiefly supplied by the nei
bouring creek. Tubs are scarce among them,
bathing is almost a rule of life. They are up
generally on horseback by daylight, and spend th
time in riding about after sheep. The general idy
idea of Arcadian shepherd-life, which teaches us to
lieve that Tityrus lies under a beech-tree most of
hours, playing on his reed and "spooning" Phyllis,
very unlike the truth in Australian pastures. Corin
nearer the mark when he tells Touchstone of his gre
hands. It is a life, even for the upper shepherd
gentle birth and sufficient means, of unremitting lab
amidst dust and grease, amidst fleeces and carcas
The working squatter, or the squatter's working assist
must be a man capable of ignoring the delicacies o
soft way of living. He must endure clouds of dust,
be not averse to touch tar and oil, wool and skins.
should be able to catch a sheep and handle him aln
as a nurse does a baby. He should learn to kil
sheep, and wash a sheep, and shear a sheep. He sho
tell a sheep's age by his mouth,—almost by his lo
He should know his breeding, and the quality of
wool. He should be able to muster sheep,—coll
them in together from the vast pastures on which t
feed, and above all he should be able to count th
He must be handy with horses,—doing anything wh

has to be done for himself. He must catch his own horse,—for the horses live on grass, turned out in paddocks,—and saddle him. The animal probably is never shod, never groomed, and is ignorant of corn. And the young man must be able to sit his horse,—which perhaps is more than most young men could do in England, for it may be that the sportive beast will buck with the young man, jumping up into the air with his head between his legs, giving his rider as he does so such a blow by the contraction of his loins as will make any but an Australian young man sore all over for a week, even if he be not made sore for a much longer time by being sent far over the brute's head. This young man on a station must have many accomplishments, much knowledge, great capability; and in return for these things he gets his rations, and perhaps £100 per annum, perhaps £50, and perhaps nothing. But he lives a free, pleasant life in the open air. He has the scolding of many men, which is always pleasant; and nobody scolds him, which is pleasanter. He has plenty, and no care about it. He is never driven to calculate whether he can afford himself a dinner,—as is often done by many young men at home who have dress coats to wear and polished leather boots for happy occasions. He has always a horse to ride, or two or three, if he needs them. His salary is small, but he has nothing to buy,—except moleskin trousers and flannel shirts. He lives in the open air, has a good digestion, and sleeps the sleep of the just. After a time he probably works himself up into some partnership,—and has always before him the hope that the day will come in which he too will be a master squatter.

A sheep has to be born, and washed, and shorn,—the three great operations of a squatter's life consisting

in the lambing, washing, and shearing of his flocks. O the Darling Downs in Queensland the lambs are dropp in August and September. Washing commences September, and the shearing is over not much bef Christmas. I was astonished to find that the practice regard to washing and shearing varied very much different stations, and that very strong opinions we held by the advocates of this or that system;—so th the science of getting wool off the sheep's back in t best condition must be regarded as being even yet its infancy. Many declare that sheep should not washed at all, and that the wool should be shorn " the grease." My opinion will not, I fear, be valu much by the great Queensland squatters, but, such as is, it goes with the non-washers. Presuming that t own outside garniture required to be cleansed, I shou not like to have it done on my back;—and if I kn that it was to be taken off immediately after the ope tion, I should think that to be an additional reason deferring the washing process. There are various mod of washing,—but on the stations which I saw on t Darling Downs the sheep were all "spouted." I w endeavour to explain to the ordinary non-pastoral reac this system of spouting, premising that perhaps so 200,000 sheep have to undergo the process on o station, and at the same set of spouts.

But before we get to the spouting there is a p liminary washing to be undergone, and as to that a there are fierce contests. Shall this preliminary washi be performed with warm or with cold water? And th again there is, so to say, an anti-preliminary washi in vogue, which some call "raining." If I remem *rightly* sheep were "rained on" in Queensland only *those stations* in which warm water was in demand. T

by thirties and forties were driven into long nar-
ens, over which pipes were supported, pierced with
from end to end. Into these pipes water is forced
steam-engine, and pours itself right and left, in the
of rain, over the sheep below. In this way the
is gently saturated with moisture, and then the
are driven out of the pens into long open tanks
with water, just lukewarm. Here they are soaked
few minutes,—and this practice is matter for fierce
among squatters. I have heard a squatter de-
with vehement gesture that he hoped every squatter
be ruined who was mad enough to use warm
at his washpool. I have heard others declare with
vehemence that no wool could be really clean
had not been subjected to the process. For my-
am dead against washing altogether; but if sheep
be washed then I am dead against warm water.
sheep becomes cold after it and chill during the
or four days necessary for drying, and in that
ion of the animal the yolk which is necessary to
cellence of the wool does not rise, and the fleece
taken off, though cleaner than it would otherwise
been, is less rich in its quality and less strong in
re.

ut whether out of tanks with warm water or tanks
old water, the sheep are passed on, one by one,
he hands of the men at the spouts. At one wash-
I saw fourteen spouts at work, with two men at
spout. These twenty-eight men are quite amphi-
for the time, standing up to their middles in a
of running water. But this race is not a natural
. High over their heads are huge iron cisterns
are continually filled by a steam pump, and which
themselves by spouts from the bottom, through

which the water comes with great force,—a force
can of course be moderated by the weight of
thrown in. The water is kept at a certain heig
cording to the force wanted, and falls with the re
weight, in obedience to the law of gravitation,
board between the two rough water-spirits below.
the tanks, of which I have spoken, are high abo
water-spirits, and the sheep are brought out from
on to a small intermediate pen or platform, from
they are dropped one by one down a steep in
trap,—each sheep by a separate trap,—into the
hands of the washers. The fall may be about twe
fifteen feet. Then the animal undergoes the real
of washing,—the bad quarter of an hour of his lif
is turned backwards and forwards under the spou
great violence,—for great violence is necessary,—t
fury of the water shall have driven the dirt fro
fleece. The bad quarter of an hour lasts, at some
pools, half a minute,—at others as long as a minu
a half; and I think I am justified in saying th
sheep does not like it. He goes out of the sp
hands, not into the water, but on to steep board
ranged so as to give him every facility for travelli
to the pen which is to receive him. But I have
sheep so weak with what they have endured
be unable to raise themselves on to their feet. I
at some washpools such was the normal condition
sheep when they came from the spouts. It is imp
that there should not be rough handling. That, a
weight of the water together, prostrates them. T
so much the case that no squatter dares to wa
rams,—the pride of his flock,—for fear of injuring
But, as a rule, sheep are washed in Queensland
this is the fashion of their washing.

There are many arguments in favour of washing
p, of which no doubt the strongest is the fact that
p have been washed before shearing time out of
l. Damætas tells us, that, when the proper time shall
e round, he means to wash all his with his own
l. Then there is this other reason,—no doubt very
g,—that the dirt on a sheep's back weighs nearly
uch as the wool itself, and that, as things are at
nt arranged, all that dirt must be sent home to
and along with the wool, unless the squatter can
imself of it while the fleece is still on the sheep's
. Washed wool from a flock of sheep will on an
ge be about forty-five per cent. lighter than wool
shed,—"greasy wool," as it is always called. As
dirt can be of no use in England, surely it must be
ofitable to send it from a station perhaps three
red miles from the coast down to Brisbane, and
ce round the world to Liverpool at a high rate of
ht! But the one question for the squatter to decide
mply this,—which will pay best. Washing is very
nsive, and the injury done to sheep by the process
nsiderable. Two or three in a thousand are pro-
y drowned. And then, when all is done, the wool
in fact be re-washed,—and is re-cleansed after
more perfect fashion at home in England. My
idea is that the final operation of scouring and
ng, which must I believe go together, may be done
ell at the large Australian towns,—at Brisbane or
ey, Melbourne or Adelaide, — as in England; and
in this way, the dirt need not be carried at any
further than the port. I believe that were the bulk
e colonial produce in wool sent to the ports un-
ed, the one *work of scouring* and sorting would
be accomplished there by skilled labour, and that

the squatter would in the end receive the benefit of the saving effected by a single instead of a double cleansing of his product.

In Queensland the washpool, as at present arranged, is the squatter's great hobby, and next to it his wool-shed. They are generally at some distance from each other,—perhaps seven or eight miles,—for the sheep must have time to dry, and it is well that they should travel a little over the pastures, feeding as they go, as being less likely to become again dirty with their own dust, as they would do if they were left together in large numbers. They are mustered and kept apart with infinite care, as ewes with their lambs must not be shorn with hoggetts, or hoggetts with old wethers. And there are sheep of different breeding and various qualities of wool which must not be mixed. In different flocks the sheep make their way from the washpool to the wool-shed, and then are shorn on about the fourth day. It is essentially necessary that they should be dry, so that rain during the double process is very detrimental to the squatter.

The wool-shed is a large building open on every side, with a high-pitched roof,—all made of wood and very rough. The sheep are driven in either at one end or both, or at three sides, according to the size of the station and the number of sheep to be shorn. They are then assorted into pens, from which the shearers take them on to the board;—two, three, or four shearers selecting their sheep from each pen. The floor, on which the shearers absolutely work, is called "the board." I have seen as few as four or five shearing together, and I have seen as many as seventy-six. I have watched a shearer take the wool off his sheep in five minutes, and I have seen a man occupied nearly fifteen in the

operation. As they are paid by the score or by undred, and not by the day, the great object is to as many as possible. I have known a man to ninety-five in a day. I have heard of a man shear- ne hundred and twenty. From sixty to seventy e taken as a fair day's work. But as rapidity of is so greatly to the workman's interest, and as too a hand either leaves the wool on the sheep's back e cuts skin and fleece together, there is often ersity of opinion between the squatter and the r. "Shear as quick as you can," says the squatter, s very anxious to get his work out of hand;— let me have all my wool,—and let it not be cut meat-fashion, but with its full length of staple;— above all do not mutilate and mangle my poor " But the poor sheep are mutilated and mangled ny a sore wound, and from side to side about the the visitor hears the sound of "Tar." When a has been wounded the shearer calls for tar, and a ith a tar-pot rushes up and daubs the gory wound. shearer has an outside pen of his own to which eep when shorn is demitted, and so the tally is

e shearer does nothing but shear. When one has left his hand he seizes at once another, being areful to select that which will be easiest shorn. eece, when once separated from the animal's back, longer a care to him. Some subordinate picks it d makes away with it, when folded, to the sorter's The sorter is a man of mark, and should be a f skill, who gives himself airs and looks grand. It business to allot the wool to its proper sphere,— ng or *clothing*, *first combing* or second combing, *othing or second clothing*, broken wool, greasy,

ram's-wool, hoggett's-wool, lamb's-wool, and the like. H stands immovable, and does his work with a touch, whi ministers surround him, unfolding and folding, and ca rying the assorted fleeces to their proper bins. But I a told that in England very little is thought of this prima sorting, and that all wools are re-sorted as they a scoured. The squatter, however, says that unless h sorted his wool in his own shed he could not realise good price for a good article.

Then when the wool is sorted it is pressed. Ever wool-shed has its press, in which the bales are mad into the shape that is familiar to the English eye. Th average bale contains about 400 lb., and these are sen away on bullock-drags,—waggons with ten, twelve, o fourteen bullocks, down over bush roads, hundreds o miles, to the seaport at which they are shipped. It is moot question whether the squatter should sell in th colony or in London. If prices be low, he had bette probably send his produce home. If they be high, h had better take the ball at the hop, and realise his mone in the colony.

I have said something before of the men employe at these stations. The ordinary hands,—those kep during the whole year,—are not many, and of them may speak again in what words I shall have to say o the smaller stations in New South Wales. But the gre work of the year on a large run with 200,000 sheep, perhaps even a larger number,—the work of washin and shearing,—demands a crowd of workmen. I foun considerably above a hundred employed by one maste That which strikes an Englishman most forcibly with r gard to these men is, that the squatter is called upon *feed them all.* Rations are given out for them in certai *measured quantities.* These rations vary somewhat, b

nd they were generally as follows. For each
ek:—

Meat	14lb.
Flour	8lb.
Sugar	2lb.
Tea	4lb.

ordinary work of the year the squatter gives as part of the allotted wages. Shearers, how- arged for all that is furnished to them. The ovide everything that the men require,—ex- of which it is expected that there shall be ne used while the shearing is in progress. r keeps in his store tobacco, currants, pickles, shirts, moleskin trousers, shears, coffee,— condiments. These are supplied to the men ed by the squatter,—and so fixed as generally ne little profit. Were it not so, there would n loss. But under this system the squatter shopkeeper, with a monopoly of supply to ons,—and no doubt unfairly high prices may e charged.

aring on the Darling Downs the usual rate is ore. If a man shear seventy sheep, which is linary number, he will earn 11*s.* 8*d.* a day. be that the shearing will be stopped by wet d then he must remain idle. He is bound ct, very strongly worded in the employer's remain till the shearing be done;—and is at the mercy of the squatter. He can be dis- word if the squatter or his superintendent of his style of shearing, and is subject to cer- Rules are fixed up on the shed which he —and if he rebel, he is sent at once from the ve told in a *previous* chapter how one poor *ed himself by means* of his poetical genius.

It is not often, however, that differences arise. Th squatter is very anxious to have his sheep shorn, and re members the old proverb which tells him that the —— he knows is better than the —— he don't know. I wa surprised to find what bad shearing was endured,—bad shearing induced not by want of skill or idleness, but by the rapidity which task-work is sure to produce. The sheep were cut horribly,—as I thought;—and but little was said.

The shearers find their own cook, and pay him *2s. 6d.* a week each. So that, with fifty, sixty, or seventy shearers, the cook would seem to have a good place. But with such a number there must be assistant cooks —found by the master cook; and the men are both particular and impatient. They want hot coffee very early, hot meat for breakfast, messes with vegetables for dinner, hot meat for supper;—and are imperative as to hot plum-buns with their tea. Plums and currants seem to be essential to shearing.

Drink is the great crime;—but I am bound to say that, as far as my observation goes, shearers are not great criminals while at their work. It is expected that they shall drink nothing from the beginning to the end of shearing. Any man known to bring spirits to the station is at once dismissed,—and a man who wanders away to some distant public-house, even when his work for the day is done, is supposed to disobey orders. In England we give men beer at their work, and make no inquiry as to their doings after the close of their labour —being contented that they shall come to their work sober enough to perform it. On sheep-stations, at shearing time, to drink is not only to sin,—but to commit the *one sin that* cannot be forgiven. If they do drink, they *drink spirits.* Beer has not as yet become the beverage

nor wine, as I trust it will do before

receive wages at different rates at dif-
may perhaps say that 3*s*. 9*d*. a day is
ent for men out of the water, and 4*s*. 9*d*.
water. These men have, in addition
ons above named, without payment. I
man's food,—the food that is given to
s the squatter about 5*s*. 6*d*. a week, so
will earn about £1 14*s*. a week. The
s cooked for him by the squatter.
are provided with huts or barracks in
ep. These are fitted up with bunks,—but
gs his own blankets. A shearer will often
m £25 to £30 as his wages after shearing,
as much as £15. But then, alas, comes
drinking! Of this I shall say a word or two
apter.
very pleasant time on the Darling Downs,
he more so because the rigid rule which
the wool-shed and at the washpool in re-
ohol was not held to be imperative at the
ouses. I could hardly understand how a
gentleman could press me to fill my glass
hospitable gentlemen did do very often,—
dilated on the wickedness of a shearer who
nture to think of a glass of rum. I took it all
art, and preached no sermons on that subject.
ne very good kangaroo hunting,—and was sur-
find how well horses could carry me which
every day, eat nothing but grass, and had n
their feet.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sugar. Labour from the South Sea Islands.

Wool is no doubt the staple produce of Queen
as it is of the other colonies; but in Queensland,
to wool, sugar has lately become the most imp
article. It has been found that much of the s
fitted for the growth of the sugar-cane, and that in
districts the climate is equally favourable. The
sugar district is about Port Mackay, north of
hampton, which I did not visit. But the growth
cane, which is a purely agricultural employment
hitherto, all the world over, been joined with th
manufacturing trades of making sugar and distilling
In Cuba, in British Guiana, in the West Indies, a
believe, also in the Mauritius, sugar and rum are a
made by the planter. At first it seemed to be nec
that this should be done also in Queensland, and
fore the growth of cane was impeded by the nec
of a large capital,—or of a crushing debt. Gra
the old idea on this subject is vanishing, and small
—free-selecters and others,—are growing cane fo
to the owners of the mills. Their future succe
failure is a question altogether of labour,—and it
which is now trembling in uncertainty. Queensla
present is supplying itself with labour from the
Sea Islands, and the men employed are called P
sians, or Canakers, or Islanders; but it may be a
tion whether Queensland will be allowed to do so
The philanthropists are hard at work to hinder th
working as they always do with the best intentions,
ing as they so often do in much ignorance.

I may as well go into the question of Sout
Island labour at once,—premising, if I may be a

so, that some years since I ventured to express an
n, exactly similar to that I now entertain, in re-
: to the employment of coolie labour for the
of sugar in Demerara and Trinidad,—which
:s I found on the road to renewed success through
trumentality of a body of imported workmen, who
reated with uniform kindness and care. Then as
ere was a fear in England that these foreigners in
country would become slaves under new bonds,
at a state of things would be produced,—less hor-
ndeed than the slavery of the negroes who were
t into the West Indies by the Spaniards,—but
unjust and equally opposed to the rights and in-
of the men concerned. And it was alleged then
nevolence and good intention on the part of those
ight first institute such an immigration of foreign
rs, would not suffice to protect a crowd of poor
it strangers from the natural greed of the em-
—who would carry on his operations far from
ontrol, far from the eyes of England, altogether
sight of Exeter Hall. They, who so argued, did
l to remember the benevolence, humanity, and
h Christian kindness of the man who was in the
stance responsible for the exportation of the ne-
rom Africa to the West. Las Casas had desired
the poor Indian from some of the horrors of his
oil, and had therefore brought the negro to the
ndies. But the semi-divine Las Casas,—not all
but blind as are men in general to future events,
ed that slavery in the West which has been its
lisgrace, and which the humanity of mankind has
wholly succeeded in abolishing. Is it not, there-
ncumbent on philanthropy in the present age to
no new form of serfdom be introduced,—at any

rate on soil owned by the British Crown,—and to guar with all the eyes of Argus any approaches to th abomination of slavery? That is the argument from th philanthropical side, stated, I trust, fairly,—and that argument I do not pretend to combat. Let us have no slavery in God's name. Be careful. Guard the approaches. Defend the defenceless. Protect the poor ignorant dusky foreigner from the possible rapacity of the sugar-planter. But in doing this, know at any rate what you are doing, and be not led away by a rampant enthusiasm to do evil to all parties. Remember the bear who knocked out his friend's brains with the brickbat when he strove to save him from the fly. An ill-conducted enthusiasm may not only debar Queensland from the labour which she requires, but debar also these poor savages from their best and nearest civilisation. Let philanthropists at any rate look into the matter somewhat closely before they make heavy charges against the Queensland government and the Queensland sugar-growers because they employ Islanders in the colony. If they be in earnest let them send over some one who may learn the truth for them,—some agent or messenger capable of finding out the truth and of telling them without prejudice what are the real facts of this trade.

When I was in Queensland I saw that the attention of the House of Commons at home was drawn to the matter, and that our own Colonial Secretary, if not frightened, was at any rate not quite assured on the subject. It is hard enough for a Colonial Secretary to get accurate information as to facts in a self-governing colony. He applies to the governor, and the governor applies to the executive officers,—and the executive *officers in the colony* are the very men of whose manage*ment or mismanagement* in such an affair as this th

philanthropists at home stand especially in dread. But I observe that the Queensland prime minister, in concluding a report on the subject to the acting-governor of Queensland, on the 12th of April, 1871, makes to the home government the very suggestion which I have made to the philanthropists. "So much misapprehension," he says, "exists in England with reference to the introduction of these Islanders, that I would suggest to your Excellency the desirability of making such representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as would lead to the appointment by the Imperial government of a commission to examine into and report upon the whole subject." This was written in consequence of a representation made to the Colonial Office at home, by certain gentlemen of whom I intend to speak in no mocking sense when I call them philanthropists;—and was grounded on reports made either to them or in the public press by two gentlemen at Brisbane adverse to the system of Polynesian labour. It is not my business to answer these gentlemen, or to impugn their motives, though from personal inquiry I feel sure that their allegations were unfounded. But the philanthropists at home go on to cast a slur on a certain person, one Mr. Raff, the merchant to whom the Islanders were consigned,—and then make the following remark:—"That public opinion in the colony is not altogether favourable to this state of things is proved by the fact, that when a short time since the above-named Mr. George Raff offered himself as a candidate for the representation of East Moreton, a county close to Brisbane, he was defeated on the question of black labour by a large majority." These gentlemen are, I believe, strong Liberals. Some of them are my personal friends and I know them to be so. *What would they say had it* been argued a few years

back that the feeling of the country was then averse to the abolition of the Irish Church, because Mr. Gladstone was beaten by a large majority in Lancashire? We know that Mr. Gladstone was beaten on that very point; but we know also that the feeling of the country was strongly in favour of the abolition of the Established Church in Ireland. There is no merchant in Queensland more thoroughly respected than Mr. Raff. I saw the Islanders on his plantation, and never saw labourers further removed from the hardship of labour. These gentlemen go on to say that the Queensland ministry of the day was favourable to the trade. Did it not occur to them that as the ministry of the day in Queensland, as at home, is appointed in accordance with the sense of an elected house of parliament, that was a much stronger argument towards showing that the colony is "favourable to this state of things,"—than is their argument in the other direction?

I will now describe "the state of things," as clearly as I can, and will explain what I believe to be the cause of opposition to it in the colony. These Polynesians are brought into Queensland in vessels under government superintendence, and in conformity with an act of the Queensland parliament passed with the view of protecting them from the rapacity of merchants and the possible evil of kidnapping by British or colonial captains. There is also attached to every such vessel a government agent. The act of parliament was in full force when the representation was made to which I have alluded; but the appointment of a government agent was since introduced,—introduced for aught I know in consequence of the representation. The act, dated March 8th, 1868, is *long and will* hardly bear quotation; but all the clauses *are arranged so* as to protect the Polynesian labourer,—

otect him specially in his act of emigration from —and to insure that justice shall be done to him is arrival in Queensland. His clothes and diet d ship are prescribed, his clothes and diet during ojourn with his master are fixed; his wages are and the means of return at the end of three years' in the colony, without cost to himself, are insured . He is to have,—

DIET.

Beef or mutton	1 lb. daily
Bread or flour	1 lb. ,,
Molasses or sugar	5 oz. ,,
Vegetables	2 lb. ,,
or rice 4 oz., or maize meal 8 oz.	
Tobacco	1½ oz. weekly
Salt	2 oz. ,,
Soap	4 oz. ,,

CLOTHING.

Shirts	2 yearly.
Trousers	2 ,,
Hat	1 ,,
Blankets (a pair)	1 ,,

e is to be provided with residence and medical nce. He can be transferred from one employer ther, but not without the sanction of the govern- He cannot be moved out of the colony till the ion of the three years without his own consent at of the governor. He cannot be punished other- an by appeal to a magisterial bench,—in which would be dealt with as would be any other per- cused of breaking the law. At the end of the ears he receives wages at the rate of £6 per ;—or £18 in all. This must be paid to him in and this he invariably lays out in the purchase les which he takes back with him to the islands, , calico, cloth, small pieces of furniture, boxes, nts, and the like. *In considering* the amount of *wages the master will bear* in mind that the man

has been fed, housed, and clothed, and that the wage represent his savings.

I have seen these men working under various master and at various employments. No doubt their importance to Queensland mainly attaches to the growth and manufacture of sugar; but they are also engaged on wharves about the towns, in meat-preserving establishments, in some instances as shepherds, and occasionally as domestic servants. I have told how I was rowed up the river Mary by a crew of these islanders. They are always clean, and bright, and pleasant to be seen. They work well, but they know their own position and importance. I never saw one ill-used. I never heard of any such ill-usage. The question to my mind is whether they are not fostered too closely,—wrapped up too warmly in the lambswool of government protection. Their dietary is one which an English rural labourer may well envy,—as he might also, if he knew it, the general immunity from the crushing cares of toil which these young savages enjoy.

But I am unaware that any serious complaint has been made either by the English philanthropists or by their informants, the colonists, as to the treatment which these men receive in Queensland. The charge is that they are kidnapped,—taken on board the vessels from the islands surreptitiously,—and that they are ill-treated on the journey; that the horrors of the middle passage,—as we used to call it when we spoke of the sufferings of the poor Africans,—are in some sort repeated. As regards the immigration into Queensland I believe the charge to be substantially without foundation. The vessels are worked under government surveillance, and every vessel employed in the trade is now accompanied by a government agent.

I annex, at the risk of being tedious, a copy of the instructions issued to these agents,—not asserting that such a document will find favour with the general reader, but anxious to make known to those who will interest themselves in the matter, the real facts of the case.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNMENT AGENTS APPOINTED TO ACCOMPANY VESSELS EMPLOYED IN CARRYING LABOURERS BETWEEN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS AND QUEENSLAND.

1. You are now furnished with particular instructions in reference to the duties which are required by the Government of Queensland from agents appointed for purposes in connection with Polynesian immigration.

2. You are especially to observe that the position in which you are placed as agent will render you responsible to the Queensland Government *alone*. In any instance where the master or officers of a vessel may interfere with you in the performance of your duty, while carrying out the instructions herein contained, it will be your duty to report the same to the Colonial Secretary.

3. The position occupied by you, as Government Agent, towards the master and officers and other servants of the owners of the vessel, is one which will require the exercise of much discretion. You will guard against any interference in the exercise of your duties. You will take care that no oppression or unkindness is practised towards the Polynesians placed under your protection, and that the requirements of the 16th and 17th sections of "The Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868," in reference to the number of passengers and the accommodation to be provided for them, are strictly carried out.

4. It will be your duty, during the voyage, to see that the full allowance of water and provisions is fairly and regularly served out, daily, to each adult, in the proportions required by the 19th and 20th sections of the Act, and that medicines are supplied when required.

5. On taking charge of labourers who are returning to their native islands, after the expiration of their term of service, you will be furnished with a list of their names, of their property, and of the islands to which they belong. You will muster the islanders on embarkation, and hand a certified list to the Immigration Agent or Assistant Immigration Agent, at the port of departure. You will be careful to see that the labourers are duly landed, with their property, at their respective islands, and you will furnish a certificate to that effect, with a copy of the list before-mentioned, to the Immigration Agent or Assistant Immigration Agent, on your return to Queensland, for the purpose of record in the Immigration Office.

6. On arrival at the islands, and whilst engaged in recruiting labourers, you will see that proper precaution is taken to prevent any wrong-doing, and that a friendly relation is maintained between the islanders and those on board the recruiting vessel.

7. No engagement is to be entered into with any Polynesian labourer except in your presence and with your sanction.

8. It will be your duty to explain to each labourer the conditions of the engagement, and to satisfy yourself that they are understood by him before you allow the engagement to be concluded.

9. You will be most careful in seeing that no coercion, undue influence, unfair play, false representation, or treachery of any kind, is employed in procuring labourers, and that *perfect freedom of action* is allowed to those open to engagement.

10. You will be required to make a careful inspection of all labourers previous

to their engagement, with a view to ascertain their condition of health. In all cases where the men are apparently suffering from diseases of the chest or lungs, or are either maimed, halt, blind, deaf, dumb, idiotic, insane, or infirm, no engagement is to be authorised by you.

11. On the engagement of the labourers, you will take care that the following articles of clothing are supplied to each on going on board ship:—one flannel shirt, one pair of trowsers, and one blanket.

12. You will be required to keep a log, in which daily occurrences as well as all observations that may be useful for the information of the Queensland Government, must be regularly entered. All cases of irregularity, or of interference with you in your duties, are also to be carefully recorded in the log, which must be delivered to the Immigration Agent, or Assistant Immigrant Agent, on your arrival at port.

13. All forms in connection with your duty as agent must be carefully filled up and ready for inspection when the ship arrives at port.

14. You will carefully consider and make yourself acquainted with all the provisions of "The Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868," a copy of which is furnished for your guidance.

15. In conclusion, you are directed to endeavour, while strictly enforcing compliance with these regulations, to exercise your authority with such discrimination and courtesy as may be suitable to the circumstances of the case. At the same time, it is essential that you should exercise that authority with the greatest firmness, not permitting any laxity in the observance of the rules laid down, but insisting upon their strictest observance.

The law as to the treatment of the men passed in 1868 is not changed by these instructions,—which were first issued I think in 1871; but the appointment of an agent to accompany the vessel is no doubt a salutary safeguard. I could not, however, learn that previous to this latter order islanders had been kidnapped for Queensland, though accusations to that effect are rife. The English philanthropists add to their memorial a postscript containing a statement from a gentleman at Melbourne that islanders have been kidnapped and taken to Fiji. I believe that this has been done;—but as neither the islands from which the Polynesian emigrants are brought, nor the Fiji Islands, are as yet even under British protectorate, neither Great Britain nor her colonies can be held to be responsible for the evil. The gentleman from Melbourne takes upon himself to say,—and what he says is quoted in this postscript,—that "the *position which* the British government has allowed itself *to drift into*, through the erroneous and mischievous

tion taken in Queensland, is positively humiliating,"—
d then conclude with some remark about "men calling
emselves Englishmen." But Queensland has nothing
do with Fiji, and has taken no mischievous action,—
action which I maintain to be much the reverse of
chievous.* The British government has drifted no-
ere, and men calling themselves Englishmen have had
hing to do with the matter. The words I have quoted
uld not be worth reprinting—would be mere buncombe,
were it not that they were adopted by a set of gentle-
n in England who are entitled to all respect, and who
ed upon the Secretary of State for his interference,
unding their appeal upon these statements.

No doubt the entire colony of Queensland is not in
our of Polynesian labour. It may be, and probably

* In 1869 there arose a case, supposed at the time to be very prejudicial to
ueensland, in regard to the "Daphne," a vessel which was about to proceed
the islands to Brisbane with a body of these men, under an American captain,
which was seized by Captain Palmer, R.N., of H.M.S. *Rosario*, and taken
Sydney. The captain of the "Daphne" was charged with kidnapping, but
agistrates of New South Wales would not commit him. The question of the
e of the vessel was then tried in the Admiralty Court, before Sir A. Stephen,
hief Justice, and judgment given in favour of the vessel. Captain Palmer
complained bitterly that justice had not been done. And yet the evidence
was all in favour of the captain of the "Daphne." I mention the case in
that I may quote the words of the Chief Justice, who, in consequence of the
aints of Captain Palmer, found himself called upon to write to Lord Bel-
the Governor of New South Wales, on the subject:—

"I have no doubt whatever that there have been instances (and in the course
rs, many instances) of unscrupulous acts by the officers or the crews of
esian trading vessels; and I earnestly trust that ere long the assaulting of a
esian, and his detention against his will on board any such vessel, or in any
Polynesian waters, may be made felony, and that the vessel itself may be
ted to forfeiture, or at least seizure, and the payment of all the costs of pro-
on of the offender. But I protest against the system of exaggeration and
ale denunciation in which so many of the missionaries and other good men
indulged, or to which they lend ready and credulous ears on the subject of
esian labour. And I regret deeply to find that Captain Palmer has been led
excess of zeal and impulse to calumniate, as he has so unsparingly done,
whose feelings of humanity, and love of justice, and hatred of wrong, are
as warm as his own."

His letter was dated 2nd September, 1871. It is for the sake of the protest
missionary exaggeration, *coming from the pen of* a man known to be wise,
ruthful, *and philanthropic, that I ask the attention* of my readers to the quota-

has been the case, that Mr. Raff lost his seat fo
Moreton by opposition raised on this ground. B
opposition did not spring from the causes which
work with the English philanthropists. With th
sole object is to prevent a possible return to som
of slavery, and the ill-usage of a certain number
fellow men. No one charges them with other n
or believes them to be actuated by other than the
feelings. But the motives and feelings which ha
duced the opposition to which they have adher
other than theirs. Protection of white labour is th
of that opposition to which Mr. Raff was indeb
the loss of his seat in the Queensland Assembl
Queensland, as elsewhere throughout the worl
political questions which most strongly stir the m
men are those which refer to the joint employn
labour and capital. The white man in Queensla
can now earn 15*s.* or 20*s.* a week and his food
like to earn 25*s.* or 30*s.*—in which desire all th
will sympathise with him. And he believes t
desire may be best accomplished by preventing
of cheaper labour than his own. In this belief,
the efforts to which it gives rise, the world will n
pathise with him. The belief is as erroneous
efforts are vicious. It is in some sort a repetition
infantine political economy which many years
duced rural labourers in England to destroy th
machines and burn out the farmers who used th
is not necessary for me now to adduce argum
show that the greater the products of the colo
more general will be the aggregate prosperity
colonists. The white labourer in Queensland,
not a good political economist, does believe that
labour than his own is injurious to himself, an

esires to keep the Polynesians away. He does not tand that the very business in which he is allowed n 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* a day would not exist,—could not ried on,—without another class of labour at the 2*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* a day. He therefore becomes quite lous in the cause as the philanthropist at home; in his zeal hates the shining Polynesian, whom s, with a warmth greater even than that which the thropist throws into his love for his unseen man rother. There are a pair of hands, and a supple and a willing spirit, and a ready brain to be had a day,—underselling the white man's labour after ion most nefarious to the white labourer's imagi- ! How can this crushing evil be avoided? Are no means by which good labour at 2*s.* a day may de impossible,—a thing not to be obtained in the of Queensland? Then the white labourer, with nct intelligence on the subject, hears something of ilanthropical friends at Exeter Hall, and begins to hat there may be common cause between them. labour in the colony may be protected from Hall, though Exeter Hall itself has no such inten- The white labourer soon finds a go-between,— omes into communication with some gentleman, s for his vote, who can make statements to the thropists at home. Under such circumstances it ot be strange to the mind of the ordinary English ian that Mr. Raff should lose his seat in the As- ,—especially when the ordinary politician remem- hat almost every white labourer possesses a vote. may be taken for granted that the sole object in nd on the part of those who object to the emigra- Polynesians *to Queensland is* to save the islanders *uffering and oppression. It is* said of these island-

ers that as they cannot understand English,—and as they speak various languages among themselves, in regard to which it is impossible for us to send interpreters who shall understand them all,—therefore they cannot understand the contracts made with them. That they understand the verbal niceties of these contracts no one can imagine. Their contracts to them are very much the same as are our legal documents to most of us at home. We sign them, however, because from various concurrent causes, we believe them to be conducive to our advantage,—not because we understand them. We trust the person who asks for our signature; and, though we know that there is sometimes deceit and consequent misfortune, we believe that the chances are in our favour. Experience has taught us to trust. These islanders are in precisely the same condition. Those who go to Queensland for three years are sent back to these islands with their hands full, in good health, and with reports of a life far better than that which Providence has given them at home. It is on the reports of these men that new contracts are now made,—and it is by the experience thus gained that they who have served for one term of three years are induced to return for another term.

In 1867, when the late Lord Derby was in power, there was some correspondence between the Admiralty and the Colonial Office at home on this subject. "My lords," said some Admiralty secretary, "believe that these islanders are incapable of understanding the nature of a written contract with an employer, or that any of them would knowingly and willingly engage themselves to work far from their own country at all, or at any place near their own home, for more than a few months. My *lords are also* strongly impressed with the belief that *whatever regulations* may be made for the well-being and

of these people on their being brought nominally
the reach of the laws and tribunals of Queens-
o proper and efficient control can ever be exer-
ver the manner in which these people are obtained
ced on board ship." Then my lords express their
esolution. "Entertaining these views my lords
ble to concur in any recommendation with regard
ing an act of the colonial legislature for the
on of the introduction of these people into the
"

re is not a word said here that might not be said
ual force as to the emigration of Irishmen under
nent surveillance from the British Isles to the
colonies,—except in this, that in regard to the
shman there is seldom any contract insuring him
nd food and wages immediately on his arrival.
ere any such contract he would not understand
better than the islander,—who does in fact know
ll what the contract insures him. Why should
ernment surveillance on a Queensland vessel pre-
usage, as does government surveillance on a ship
from Cork. With us also, at home, it has been
y that such surveillance should exist. A certain
is prescribed; a certain number of cubic feet of
or every emigrant is made imperative; morals,
and comfort have been taken in hand in the
re,—because without such interference these
ere but insufficiently regarded. So it has been
nsland. The interference of our legislature was
l;—and why not the interference of the Queens-
islature? At any rate let us have some evidence
as proved to be ineffectual, before we put for-
r Secretaries of State to declare that it is im-
that such interference should avail, and that the

government of one of our colonies is either ineff
and impotent, or else fraudulent and false in its prete
action. I will here quote a few words from the judg
given by Chief Justice Stephen, of New South Wale
the case of the Daphne, in November 1869, "In Qu
land the legislature has commendably placed this ki
trading, as far as it within their jurisdiction, under
stringent regulations."

According to "my lords" these islanders will
willingly engage themselves to work away from h
As they have no work at home, my lords believe t
fore that they will never engage themselves to wo
all; or in other words that they are ineradicably sa
as is the poor Australian aboriginal,—our friend B
for instance, who so willingly went to prison whe
lost his pouch and could not get a bit of tobacco.
the very reverse is the fact as regards them. Civilis
is within their reach,—in spite of their island h
their dusky colour, their various languages, and old
nibal propensities,—because they will work, and
anxious to gather to themselves and to keep the
of their labour. They are unlike the Australian
original,—or even the African negro, who is indiffere
the fruits of work as long as he can enjoy the pr
moment; but they are like the Chinese and the I
coolies, who know the comforts conferred and the
given by accumulated possessions,—and who are
fore capable of receiving the blessings of civilisatio

Work with fair wages has done infinitely mo
civilise, and even to christianise, the so-called s
races than has the energy of missionaries. Lesso
religion, even though they are accepted with gr
and mastered with zeal, do not suffice to teach th
tice of morality to men incapable of a desire

cumulating property by their own labour. The savage, who is inexorably savage, will sing psalms with almost an ecstasy of delight;—but he will steal and drink and revel in his favourite vices almost as he sings them. He will not join the psalm in any degree with the idea that the Power which he professes to praise should be obeyed. He does not put two and two together. He makes no attempt to see the reason of the thing. He never calculates, and therefore he will not work. But here is a race of men who do calculate, and who will work,—and who by work may be civilised. The Islanders who are brought to Queensland all return,—and not a man of them returns without taking with him lessons of civilisation. On the planters' grounds in Queensland they learn each other's languages, they have to live as white men live, they have to cook, to sow, to dig, to plant and hoe canes, to clothe themselves and to be proud of their clothes,—and they learn that continued work does produce accumulated property. These lessons they take back to the islands,—and then they send their friends and return themselves, and so they are gradually being brought within the pale of civilisation. But this is to be stopped, if the philanthropists be allowed to have their way, because there have been spread abroad stories that men have been kidnapped in the islands. "If not kindnapped for Queensland itself," say the philanthropists, "they have been kidnapped and taken to Tahiti, kidnapped and taken to Fiji. Let Queensland, even if she be pure herself, have nothing to do with a trade which may connect her, even though it may only be by idea, with the foul crime of man-stealing." Then they expatiate on the greed of merchants who want to make money out of the very bone and sinews of other men. To my intelligence, such as it is

there is no argument in all this. If good be done both to Queensland and to the islands by a system of emigration from the islands, it should not be stopped because evil is done by another system elsewhere. And as for that denunciation of the greed of merchants, it is worse than vain. To make money out of the bones and sinews of other men is the natural and serviceable desire of the employer of labour. I only wish that the English farmer could be constrained to treat his labourer, out of whose bones and sinews he makes money, with half the care that is used towards the happy Polynesian who is allowed to escape from the savage slavery of his island to the plenty and protected task-work of a Queensland sugar plantation.

I know that it will be thought by some of my readers that I hold a brief for the Queensland government and the Queensland sugar-grower. I know myself that I am warm in my dislike to the interference in the circulation of labour by uninformed philanthropists,—even though I know the philanthropists to be the very best of men,—and that that very warmth will be taken as evidence against me. I profess that I hold no brief;—that I am actuated solely by a desire to speak the truth as I think that I saw it. But I do not expect men at home to think as I think in this matter. I do not call upon them to see with my eyes. But I refer again to the words quoted before from a letter written by the Queensland minister and no doubt sent home by the Queensland governor. Let some one, some one or two, be sent out to inquire into the matter,—men whose statements will be received *in England with* confidence,—so that it may be known *whether the emigration* from the islands be wholesome *and civilising in its* nature, or unwholesome, unchristian *and cruel. If it be the former*, will it not be a pity

should be closed the best market that has been
o them for their labour?
igh the white man be jealous of cheap labour
islands, hoeing canes within the tropics is not
yment which he likes for himself, and the best
ound of Queensland is north of the tropical line.
igar is grown south of the line, in the Mary-
district for instance, and in East Moreton,—
seat for which county poor Mr. Raff was ex-
thereby affording so conclusive an argument to
lemen at home;—and sugar is grown also in
listricts in New South Wales. But if Australian
er compete in the markets of the world with
m Demerara, Cuba, and Mauritius, it will be
l in North Queensland. Both soil and climate
itious, and the district, though hot, is healthy.
land in the best localities is already becoming
nd dear;—for sugar can never be profitably
ithout easy means of transit from the cane fields

place. The exodus of the Chinese is probably as
hardly more than commenced. But without import
labour I doubt whether Queensland sugar can be grow

I found the cost to the sugar-planter of these Po
nesians to be about £75 per head for the whole term
three years,—which was divided as follows:—

Journey out and back (which is always paid for by the employer of the man)	£15
Average cost of getting the man up to the station	3
Wages for three years	18
Rations (3*s.* 9*d.* a week, say for three years)	32
Blankets, clothes, &c.	6
For lost time by illness, &c. (say)	3
	£75

This amounts to nearly 10*s.* a week for the enti
time. The average wages of a white man on a pla
tation may be taken at about 25*s.* a week, includi
rations. I was told by more than one sugar-grower th
two islanders were worth three white men among t
canes.

As yet the produce of the colony about supplies t
colony. Some sugar is exported to New South Wal
Some sugar is imported from the Mauritius;—the expo
and imports being about equal. The retail price is fr
3½*d.* to 4½*d.* a pound according to quality. Should t
trade go on and flourish it must be made prosperous
supplying markets beyond the bounds of Queenslan
and to the Englishman who has not studied the colon
it would appear natural that the desired market shou
be found in New South Wales, Victoria, and So
Australia. The Englishman who has not studied t
colonies can hardly bring himself to understand th
Australia is not one whole,—that there is as much di
culty in commercial communication between Brisb
and Melbourne as there is between Liverpool and
York,—infinitely more than in that between Londo

e. These colonies lay duties on each other at se rates. Tasmania charges 6*s.* a cwt. on imported sugar, Victoria 3*s.* a cwt. New South Wales 5*s.*, Zealand 1*d.* a lb. or 9*s.* 4*d.* a cwt. So that sugar Queensland has no preference in the other colonies sugar from the Mauritius. Nor under the existing of the British law as it affects the colonies could preference be given. New South Wales, for in- e, may decide for herself whether she will admit free, or whether she will raise a custom duty upon nport; but she cannot take Queensland sugar free efuse to take sugar free from other sugar-growing tries. As the colonies at present stand in reference ch other,—with the existing feeling of jealousy, and ionally almost of hostility,—with a condition of in which a minister in one colony speaks in his ment of another as a "friendly colony," in the in which our ministers at home call this or that a "friendly country," or an "allied country," lay- tress on the alliance, when we know that we are on rink of war with that country,—with these mutual ies and almost antipathies, this British law, tending does to the separation of Australian interests, has ry strong immediate effect. The colonies are de- ned to be separate. Australia is a term that finds sponse in the patriotic feeling of any Australian. are Victorians, or Queenslanders, or men of New Wales; and each is not at present unwilling to the pleasure of taxing the other. But this will to an end sooner or later. The name of Australia e dearer if *not greater to* Australian ears than the *of Great Britain, and* then the produce of the land *s free throughout* the land.

CHAPTER IX.

Government.

THE system of government is very nearly t
in all the Australian colonies, though the system
tics in vogue may vary considerably. Protectio
present moment is rife in Victoria, but is not i
in Queensland. In Queensland the interests
squatters prevail; but in Victoria the squatters ar
the ascendant. In Queensland the ministers and
generally are inclined to be submissive to the
Office at home, with an inclination to hang upon
advice, and to maintain English influences. In
on the other hand, the Colonial Office in Downin
is not highly respected, and the politicians of
are inclined to think that they can best "padd
own canoe." These are political differences, de
on the leading men of the hour, and on the
circumstances of the colony at the moment.
forms of legislative and executive administration ar
identical,—as much so, I think, as they are in
ferent States of the American Union.

Kings, Lords, and Commons, prevail in the
as they do at home,—with some variations
governor enacts the office of king, but he does s
political responsibility which does not attach to th
with us. At home the royal veto has become o
The sovereign and the ministry of the day mus
sarily be in accord. If the ministers differ from
ment on any matter of moment, they go out o
and another set of men comes in, supported by ma
By such a system there can be no need of a v
the parliament which submits its bills to the cro
trols the ministers which advise the crown.

colony, — even in a colony with representative institutions,—the working is different. The colonial ministers no doubt advise the governor in council; but he is subject to instructions from home. And the legislative powers of the colonies are limited in certain directions. No law is to be passed contrary to the spirit of the laws of England. The governor, therefore, does exercise a temporary veto not unfrequently,—submitting the matter home for decision. In Queensland not long since the ministers of the day proposed a law by which paper money would have become inconvertible, and would have been substituted for gold as the legal tender of the country. The governor refused his acquiescence, and was supported by the Colonial Office at home. In this way the colonies are preserved from crude legislation, which would be the certain and natural result of inexperience in statecraft. In saying this I by no means intend to cast a slur on colonial ministers, or to imply that inefficient men have been chosen for high offices. I certainly make no such charge in regard to Queensland. But it cannot be expected that a colony with a population of 120,000 souls should be able to produce a ministry skilled at all points in questions of government and finance. Among such a population the minister chosen will usually be a gentleman intent on his own profession, —whatever that may be; whose education and chances in life have made him a lawyer, a merchant, or a squatter. Such a man finds himself suddenly in parliament, and almost as suddenly a minister of state,—a colonial secretary or prime minister,—or perhaps a colonial treasurer or chancellor of the exchequer,—backed by a majority in parliament, and enabled therefore, as far as the colonial parliament *is concerned*, to carry his own measures. *His inexperience is* brought face to face with

the inexperience of a small chamber,—just as the experience of a minister with us is encountered by the experience of a very large chamber. Though the interests of the colony are comparatively small,—because the numbers are small,—the benefits or injuries which may be the result of good or bad legislation will be as great to the few, as they are to the many in crowded communities. It is by no means wonderful that it should appear expedient to six or seven gentlemen in Queensland that inconvertible paper should be the safest circulating medium for the colonists; but it would be highly prejudicial to the colony that such a question should be left to the unassisted wisdom of these six or seven gentlemen,—and perhaps altogether ruinous. It may be that each of these six or seven should be superior in all good gifts, in eloquence, patriotism, and natural sense, to any secretary of state at home. It is by no means to be supposed that a minister of state in England must be superior to a minister in Queensland, because the one is an Englishman and the other a colonist. But the concrete wisdom of thirty million people is greater than that of a hundred and twenty thousand, and the experience of ages of legislation is needed to control the newness and rawness of a parliament that has existed but for a few years.

This probably is the strongest existing reason for maintaining the present dependent condition of the Australian colonies. There are other reasons, all strong against immediate change;—the possible need of protection in case of attack, which protection we should give with more heartiness and certainty to a colony than to an ally;—the absence of any Australian feeling between *the colonies of* a nature strong enough to bind them *into one whole;*—the doubt which would be felt both at

e and in the colonies as to the form of government e selected; the general dislike to a republic and the culties which stand in the way of the establishment of onarchy,—all these objections are valid against that of immediate independence which is not without upporters in England. But strongest among them the necessary inexperience of colonial statesmen. need for guidance and control is that of the youth is no longer a boy but is not as yet quite a man. ay be better educated than his father, of a higher ect, of finer aspirations, giving promise of almost inian improvement in his descent;—but he cannot usted to go quite alone till he has been taught by ience that paper, without gold to back it, will not supply his necessities,—till he shall have learned nd other worldly lessons which will not come simply high intellect and fine aspirations.

The governor, with his instructions from home, and ower of reserving new laws till they shall have been itted to the judgment of the minister at home, enacts art of king. He is assisted by an executive council hich he is the president, and which consists of his sters. The premier is the vice-president, and has, k, always in Queensland filled the office of colonial tary. This council is the counterpart of our cabinet, m which it differs simply in this, that the governor a part in its deliberations. It is, I presume, com- t for the sovereign to do so at home. Some years we learned that Prince Albert did attend cabinet cils on behalf of her Majesty. But it is supposed me that no such duty is attached to the crown, and think,—as many thought then,—that this practice an innovation *and dangerous.* In the colonies it is *of the governor's work,* and it must therefore be

presumed that he expresses an opinion as to wha
or shall not be done. It must, however, be pr
also that his opinion has less weight than that of
his cabinet.

In Queensland there are, as a rule, six ex
ministers. During my visit to the colony there
seventh member of the cabinet, who held, howe
office and received no salary. Of these six th
stitution requires that only one shall be in the
chamber,—or legislative council. The other fi
supposed to find seats for themselves in the lower
or legislative assembly,—though there is nothing
Constitution to make this imperative. There is
nial secretary,—who seems to combine all duties
do not naturally fall to the lot of his brethren;—
nial treasurer; a chancellor of the exchequer; a m
for works and gold-fields; a minister for lands;
master-general; and an attorney-general. These
men exercise the patronage of the colony among
and are much belied if they do not regard that
being equal in importance to any that is confi
them. Patronage is indeed one of the greatest cu
the colonies. The public is never a very goo
master. In no country are fortunes to be made
public service,—unless such be done by the mini
a despot. But there is always a craving for
salaries,—even though these salaries be hardly su
to give bread and meat. In the United States the
servants are among the most needy of the citize
Washington the clerks attached to the public offi
barely exist on their pay. But in the United Sta
demand for office is so great that expectant pre
are required to come to terms as to the manipula
patronage before they are assured of the support

ties. I regret to say that the same greed for public
ce is growing up in the colonies,—even in a colony
new as Queensland. A minister must make sure of
seat, and constituents demand their share of the
nder,—as they do also not unfrequently elsewhere.
Our House of Lords is represented in the colonies
the legislative council, which consists of twenty-one
nbers. These are nominated by the governor for life,
governor being of course subject in this matter to
advice of his ministers. The nomination therefore
ctically rests with the premier. With us at home there
very general feeling that the power and influence of
House of Lords is on the wane in regard to political
on. Our Lords can of course throw out bills, and
do throw out bills very often. But we have taught
elves to believe that they should not throw out any
as to which the country shows itself to be in earnest
ve three or four times at the furthest. They are
umed to be compressible after a certain amount of
tance, and are supposed to be allowed to hold their
tion by reason of their compressibility. The legis-
e council in an Australian parliament is intended to
ndowed with similar privileges and similar feebleness.
ir sittings are short and uninteresting, but the cham-
in which they are held is imposing and comfortable.
copy of the home institution is very faithful,—with
exception of course of the hereditary element. As
members hold their seats for life, many of them are
ourse old, and as the age of the colony advances
will become older. Nothing can be more respect-
and well-behaved than an Australian legislative coun-
nd I believe that among legislative councils none is
r behaved *than that of Queensland*. But the feeble-
is there. It is at any rate supposed to be there.

When you are told that a gentleman has been nor to the upper house, it is intended that you should stand that he has been laid honourably on the sh is, however, competent to him to come down fr shelf and again to enter upon the arena of true p action,—a privilege which is altogether denied to bers of the upper house with us.

The arena for political action is the legislat sembly, in which ministers with their friends sit right of the Speaker, and the opposition on the le a great table between them, and benches bel gangway,—just as we have it at home. When I Queensland the House consisted of thirty-two m but it was then in contemplation to add twelve number. I had no opportunity of being preser debate, as a general election was going on whil in the colony, and the new House had not as when I left it. A majority of six was prepared port the government,—which had, I was informe solved the House with a majority of one. I rea past debates and was not astonished to find th siderable latitude was allowed in the use of ve language. Such is always the case in a small c in which the united common sense of the whole sufficiently extended to repress the temporary one or two. Since I left Queensland a most discre scene has taken place in the House,—of such a that its repetition would be most injurious to the One honourable member, in the heat of deba *after* dinner, plucked another honourable mem *the beard,—and* then ran away. It is fair, howe *add that he* was driven to resign his seat, and *re-elected.* The proceedings have, however, *been orderly* in Queensland, and creditab

colony. Men have been got together anxious for the welfare of the colony,—who have acted with greater legislative discretion than a just expectation could have hoped to obtain from so small a population thinly spread over so immense an area. There must always be danger that a parliament selected from a few scattered inhabitants will fail in achieving the work of its constituencies or in gaining the respect of the world at large; and the smaller the number, the greater will be the danger. At first there were but twenty-six members in the Queensland Assembly. There is nothing in the corporate strength of such a chamber to control the energy of the would-be orator; it has no traditions of its own by which to regulate its practice; it feels itself to be but a little copy of a great institution, and is half ashamed of its own pretensions. It may so easily become rowdy, while decorum is so difficult! It is felt that the majesty with which our parliament at home is invested should be copied, but that it can hardly be copied without absurdity! Queensland began her self-government with about 20,000 souls,—and it must be admitted that there was danger. But the Queensland Assembly has not been distinguished for rowdiness among colonial parliaments, and has held up its head, and done its work, and attained that respect without which a parliament must be worthless.

In Queensland the system which regulates a man's capacity to vote for a member of the legislative assembly is certainly not democratic. Every man aged twenty-one can vote, provided that he is possessed of one of *the following qualifications*,—which qualification, *however, must appertain to the* district or town in regard *which the vote is to be given*. He must have resided

for six months. He must then possess some one of the following positions:—

Own a freehold, worth £100 above encumbrances.
Occupy a tenement worth £10 per annum.
Hold a lease of £10 per annum, of which three years are still to run, or of which three years have already run.
Hold a pastoral licence.
Enjoy a salary of £100 per annum.
Pay £40 per annum for board and lodging.
Or pay £10 for lodging only.

By this law the nomad tribes of wandering labourers,—or of wandering beggars, as many of them may be more properly described—are excluded from the registers.

It cannot be said that this young colony has shown any tendency to run headlong into the tempting dangers of democracy. It would appear that the prevailing feelings of the people lie altogether in the other direction. As I have said, I fear more than once before, the squatters are the aristocracy of the country, and I found that a cabinet with seven members contained six squatters. The general election which took place while I was there supported this ministry by a majority of six in a House of thirty-two members, giving nineteen on one side to thirteen on the other. This would be equal to a majority of one hundred and twenty in a House of six hundred and forty,—a result which would with us be taken as showing the sense of the country very plainly. At home, in England, we are inclined to regard the institutions of our Australian colonies as being essentially democratic,—as showing almost republican propensities. In this, I think, we are mistaken,—certainly as regards Queensland. Among the working population outside the towns political feeling is not strong in any direction. Men care little about politics,

ot connecting this or that set of ministers with the important subject of wages. In some districts a ain amount of zeal has been aroused against cheap ur,—and here and there an election may have been ed by the feeling of white men in that direction. opposition to squatters comes of course from the as,—and chiefly from the metropolis. But it cannot described as being strong or enthusiastic, and is fly due to the ambition of men who, sitting on the hand of the Speaker, are filled with a natural desire it on the right. I am inclined to report as my ion that politics in Queensland are very quiet, reas the loyalty to the Crown is very strong.

Nothing strikes a visitor to the colony more forcibly the desire to hold government place. I myself ld certainly not have expected that this would be among a young population, eager for independence, whose energy unlimited acres are open, and among om it cannot be said that the professions and pur- s of commerce are overcrowded. The government is not excessively liberal, and the positions when ed do not seem to be very enviable. Four or five dred a year is a paradise of government promotion, which but very few can hope to attain. But the g when seen from a distance allures by its certainty, nd I fear also by a conviction that the "government ke" may be a light stroke of work. In colonial ance the government stroke is that light and easy le of labour,—perhaps that semblance of labour,— ch no other master will endure, though government rced to put up with it. With us the government *e has happily taken quite* another phase. It is to *oped that it may gradually* be made to do so in *lonies. That the longing* for government employ-

ment, with the cringing and threats and back-door interest necessary to obtain it, should be made to cease also, is more perhaps than can be at once expected.

CHAPTER X.

Labour.

In the preceding pages I have already spoken frequently of the rates of wages in Queensland but the condition of the labourer cannot be judged simply from the wages he may earn. In Queensland they are high,—so high as to be very tempting to the would-be English emigrant; but the emigrant should learn more than the current rate of wages before he resolves that he will attempt to make himself happy in a new country. As our colonies are chiefly serviceable to us and to the world as offering fields in which labour may make men prosperous and happy, it is essential that something should be known on this matter. After all, democratic institutions, form of government, ballot, responsible ministers, and the like, are but flea-bites on the great body of the people. They are talked about, and seen, and known,—and are apt subjects for enthusiastic conversation; but when one gets half an inch below the surface, one finds that questions of politics are but of little interest. It is not the political shoe which pinches,—at any rate, in the colonies. How much can a man earn, and with what smallest amount of labour;—and what privileges may a man enjoy while he is earning it? And with what smallest amount of capital can a man settle himself on the soil and live, so that he shall be his own master and owe no obedience to any one? And if a *man shall* venture so to settle himself and be *independent* with some smallest imaginable capital,—£2 10*s*.

we will say, as the first payment on forty acres of selected agricultural land, and £7 10*s.* to build a hut with, &c.,—what probability is there that he may be able to live honestly and pay further annual instalments. And if not honestly,—then must he starve, or will any other way be open to him? And, in living, what will be the nature of his life? The labourer here at home has certainly a hard time. His lines have not fallen to him in pleasant places. The farmer's labourer, the carter, ploughman, or hedger and ditcher, with 11*s.* a week, and a wife and four children, must often wonder at the inequality of things, and, if he be imaginative, be tempted into strange thoughts as to God's doings. He has as yet been able to defend his labour by no trades' union, to influence the farmer by no fear of a strike in the parish, and has been powerless to demand more than sufficient bread to keep body and soul together. He is only now making the attempt, urged to do so by eloquence of outside friends. He is not imaginative, and is too apt to bear his fardel patiently. He hears nothing of Queensland or other colonies,—unless by some special chance in his favour,—and knows no better than to have his body and soul kept together for him. An author would do something useful who could get at him, at him and at his boys as they rise in the world, and tell them what would really befall them if, through friends, or by colonial bounty, or State aid, or by personal industry, they, or any one of them—could manage to be landed on the shores of Queensland.

I take it that plenty to eat is, all the world over, the first desire of man and woman. When a man has plenty to eat as a matter of course,—when his food comes to him as does the *air which he breathes*,—he is apt to think that his own first desires are of a sublimer nature;

but any accident in the supplies for twenty-four hours will teach the truth on this subject to the most high-minded. I can imagine that a leg of mutton looms as large to an Essex delver and is as glorious a future, as a seat in parliament to a young barrister. There are legs of mutton, if only it might be possible to get at one! Let the delver get to Queensland and he will at any rate have legs of mutton. Meat three times a day is the normal condition of the Queensland labourer. In the colony mutton may be worth three halfpence per pound, or perhaps twopence; but of the price the labourer takes no heed. He is provided as a matter of course with rations,—fourteen pounds of meat a week is the ordinary allowance for a labourer in Queensland,—and, as regards food for himself, he is called upon to take no thought of the morrow, any more than if he were a babe. Fourteen pounds of meat, eight pounds of flour, two pounds of sugar, and a quarter of a pound of tea are allotted to him weekly. This in England would cost, at the lowest price, something over 12*s.* a week,—more than the labourer can earn altogether,—and this the labourer in Queensland enjoys as a matter of course before he comes to the question of wages.

I may, however, as well declare at once that the all but divine happiness of such a state of existence,—as it will appear to the delver at home,—seems very soon to lose its brilliance in the eyes of the man when he is in Queensland. He has hardly eaten a few hundred pounds of colonial mutton, has not been on rations six months, before he has forgotten entirely that he was ever short of supply in the matter of animal food. The Irishman who has come from the unchanging perpetuity of potatoes to a plethora of meat, teaches himself to believe within twelve months that he never sat down to dinner

me without a beefsteak or a roast fowl. I came to
le dispute once with a working man at Rockhampton.
ou knew what it was," he said, "to have to eat
on three times a day, day after day, week after week,
h after month, you would not come here and tell us
we ought to be contented with our condition." Look-
at the matter in his light, I see that he has some
e on his side. I told him, jeering at him ill-naturedly,
if he would give up one meal a day, he would lessen
orrow by at least a third;—but I saw that I was not
ded as having the best of the argument. I would
therefore that the would-be emigrating English
urer should understand that when he gets his meat
enty it will not be to him a blessing so unalloyed
now thinks it. Alas, is it not the same with all
ings? What is there for which we toil and sigh, which
gained does not become to us like mutton served
e daily? The seat in parliament, the beautiful young
even accumulated wealth, all pall upon us; and we
im, as did my labouring friend at Rockhampton,—
ou too had to eat this mutton three times a day you
d not think your condition so blessed."

But there is the blessing,—such as it is. The man
works in Queensland is at any rate sufficiently fed.
man who works at home is too often very insuf-
ntly fed. I am of opinion that the English labourer
ing at the question from his point of view will make
of that Rockhampton objection which, nevertheless,
ve felt it to be my duty to lay before him. The
question is this;—will the immigrating labourer ar-
g at Queensland find himself sure of labour to suit
? Is it fairly certain that he will fall into one of
e places, with all the *mutton and* flour and sugar and
It is at any rate all but certain that he will have

no such success unless he be a man who can really work. The old, the idle, the reckless, and the soft-handed will only come to worse grief in a colony than the grief which they will leave behind them. I am speaking now of intending emigrants who purpose to reach the colony without money in their pockets;—and while so speaking I will say at once that the chances in any Australian colony are very bad both for men and women who go thither with some vague idea of earning bread by their education or their wits. The would-be government clerk, the would-be governess, the would-be schoolmaster, lawyer, storekeeper, or the like, has no more probable opening to him in an Australian town than he has in London or in Liverpool. Such a one may possibly prosper in Brisbane or elsewhere; but the would-be government clerk will probably find himself after some months of hardship a shepherd in the bush,—a condition than which nothing in humanity short of starvation can be more wretched; and the would-be governess will find herself vainly striving to fulfil the duties of a nursery-maid, should she even succeed in getting food and shelter with such intention.

But the young man with sinews and horny hands—the man who is young enough to adapt himself to new labour,—will certainly find occupation. He is worth his rations, and high wages beyond his rations. On the subject of wages he will probably find himself contesting points with employers of labour. Cheap labour, cheap at any rate labour as cheap as possible, is in Queensland as much regarded as elsewhere. The various industrial enterprises of the country are dependent on it. In the matter of sugar it has been already stated that cane cannot hardly be grown successfully with white labour. *Timber*-sawing, meat-preserving, in the working of *reefs*, at sheep-washing and sheep-shearing, the

wages to be paid is all-important; and no doubt an effort is continually being made to reduce them. But I rarely found that a white man's labour could be had for less than 15*s.* a week in addition to his rations. At meat-preserving and sugar establishments men earn from 15*s.* to 20*s.* a week. Washers at sheep-stations earn about 4*s.* a day. Shearers will earn, according to their skill and strength, from 7*s.* to 14*s.* a day, paying, however, for their own rations. These two last employments are only to be had during the last four months of the year. Shepherds on a sheep-run are paid from £30 to £40 per annum, and their rations;—but the life is a life of absolute solitude and of almost continued inaction, and ends very frequently in madness or drunkenness. In various cases I have found that these men have taken up strong Calvinistic ideas in religion,—teaching themselves in their solitary wanderings to believe that they will assuredly be damned. They live in huts by themselves, going out in the morning with their flocks, bringing them back in the evening to the enclosure or yard by which the hut is surrounded. But this miserable occupation is becoming less and less common daily, as the squatters perceive that they can fence in their paddocks at less expense than they can maintain shepherds,—and that by such a system sheep can feed both day and night. It is impossible to watch the shepherds, and it has often been found that eight o'clock in the morning has still seen the sheep confined within their yards. But the paddocks cannot be left unwatched, and men are employed who are called boundary-riders,—whose duty it is to know all the circumstances, each of his own paddock. A paddock may contain from six to twelve thousand acres. An area therefore four miles *square, containing* sixteen square *miles, does not make a very large* paddock. This boundary-

rider will receive probably £45 per annum and his rations. He will also have the use of a horse. The wages of mechanics do not seem to be much higher than those in England,—not so, at least, in proportion to the difference found in rural or semi-rural employment. Carpenters and masons in small towns earn from 6*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* a day,—without rations,—the lower being the more common rate of the two. Gardeners and grooms, when men get employment in such occupations, receive about 20*s.* a week and rations. Maid-servants in the towns are paid 10*s.* a week,—being hired almost invariably for the short term, and not, as with us, by the month.

If we may take 17*s.* 6*d.* as the average money wages of a labouring man, he will receive in the year something over £45, besides his food. It must be understood also that in most of the occupations specified shelter is afforded;—a place, that is, in which to cook, to sleep, and to eat. The man brings his own blankets, but he has a bunk on which he can lie, and the use of a hut. If, therefore, a man be unmarried and really careful, he can very quickly save enough money to enable himself to start as a buyer of land. I now presume myself to be addressing some young English labourer; and the young English labourer is doubtless certain that, when the circumstances described become his own, he will be prudent. I hope he may. There is no reason whatever why he should not. Those among whom he works will respect and even like him the better for it,—and those for whom he works will of course do so. He will have every facility for saving his money, which will be paid to him in comparatively large sums, by cheques. Perhaps he will do so. *I am bound to* tell him that I have my doubts about it. *I shall very* much respect him if he does; but, judging

from the habits of others of his class, and from the experience of those who know the colony, I think that he will take his cheque to a public-house, give it to the publican, get drunk, and remain so till the publican tells him that the cheque has been consumed. The publican will probably let him eat and drink for a fortnight, and will then turn him out penniless, to begin again. He will begin again, and repeat the same folly time after time, till he will teach himself to think that it is the normal condition of his life.

A Queensland gentleman told me the story of a certain shearer who had shorn for him year after year, and had always gone through the same process of "knocking down his cheque," as the work is technically called. He liked the man, and on one occasion remonstrated with him as he handed him the paper, explaining to him the madness of the proceeding. Would he not on that occasion be content to get drunk only on a portion of his money, and put the remainder into a savings-bank? No;—the man said that when he had earned his money he liked to feel that he could do what he pleased with it. So he took his cheque,—and started for the nearest town. On the following day he returned,—to the astonishment of his employer, who knew that the knocking down of so substantial a cheque should have occupied perhaps three weeks,—and told his story. Having a little silver in his pocket, and having thought much of what had been said to him, he had "planted" his cheque when he found himself near the town. In the language of the colonies, to plant a thing is to hide it. He had planted his cheque, and gone on to the publican with his silver. To set to work to get drunk was a matter of course. He did get drunk,—but the *publican seemed to* have had some doubt *as to the propriety of supplying* him freely. Why had

not the man brought out his cheque in the usual manly way at once, instead of paying with loose silver for a few "nobblers" for himself and the company? The publican put him to bed drunk,—stretching him out on some bunk or board in the customary hospitable manner; but he had his suspicions. Could it be that his old friend should have no cheque after shearing? It behoved him, at any rate, to know. The knocking down of an imaginary cheque would be dreadful to the publican. So the publican stripped him and examined all his clothing, looked into his boots, and felt well through the possible secrets of every garment. The man, though drunk, and drugged, was not so drunk or drugged but what he knew and understood the proceeding. He had not paid enough for a sufficient amount of drugs and liquor to make him absolutely senseless. The cheque had been securely planted, and nothing was found. On the next morning he was turned out ignominiously by the justly-indignant owner of the house; but in the tree by the roadside he found his cheque, and returned with it to the station a wiser and a better man.

And yet I do not say that the Queensland labourers are drunkards. I call a man a drunkard who is habitually drunk,—not him who gets drunk once or twice a year, though the drunkenness on those special occasions be ever so vigorous. These men at their work are almost invariably sober. The sheds or establishments at which they are employed are often far from any place at which drink can be bought, and from their employers they can get none. During their work they are not allowed to drink. In this respect they are under a restraint quite unintelligible to the ordinary English labourer. For *weeks and weeks* they go on, drinking nothing but tea. *The pint of beer* which is the Englishman's heaven is an

unknown institution in the colonies. This sobriety, whether enforced or voluntary, during the period of employment has become so much a thing of course, that it is expected and is matter of no complaint. They smoke much tobacco, drink much tea, eat much mutton,—and work very hard. Then comes the short holiday, in which they knock down their cheques and live like brutes.

It must be allowed that the nature of the lives which these men live offers some excuse for their folly. During these periods of work they herd together like sailors on board a ship. Their home is at the wool-shed, or on the station, or somewhere about the establishment. They are, as it were, always subject to discipline, as are sailors and schoolboys;—and, like sailors and schoolboys, when they shake off their discipline they are "wild for a spree." There is no other spree open to the man but such as the publican can give him. He finds himself with a large sum of money in his hand,—which is all his own, and he is determined to have whatever enjoyment he can obtain. He has been debarred from liquor, perhaps, for months, during which he has felt himself to be little better than a slave. Now he is free. For what has he toiled with unremitting labour and rigid enforced sobriety if he may not enjoy his freedom? So he knocks down his cheque; and then he begins again.

Of course there are varieties in the life. The man may have a wife who will restrain him, or a wife whom he will neglect, or a wife who can help in knocking down cheques. The married men generally do best, and are restrained, caring for their wives and children. When a man has obtained for himself a fixed home,—perhaps a homestead with a bit *of land,—he* returns thither in*stead of to a wonted drinking-shop.* But the evil which

I have described is so general, as to make it necessar that the would-be emigrant should know the temptation which he will encounter. We are often told in Englan that drink is the bane of the Australian colonies;—and as we know well the constancy of the habit with those of our own population who are given to beer or gin,—the bi-weekly or perhaps nightly attendance at the liquor shop,—we are induced to believe that the same vice prevails in the same form but with aggravated force in Australia. Speaking, not of the towns, but of the country, I think that this is not the case. Australian drunkenness is not of the English type. It is more reckless, more extravagant, more riotous,—to the imagination of the man infinitely more magnificent;—but it is less enduring and certainly upon the whole less debasing.

The man, even if he have no wife, need not make himself a fool and a beast. The young would-be emigrant whom I am addressing will, at any rate resolve that he will never knock down his cheque. He has my best wishes with him in that resolution, and my assurance that if he will keep it, he will certainly save money. He is to earn wages at the rate of £45 per annum over and above his food, and, if he be unmarried, he will be at no expense for house-rent or fuel while he is employed. He must clothe himself and furnish himself with a pair of blankets. The rest of his money he may save. In three years, provided he be gifted with that power of abstaining from drink altogether which my young friend intends to exercise, he will find himself the owner of £75 or £80, even after he have maintained himself for some weeks in each year, during which he may probably have been looking for fresh employment. What shall he *do with his* £75 so that he may be a happy and prosperous man?

Nothing but a strong conviction on my part that I shall never again be in Australia, never again meet those friendly squatters at whose tables I have sat, whose hospitality I have enjoyed, with whom I have discussed these matters, and whose hatred of the free-selecter I understand and appreciate, emboldens me to tell this young man that his best opening in colonial life is to buy a bit of land. I live in the hope that at home I may yet meet many a squatter whom I have known in the colonies;—but I shall meet them one at a time, and may hope to be able to endure any attack that may be made on me. "And you,—after all that you have seen," —the squatter would say,—"after all that we have told you, after the pains we have been at to give you colonial experience and make you know the truth,—you recommend this young man to buy land, to become a farmer on soil which will produce no farmer's crop, to place himself where he must necessarily hate and be hated, to become a cattle-stealer in order that he may live, and to bring up his children to be cattle-stealers after his example! You understand the colonies! You are ignorant of the colonies as are all Englishmen,—those who stay at home equally with those who come out here for awhile and then go back crammed with folly and falsehood by interested persons."

There is something admirable, or at least enviable, in the rock-fast conviction of men, the leading principles of whose lives have been formed by the combined strength of education, custom, and interest. It is so with the Australian squatter, who does not feel more sure that he himself will be injured by the operation of the free-selecter than that the free-selecter himself will be ruined by it. The squatter *produces wool*, and knows that wool *is the staple produce of the colonies*. To his thinking,

success in wool means Australian greatness, and any drawback on that success, Australian misfortune. Any laws which may interfere with his pastoral and almost patriarchal views of life seem to him to emanate from democracy and the devil. He gets into parliament himself,—going up to Brisbane if he be a Queenslander,—at great personal inconvenience, feeling but little personal ambition as to his seat,—only that he may check the making of such laws. He knows that there must and will be land-laws in his colony, having the same melancholy certainty in the success of democracy and the devil as that which pervades the mind of an English Tory. He will even frame the land-law himself,—the very land-law which is to give power to the free-selecter,—as the Tory in England has framed laws for extended suffrage and the like. The English Tory when he is among his friends does not scruple to declare his hatred for the work of his own hands. In parliament it is necessary to be conciliatory, ready to yield, and almost submissive;—but in private life every one knows of course that these changes are the work of democracy and the devil. It is really the same with the Australian Tory, as with his cousin at home. There must be land-laws, and the law must throw open the squatter's run to the rapacity of the free-selecter;—but not the less is the free-selecter an abomination and a curse. Personally, I love a squatter. I like to hear his grievances and to sympathize with them. I can make myself at home with him;—and can talk to him of his sheep more comfortably than I can to a miner of his gold, or a merchant of his dealings. But on principle I take the part of the free-selecter. When the young man shall have got together his £75, my advice to him is to lay it out in the purchase of land;—a small part of it in purchase, so

that the remainder may be applied to building and improvement.

As to the cattle-stealing,—at any rate it is not a necessity. That cattle-stealing and sheep-stealing are common practices, is undoubtedly true; and the squatter is generally the victim, while the free-selecter is as generally the thief. The herds and flocks are so large, and are so far removed from inspection, that such theft is easy. A beast is slain on the run, and skinned, and, if the skin be taken away or hidden, or burned, is hardly missed. The cattle are known by brands,—for in Australia everything is branded, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats; but no owner knows his cattle as farmers with us know theirs, by the personal appearance of the animals. If a brand can be altered, the animal may be driven away and sold. If that be too dangerous it is killed and skinned. A great deal is done in cattle-stealing, but I look on the assertion that free-selecters are as a rule cattle-stealers, as monstrous. And it is monstrous also to suggest that a man should not purchase a tract of land, lest he should become a cattle-stealer under stress of circumstances.

In that assertion that the free-selecting farmer can grow nothing for which he can find a ready market, there is more reliable truth. In speaking of Queensland it must be acknowledged that the free-selecter finds it difficult to get ready money for the fruits of his labour. Wheat he cannot produce. It will fail twice with him for once that it will thrive. The alternation of wet weather and dry weather is not sufficiently certain, and the periods of drought or flood are too long for the growth of wheat. I do not know that sugar and wheat have ever thriven in close neighbourhood with each other. He can grow *maize, or Indian corn* as we call it; and as horses

n Queensland, when corn-fed at all, are fed upon maize, here is a sale for it; but the farmer selling it will probably find himself driven to truck it for tea, sugar, or other stores. In the neighbourhood of Ipswich, some five-and-twenty miles from Brisbane, the farmer may grow cotton,—for which there is a ready sale. But in truth for the present the Queensland free-selecter, if he follow my advice, will not attempt to earn his bread by selling the produce of his land. He will not at any rate regard that as the sole means or mainstay of his existence. He will build for himself a house and will gradually clear and fence his land. He will keep a few cows and poultry, and will supply himself and his family from his own farm. Then during a period of the year he will work for wages,—and will bring his cheque home with him when the work is done.

In five years or in ten, according to the mode of selection which the intending purchaser may adopt, he will be a freeholder;—but during these five or ten years he will have all the fixity of tenure in his land which belongs to a freehold. He will have learned before h makes his selection the manner in which this is to b done, and will have learned much also of the nature the land to be selected. The system under which he w select is fully explained in an appendix to this volu (Appen. Vol. I., No. 1,) in which an extract is given fr a Digest of the Queensland Crown Lands Alienation of 1868. To the ordinary reader this will probably h no interest, but it may be of service to those who about to emigrate themselves, or who are recommen others to do so. It will show the intending purch that two modes of purchase are open to him, under *of which* he may purchase as small a farm as *acres*, or as large a tract of land as 10,880 acres.

the forty acres he will have to pay 15*s.* an acre, but will have ten years in which to pay it,—so that he will be called upon for no more than £3 per annum, and at the end of ten years the land will be his own, if he have complied with the required conditions as to improvements. But the man whom I am now addressing will probably choose the other system,—and will buy what is called a homestead. In making this purchase he will find personal residence to be enjoined,—but personal residence will be his intention. By this system he can buy forty acres, or any number of acres not exceeding eighty, of so-called agricultural land. And for this he must pay 9*d.* an acre for five years,—3*s.* 9*d.* an acre altogether,—and then the land will be his own, to do with it as he pleases.

The terms certainly do not seem to be hard. If the ambitious would-be freeholder desire to become master of the full amount allowed,—the eighty acres of agricultural land,—he will have to pay but £3 per annum as rent in advance, and will have to pay that only for five years! It is very alluring to the would-be freeholder. Let him not, however, suppose that because the land which he will buy is described as "agricultural," that he will find hedges and ditches, furrows and headlands, and the like. The land will be land just as nature has produced it, but it will be land which on survey shall be declared to be fit for agricultural purposes.

There is perhaps no feeling stronger in the mind of man than the desire to own a morsel of land. In England efforts which have been made to enable the working man to become the owner even of the house in which he lives have hardly as yet met with much success. In the first place the price of land is too high, and in the second place the earnings of the working man are too

low. In many cases in which the thing has been tried the creation of parliamentary voters has been the real object, and the possession of the freehold in the hands of the inhabitant has been no more than nominal. In England if a working man become a freeholder, he can hardly be free on his freehold. He cannot possess himself of the absolute property unencumbered by debt. If he feel the passion strong he must indulge it on some new-found soil, where the old forest still stands, where a man's work is as yet worth more than many acres. I do not know that he can do it anywhere on much better terms than in Queensland;—but he must understand that the land is cheap because the struggle required to make it useful is severe.

The labourer who can live and save his money, who can refrain from knocking down his cheque, may no doubt in Queensland become the real lord of all around him and dwell on his own land in actual independence. As far as I have seen the lives of such men, they never want for food,—are never without abundance of food. Meat and tea and bread they always have in their houses. The houses themselves are often rough,—sheds at first made of bark till the free-selecter can with his own hands put up some stronger and more endurable edifice; but they are never so squalid as are many of our cottages at home. For a labouring man, such as I have described, life in Queensland is infinitely better than life at home. It is sometimes very rough, and must sometimes be very solitary. And Queensland is very hot. But there is plenty to eat and drink;—work is well remunerated;—and the working man, if he can refrain from drink, may hold his own in Queensland, and may enjoy as much independence as is given to any man in this world.

Before, however, I have quite done with this matter,

t refer the would-be emigrant to the statements in the second chapter of this volume respecting ation to Queensland generally. It is there shown -emigration from Queensland has been so common, the year 1869 Queensland lost not only all those ad come to her in that year from the British Isles, 7 souls over and beyond that number. The natural ent to be deduced from this would be that men to Queensland find that they do not like the colony. truth the late Queensland Emigration Acts caused odus by their own excessive liberality. These acts high for emigrants, that men purposing to settle w South Wales or New Zealand found that they best make their way to these colonies by accepting ueensland bounty.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

CHAPTER XI.

Feasts, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Steamboats.

On the 29th of September I left Brisbane for Sydney, going south from Queensland to New South Wales,—so as to accommodate myself to the heat. I may, however, say here once for all that I found Australian heat to be a bugbear,—of which no Englishman fresh from England need be afraid. I remained in New South Wales on this occasion till the middle of December, and encountered no weather in which I could not take exercise. I had been especially warned as to the hot winds of Sydney, having been told both in Victoria and Queensland that of all effects of weather in the colonies the hot winds of New South Wales were the worst. They ought to blow in December, coming from the north-west over the central deserts of Australia, bringing with them all the heats of those vast plains. But they did not come when I was there; and people in Sydney,—though they fear the heat, —seemed to lament that the hot winds of the present were not like the old hot winds. Folk were not scorched now as they used to be scorched,—nor suffocated, nor forced to shut themselves up in dark rooms with every window closed lest the enemy should enter,—as they were wont to do in the good old times twenty years ago. Such *was the* tone of the wailing which prevailed. Early in *January I* certainly did find it very hot in Victoria, but

he heat was intermittent, lasting only for a few days; nd though I am told that the mercury rose occasionally o 90° in the shade, I was not seriously oppressed by it. And I may add to this that Australian musquitoes, of which I had heard much and which I feared greatly, were never quite so venomous to me as musquitoes have been in other countries, nor are they in force for so large a proportion of the year. The musquito of Australia is a poor, impotent, and contemptible creature as compared, for instance, with the musquito of the United States. If a man wants to find his master,—a master whom he cannot evade or subdue, a tyrant under whose lash he will have to quail with a sense of unceasing inferiority and trembling subjection,—let him remain in Washington through the month of July. Then the horn of the animal will be to him as the trumpets of ten thousand coming foes, against whom no struggles, no defence can avail aught. Night and day he will be as Job was, till all his manhood will depart from him. And afterwards, if he survive, he will think of himself as of one who has gone through worse than an Egyptian plague. He will be justified in no such feeling in reference to the Australian musquito, whom I declare to be comparatively a poor creature entitled to but little attention. So much,—as a traveller recording his experience, I feel bound to say, because the animal has succeeded in acquiring some reputation. To write a book about Australia and make no allusion to the musquito would be improper.

And I may as well say here as elsewhere that I do not think very much of Australian snakes. The black snake, with its female the brown snake, and the death-adder,—as a certain dull-coloured lethargic creature is called,—are no doubt venomous, *to the death*;—but they are not *obtrusive*. *They attack only* when they find them-

selves unable to escape, and are not numerous as I h
been taught to expect. The yellow snake,—so call
from its yellow belly,—is equally poisonous, but equa
scarce and pacific. I assisted in killing one fine fell
about ten feet long;—but he was a carpet snake, and
abject and innocent as a frog. The diamond snake is
believe, the same as the carpet snake.

Australia is altogether deficient in sensational w
beasts. The iguana is perhaps the most startling in
pearance. He is a huge lizard, with a huge body and
very fat tail. I saw one shot which was five feet
length, and which weighed I should think over twe
pounds. They are said to be as good as chickens;
I never ate one or came across any one who had d
so. They live among trees, and are often to be s
upon the branches. The opossum,—"up a gum-tree,"
where he is always to be found,—seems to be the m
persevering aboriginal inhabitant of the country.
does not recede before civilisation, but addicts hims
to young cabbages, and is a nuisance. As the bla
die out there is no one to eat him, and he is proli
He sleeps soundly, and is very easy to kill with a
that will set him,—for the hollow, half dead, crumbl
gum-trees are full of him. But there is no fun in kill
him, for he neither fights nor runs away. The kanga
is so well known,—as are also the wallabi and pad
melon, which seem to be kangaroos in a state of dw
dling nature,—that but little need be said about th
here. That they run only on two legs and carry th
young in pouches every child has learned from his p
ture-books. Of the manner of hunting the kangaroo I
speak in another chapter. They are still very numer
in many parts of the country. I have come upon her
in which hundreds have been congregated together;

but they are more frequently met by threes and fours. In some districts they are increasing in number, because there are no longer black men to eat them. The dingo or wild dog is the squatter's direct enemy. He comes down by night from holes in the hills or out of dense scrubs, and destroys the lambs and drives the sheep. The squatter attempts to rid himself of the dingo by poison, and consequently strychnine is as common in a squatter's house as castor oil in a nursery. On many large runs carts are continually being taken round with baits to be set on the paths of the dingo. In smaller establishments the squatter or his head man goes about with strychnine in his pocket and lumps of meat tied up in a handkerchief. Hence it comes to pass that the use of a shepherd's dog is impossible, unless he be muzzled. But the dingo likes lamb better than bait, and the squatters sometimes are broken-hearted.

There are no lions, tigers, or leopards in Australia; nor pumas or ounces;—not even a monkey. The cockatoos and parrakeets are to the eye of an Englishman,—especially in Queensland, where they are very common,—the most foreign-looking of Australian animals, after he has become used to the jumping kangaroo. The sounds from the birds too are very different from those of English birds,—much less melodious, but clearer, louder, and more continuous, and sometimes very melancholy. That of the laughing jack-ass,—an ugly, healthy, ubiquitous brute of a bird,—is the most common. I have heard it much abused, but I learned to like it, and to feel that there was something friendly and familiar about the animal. Its proper name is the gigantic kingfisher. It is also called the settler's clock;—and by the aboriginals, gogobera, that being to the black man's ear the sound of the animal's voice. The bell-bird and the

magpie are also to be heard,—the latter in some parts of Australia very continuously. The magpie is in no respect akin to the bird which stole the cardinal's ring. It is much larger and has a loud clear note, which was to my ear full of melancholy. The lyre bird is a beautiful creature, which however I never saw near enough to recognise its beauty.

It is impossible to omit all mention of the emu in a book on Australia. They are now becoming very rare, even on pastoral ground many miles from the sea-coast. I have been taken out emu-hunting, but I never saw a wild emu. I was told that it takes a very good, fast, and lasting horse to run an emu down, especially as the poor bird in its last struggle makes its fastest running. They do not attempt to aid themselves with their wings, but toddle along with their long legs, keeping ever a straight line. I do not shoot myself, but am able to say that there are birds to be shot,—snipe, very much like our own snipe except in regard to flavour, wild ducks, pigeons and brush turkeys. The ducks, and the turkeys, and the pigeons are all good enough for table purposes to help to make up a banquet; but they are dry and flavourless in comparison with European and with some American birds. I must here declare that some of the Australian fish are very good indeed, especially the whiting at Melbourne. There is a fish too at Rockhampton called the Burra Mundi,—I hope I spell the name rightly,—which is very commendable; as is also the trumpeter at Hobarts town in Tasmania. I did not myself care much for the Murray cod, a fresh-water fish found in the Murray and its tributaries, which enjoys a very high reputation in Australia.

It is strange but undoubtedly the fact that animal *brought from* Europe and acclimatized in Australia, an

already thrusting out the aboriginal creatures of the country. The emus are nearly gone. The kangaroos are departing to make way for sheep. Sparrows have become numerous. The wild bee of the country is not nearly so common as the much more generous and busier bee from Europe,—with which the bush many miles from the coast is already so plentifully filled that honey is a customary delicacy with all the settlers. The rabbit has become so great a plague in Victoria and parts of Tasmania that squatters in some localities are spending thousands with the hope of exterminating them. One gentleman informed me that he himself had expended over £15,000 in subduing the rabbits on his own run. But the herds of wild cattle and wild horses,—all of course from imported stock,—which roam at will over the pastures of distant squatters, afford perhaps the most remarkable evidence of Australian fecundity. It is by no means an uncommon thing for a squatter to drive in four or five hundred wild horses, to yards prepared for the purpose, and there to slaughter them. If any of them be branded, thereby showing that they are not in truth wild, but are or have been the property of some individual, the brands are advertised and the horses pounded;—so that the owner may recover them on paying the expense. This at least is what should be done. It is I fancy generally found easier to shoot them and to destroy the skin,—so that no testimony may be left as to the brand. The skins and hair of those which are really wild are sold, and the carcases are destroyed. Now and again a wild horse may be found as to which it is decided that he shall be kept, and broken in, and used. The value of the animal, however, seldom pays for the trouble and cost. They are very pretty to look at as they *are seen scouring over the plain* or rushing into the

thick scrub; they are sleek and bright-eyed, well furnishe with mane and tail; and they go with a free action; bu they are not often well made or fit for use, having al most always poor shoulders, with straight limbs, an narrow chests. They are already becoming a pest to th squatter, destroying his fences, eating his grass, and en ticing his own horses out of the horse paddock. The work of running them in is not bad sport; but they who do it must be well-mounted, and the doing of it is utterly destructive to the horses ridden.

Having begun with musquitoes I have allowed my self to be carried away into animal life generally,—a sub ject of which I know nothing. It was impossible, however, not to say something of snakes, emus, and wild horses; and now the subject may be dismissed from these pages.

The mode of journeying from one colony to another in Australia is almost always by sea;—and indeed in a great measure from one part of a colony to another part of the same. The inhabited portion of the Australian world consists of the eastern and southern coasts, with a belt of land varying in breadth,—and a population ever becoming thinner as the breadth is increased. The capitals, Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne, are seaports —and Adelaide has a seaport, Port Adelaide, within seven miles. The same is to be said of many of the secondary towns. There is communication by coach from Brisbane to Sydney, from Sydney to Melbourne and from Melbourne to Adelaide, supplemented in each case by the use of small detached railways;—but no one travels in this fashion between any of those towns. There are steamers plying twice or thrice a week, and thus the journeys are made. The greater number of these boats belong to the A. S. N.,—as the Australian traveller soon *learns to call* the firm of the Australian Steam Naviga

tion Company. These steamers run from King George's Sound in Western Australia,—which is regarded by the other Australian colonies as the Ultima Thule of the colonial world,—round by Adelaide, to Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, and thence up the coast of Queensland to Maryborough, Rockhampton, and Cleveland Bay. They carry the mails, and form the recognised mode of transit. In all these colonies there are railways, except in Western Australia. Those of Queensland I have mentioned, and I shall have to mention those of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia. But in no instance does a railway run from the capital of one colony to that of another. There seems to be a feeling that were this done the intimacy would be too great. Sydney might run away with the trade of Brisbane, and Melbourne might destroy Sydney. The Australian railways are therefore bits of railways, giving a help here and there to the traveller who has to make his way inwards from the sea, bringing down wool and carrying back stores, but in no case joining together the great towns. And in connection with the railways there are coaches,—Cobb's coaches as they are called, though there is no longer a Cobb in the colonies,—carrying mails and passengers into remote districts;—carrying mails and passengers to towns on the routes between the capitals. But travellers from one capital to another almost always use the steamers.

I had already made four voyages under the auspices of the A. S. N. Company, and I found the boats to be fairly comfortable when not crowded,—but wretchedly uncomfortable when full. Everything is provided for the passenger and included in the fare paid,—except of course wine, or beer, or spirits. When the room at the table is ample, and the stewards and cook are not

overworked, the food given is excellent, and a good sailor can enjoy his meals. As soon as the servants are overtasked everything becomes abominable. Nor is the trouble of the table by any means the worst trouble. Men who have travelled much know what it is to be "doubled up," and the doubling up on board the A. S. N. Company's boats is intolerable. It is probably only for two or three nights, and therefore the space allowed to each passenger is very small. That it should be so is, perhaps, reasonable. Larger vessels would create very much increased expense, and probably might not pay, and, north of Sydney, the towns lie on rivers which will not admit of deeper keels. I make no complaint, acknowledging that the company does its best to suit the traffic. But, looking at the matter from my own point of view, I protest that two or three nights passed with a couple of snoring strangers in one of the A. S. N. Company's cabins, without a peg on which to hang an article of clothing, with no spot to call your own except the narrow crib in which you are to lie, with the most meagre accommodation for washing that the ingenuity of a seafaring man can contrive, are—very painfully passed. A persevering man might probably succeed in making for himself something of a bed upon deck, and on an occasion I have done so. Everybody on board these boats is civil. I cheerfully acknowledge that the captains, and mates, and stewards never blow up or become tyrannical. But the man who would sleep upon deck comes to feel that the spirit of the ship is against him, and he slinks below, and is snored at and almost smothered in his wretched berth.

Such had been my lot when I went up from Sydney to Brisbane, sharing my cabin with two respectable commercial gentlemen against whom I have not a word to

say. Snoring is not disgraceful, and their courtesy was complete. My temper had been acerbated early in the voyage by a slight accident in regard to the soup, of which a large allowance was poured over me by a too anxious steward; and then the utter peglessness of the cabin completed my unhappiness. North of Brisbane I had fared better,—the company having fared much worse in regard to the number of passengers carried. On my return to Sydney I found that a boat not belonging to the A. S. N. Company was about to make the trip,—as to which an allegation was made to me that she was slow, and that she habitually disgraced herself by carrying cargoes of coal from Newcastle, on her southern journey down to Melbourne. I instantly made inquiry and found that I,—and a friend who was with me, could have separate cabins on board "The Blackbird." On board the Blackbird we went to Sydney, and a very comfortable voyage we made. The captain was an excellent captain,—no doubt thoroughly up to the work, for he ran us upon no rocks and stuck us upon no sand-banks, and brought us into no trouble, and made the journey two hours shorter than his original promise. In regard, however, to his nautical acquirements I do not profess to be capable of forming a trustworthy opinion. But this captain had procured live turtle up the coast, and had a cook on board whom I can safely recommend to any embryo Lord Mayor. I forget that captain's name;—but I never will forget his turtle soup.

It strikes an Englishman with surprise that he should meet all the paraphernalia of custom-houses in going from one colony to another. One's shirts and socks are subject to be searched on entering Sydney Harbour from Brisbane, as undoubtedly as when taken into Prussia.

from Belgium. And I observed that the shirts and socks of some men were searched by custom-house officers on occasions. Personally I encountered no difficulty. I was asked some questions and allowed to pass without even a reference to my keys. As I have almost always been allowed to do so on the Continent, and even at New York, I presume that I have no trace of smuggling ingenuity in my countenance.

CHAPTER XII.

Early History of the Colony.

On reaching Sydney the traveller should remember that he is visiting the spot on which our Australian empire was commenced, amidst difficulties of which we in England in these days think very little. We know something of Australian explorers of a later date. We do hear of Oxley, of Hume and Hovell, of Cunningham, Mitchell, Eyre, Sturt, Kennedy, Leichardt, Gregory, Stuart, Burke and Wills, and others who have succeeded in opening up new regions in Australia or have lost their lives in the attempt;—but we hear nothing of the perils endured and the efforts made by those who first brought convicts out to Botany Bay, and who were called upon to perform the almost impossible task of feeding and of governing them there.

Captain Cook landed at Botany Bay, a few miles south of Sydney Harbour,—or Port Jackson, as it is properly called,—in 1770, and took possession of the land on behalf of the English Crown. But Captain Cook was by no means the first to find Australia. Manoel Godenho, a Portuguese, is supposed to be the right *claimant of* that honour, and is said to have landed on *the north-west* corner of the continent in 1601. M

Dutchman was the next, by name John William Verschoor, who is said to have touched at Cape York, the northern point of the great Queensland promontory, in 1606. Dirk Hartog in 1616, another Dutchman, was the third; and then, for many years, the Dutch continued to discover parts of the coast and various islands of what was then called Terra Australis. They have left their names behind them in many places;—in Nuytsland, a most dreary region on the southern coast, at present utterly useless, so called from Peter Nuyts; in the great Gulf of Carpentaria in the north, so called from Peter Carpenter; in Tasmania,—Van Diemen's Land, as it used to be,—discovered by Abel Jan Tasman, who called it Van Diemen's Land after the governor of the Dutch East India Company, who had sent him on his voyage, and since re-christened Tasmania because a flavour of convicts had attached itself to the former name. Indeed the Dutch did so much and were so energetic in their voyages, that they were justified in calling the new continent New Holland; and it seems now to be marvellous that a people so enterprising, and at that time so prone to get and to keep territory, should have lost their hold of the great "Terra Australis." It appears that they defeated their own object by their own secrecy and mystification. They published no records of the voyages made, and no charts of the newly-discovered seas, fearing that the great future possession would become too well known to other explorers. Consequently, even among themselves, the doings of their sailors were unknown and unappreciated, and no national desire was created for possession of the land.

It seems that a Frenchman was on the coast before any Englishman, one *M. de St. Alouran* having anchored *off Cape Leuwin—the great south*-eastern corner of the

ntinent—in 1670. After him came William Dampier, n English buccaneer, who in 1688 landed on the estern coast, and was, as far as we know, the first Englishman to put his foot on the soil of our great dependency. For eighty years after that English, Dutch, and French, with intermittent energies, endeavoured to become masters of New Holland. In 1770 Captain Cook, not only landed at Botany Bay, but actually surveyed a large portion of the eastern coast, and formally took possession of the country in the name of the King of England. This he did, having first touched at New Zealand, which had been discovered by Tasman in 164 In 1777 Captain Cook made another voyage into th Pacific,—in the course of which enterprise he w murdered at Otaheite. It was at this time that he commended the English government to send out Botany Bay the convicts from England which could longer be sent to the revolted colonies of America. 1787 Commodore Phillip, the first Australian gover was despatched in accordance with Cook's advic form a penal settlement at Botany Bay. Finding Bo Bay and the territory immediately around it altogether unfitted for the purpose he had in hand no fertile land around it, and no sufficient supp water, Commodore Phillip sailed northward, e Port Jackson,—as he first called it,—and found settlement for British convicts.

In the same year a French captain, La Perou landed at Botany Bay, anchoring there as it ha on the very day on which Commodore Phillip the English colours at the head of Port Jacks Perouse perished on his road home, but Co *Phillip* created the colony of New South Wale *whence* have sprung all our Australian colonie

Mr. Rusden, the clerk of the legislative council at Melbourne, who knows Australian history probably as well as any man living, commences his account of the discovery, survey, and settlement of Port Phillip, or of the colony of Victoria as it is now called, with the following words:—"American colonization sprung mainly from private adventure. The foundation of colonies in Australia was not the result of private enterprise, but of the policy of the ministry of which Pitt was the real as well as nominal head." There can be no doubt that Mr. Rusden is right in his statement that our possession of Australia is due to the government of the day, and not to any gallant adventurer such as was Raleigh, or to any band of Puritan brothers going forth in search of freedom, as did they who landed from the Mayflower on the shores of Massachusetts. The expedition to Botany Bay was planned by government,—whether actually by Pitt or not I do not know that we can now say,—with the view of finding a shore on which we might rid ourselves of our ruffians. It was to be governed by martial law, and was based on the footing of a penal settlement. After that the French still made renewed attempts, and Mr. Rusden reminds us that there was a time in which they endeavoured to call the whole southern district of Australia, "Terre Napoleon." This was intended to include, with much other territory, all that country which is, perhaps, now better known as Victoria, than by the imperial name then given to it.

Governor Phillip, with his convicts and few attendants, had by no means a pleasant time of it. He had indeed about as bad a time as any government servant of whom we now read. There were two establishments for convicts *in his hands, one* at Sydney, and the *other at Norfolk Island,—where* the descendants of the

mutineers of the Bounty are now dwindling back to th insipidity of savage life amidst the charms of Utopia freedom. In Governor Phillip's time the life on Norfol Island was by no means idle or Utopian. There was great deal of rebellion and running away, a great de of punishment of a kind which now seems to us to hav been very barbarous, but without which the convict el ment would probably have got altogether the better o the governing element. And there was terrible wan not only at Norfolk Island, but also on the mainlan —of want so dire as almost to have become starvatio Nearly all the food consumed for the first years had t be brought either from England, or from some othe distant land, such as Batavia or Bengal. The lan round Sydney on which attempts were made to creat farms, was found to be poor and barren. The fe cattle which the settlers, or rather which the governo possessed, strayed away or were killed by the blacks And then these black men, the aboriginals, were source of difficulties for which no satisfactory solutio could be found. If only they would be friendly a might be well;—but how could friendship be expecte from a race whose all was being taken from them by handful of strangers who spoke a strange language,— and who had fire-arms? If the blacks would be friendl it would be well; but if not,—then they must be re pressed, as were the convicts. The settlement was no to be abandoned because savage tribes could not b made to understand quickly the benefits of civilisation —and the blacks were repressed, and driven awa and sometimes starved, to the great affliction of the firs governors.

For five years Governor Phillip fought his battl *against* convicts, blackmen, recusant settlers, famine

floods, and drought, and he fought it like a hero. In every emergency,—and every day created a new emergency,—he was forced to think for himself. He had no ministers, and no council. He was commander-in-chief, and the life of every man was in his hands. But he was responsible to the King's government at home, and to public opinion in the colony. From day to day there was pressed upon him the fears that, one after another, they might all perish from want. If this vessel or that did not come at the expected time, there would not be even half a day's rations per day either for convicts, freemen, or for the governor. That modicum of half a day's rations was, more than once, the allowance for them all. I do not know where to look for a better story of great, continued, unpicturesque heroism than in the records of Governor Phillip's career. In these days it is very pleasant to be a governor of a colony. A charming house is provided, there are aide-de-camps and private secretaries, there is a liberal salary, there is probably much hospitality, and just enough of work to enable the governor of an Australian colony to feel that he earns what is bestowed upon him. But in truth he governs nobody, and is simply a medium of communication between the ministry of the colony and the Secretary of State at home. In Governor Phillip's time it was very different. He had indeed to govern,—to rule all and everything, and to do so with an iron hand that could not dare to relax its severity. His hand was of iron, but his heart was very soft. He had no rest from providing for the wants of those around him, and when they were put on half rations, and on less than half, his own were always as scanty as the scantiest.

At the end of five years Governor Phillip went

home, and after a lapse of two years,—which two years were very injurious to the young settlement,—was succeeded by Captain Hunter, who had come out with Phillip. Hunter again, after five or six years, was succeeded by another officer who had come to Botany Bay with Phillip's first band of convicts,—namely Governor King. And these men also were heroes in their way, facing terrible difficulties—difficulties in regard to the black men, difficulties in regard to the convicts, difficulties in regard to food, and, perhaps worst of all, difficulties in regard to a certain New South Wales Corps, which had been sent out from England with an idea that perhaps by such military body the convicts might be controlled,—and perhaps also, in some degree, the governor also. The officers of this corps soon became dominant in the colony, and used their dominion after a strange fashion. They obtained the right, or at any rate the power, of an almost exclusive monopoly, at first in spirits, and afterwards in all imported goods. Both Governor Hunter and Governor King resigned in their impotence to check the tyranny of the New South Wales Corps. And then the battle was carried on by Governor Bligh,—the famous Captain Bligh of the Bounty—who thus became king and lord over the very island on which are now settled the descendants of those who took his ship away from him and sent him adrift upon the waters. Governor Bligh was a very rough man, but seems to have been a manly fellow, with a strong idea of his duty. In the third year of his government he was arrested by the commanding officer of the very troop which was supposed at home to be at his hand for his support. His government was then *brought to* an end, and the New South Wales Corps was *sent home*.

Thus were passed the first twenty years of the new olony, amidst struggles of which the history has not et been fairly written. Great efforts in the meantime ad been made to extend the settled district. Farms ere established up the Paramatta River, on grounds ow rich with orange groves, but which were gradually ound to be utterly unfit for cereal crops. The first ttempts at growing corn in the neighbourhood of Sydney ere failures, sad enough to break the hearts of all but eroes. The Hawkesbury was discovered,—a magnificent river which makes its way into the ocean about fifteen miles north of Sydney Harbour, of which I shall have a word or two to say presently,—and on the Upper Hawkesbury, where now stands the town of Windsor, the land was found to be a rich alluvial deposit, capable of growing anything. But no sooner had settlers made their young home on this seemingly happy soil, than floods came and washed everything away. And there is Windsor now, with its rich lands, and its constant floods,—and some 2,000 inhabitants, who must surely be web-footed. Various also were the attempts made under these first governors to find a way out from the narrow strip of territory occupied along the shore across he mountains into the interior. These are the Blue Mountains, which are blue indeed, and very lovely,—ow crossed by the Bathurst railway, but over which in hose days the settlers long found it impossible to make heir way. Wool had become an article of export during hese early years, and did at last give rise to the energies hich in time forced a passage through the Blue Mountains. Captain Macarthur, who had been one of the fficers belonging to that wretched New South Wales orps, introduced merino sheep into the colony, and btained a grant of 10,000 acres of land. Then others

took to massing flocks. In 1813 there came a g
drought, and Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and Law
got through the mountains in search of grass for t
sheep.

In 1805 a second dependency on New South W
was established on the northern shore of Van Dien
Land, for the purpose of removing thither convicts f
Norfolk Island,—which place was abandoned, as
governor found it impossible to supply food to a se
ment at such a distance. The abandonment of the
tion was, however, only temporary. Thus was commen
the second in date of our Australian colonies. In 1
Van Diemen's Land was, at its own request, separ
from New South Wales, and established as a p
colony on its own bottom, with its own gover
and its own expenses. Its name soon became
familiar with us as that of the parent colony,—
we viewed them both only as the homes of our expo
rascaldom. In 1836 Port Phillip,—which is now
colony of Victoria,—became a dependency under
South Wales. In 1851 she was allowed to go al
and is now, at any rate in her own opinion, the fir
importance of all the colonial children of Great Bri
In 1839 New Zealand became a dependency under
South Wales,—but the child did not remain long
leading-strings. In 1840 New Zealand received a go
nor of her own from England. In 1859 the Mor
Bay district, constituting at that time the northern
—or something more than half,—of what was left of
colony of New South Wales, was cut off, and the sepa
colony of Queensland was established.

In this way New South Wales was the parent o
our present Australian colonies, except South Aust
and Western Australia, both of which originated in e

made from home. It has not been my purpose to give anything like a history of the early years of our first Australian settlement, but I have thought that it might be well to state a few facts as to the manner in which the colony was formed. I have taken my dates, and many of my facts also, from a school book by F. Proeschel, F.R.S.V. Geographer, &c., M.A.I.A.M. and M.S.E.I.N.F. I can make nothing of these letters,—but the book is a very good book, with excellent maps, and may be recommended to the use of those who wish either to learn or to teach the history of Australia.

In 1856, five years after the separation of Victoria, responsible government was established in New South Wales, and governors of the happy, hospitable, sleek, and unburdened kind came into vogue. This happened during the reign of Sir William Denison, who came out in 1853 with the task of inaugurating the change. He, however, still kept the title of Governor-General of Australasia, which was not borne by his successor, Sir John Young. Perhaps of all her governors Sir Richard Bourke is the one best remembered and the most esteemed in New South Wales. He came to the colony in 1832, and remained there for the normal period of six years. A large statue to his memory, standing at the gate of the Sydney domain, helps to keep alive his honours. He was no doubt a firm, considerate man, excellently well qualified for his duties. He was preceded by Governor Darling, and succeeded by Governor Gipps, as to both of whom it is now recorded in the colony that, if diamonds, they were rough diamonds.

It is impossible in Australia to forget the name of any past governor, or any secretary of state for the colonies,—almost impossible to forget that of any under secretary of state,—so prone have been the colonists to

name their districts, rivers, counties, towns, and stre
from the men who have governed them. We have Ph
lip Street, Hunter Street, King Street, Bligh Street, a
Macquarie Street in Sydney, not to mention the Ma
quarie River, and Hunter River, and Port Phillip. W
have the city of Brisbane, and the Darling River,—w
various Darlings,—and various Bourkes, and Gippsla
in Victoria, and the Fitzroy River in Queensland, a
Port Denison quite in the north, and the town of You
and the river Murray,—and Belmore hotels are innum
able. I do not know that there is as yet any Kimber
County, but there are Caernarvons, Russells, Labouche
Newcastles, Granvilles, Stanleys, Glenelgs, and Lytt
without stint, as also are there Merivales, Rogers, Ellic
Pelhams, and memorials of others who from time to ti
have been either politically or permanently great
Downing Street. Sir Hercules Robinson now reigns
Sydney, and when I left that city I heard enough
make me assured that before long there will be a Rob
son district, a county Robinson, a town of Robins
and a river Robinson.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sydney.

I DESPAIR of being able to convey to any reader
own idea of the beauty of Sydney Harbour. I ha
seen nothing equal to it in the way of land-locked
scenery,—nothing second to it. Dublin Bay, the Bay
Spezzia, New York, and the Cove of Cork are all p
turesquely fine. Bantry Bay, with the nooks of
running up to Glengarrif, is very lovely. But they
not equal to Sydney either in shape, in colour, or

variety. I have never seen Naples, or Rio Janeiro, or Lisbon;—but from description and pictures I am led to think that none of them can possess such a world of loveliness of water as lies within Sydney Heads. The proper thing to assert is that the fleets of all nations might rest securely within the protection of the harbour. How much acreage of sea the fleets of all nations might require I cannot even surmise;—but if they could be anchored together anywhere, they could surely be so anchored at Sydney.

As I thought of this, steaming up the harbour to Sydney Cove,—having just heard the boast from a stout Sydney citizen,—I felt assured that whenever the experiment should be tried, the English fleet would enter first with proud pre-eminence; and range themselves with haughty courtesy close under the governor's house and all round the town. Then would come the Danish, the Swedish, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Austrian ironclads. And we should glow with national pride as we told ourselves that, added together, all these foreign ships of war amounted to about half our collected force. The French and the Prussian fleets would place themselves in the broad expanse between Manly Beach and Watson's Bay, watching each other with ill-concealed hatred. In the very mouth of the harbour would be four or five American Alabamas,—who would thus be enabled to hurry off to Europe, to burn Liverpool, and carry off all the ropes of pearls which lie hidden between Bond Street and the Tower of London. By the time that they had disposed of the spoil in New York, we should be extricating ourselves from our position. The Americans after a while would apologize. The captains would probably have misunderstood their instructions, and would have gold swords

given to them. But they would not pay for a single r
of pearls, and Liverpool would rebuild itself.

In none of the books which I have seen respect
the early settlement of the colony, or of its subsequ
difficulties in progress, is much stress laid on the scen
of Sydney Harbour, or of the Hawkesbury River wh
is near it. Nor is much said of the glorious defiles
the Blue Mountains. Such books have been genera
circumstantial and statistical,—either despondent or ho
ful, according to the opinions of the writers. They h
always insisted much,—and have done so with w
deserved zeal,—on the great efforts made by Austral
discoverers. They have told us of the drawbacks of
land,—which are very great, as the soil is often poor
encumbered with forests, deficient in water, and subj
to a climate which is not propitious to cereals. On
other hand, we have heard from them much of Austral
wool, and for the last twenty years of Australian g
We gather from these books many facts as to the p
events of Australia, and many opinions as to its futu
But we hear very little of Australian scenery. C
sequently we, at home in England, are inclined to
lieve that Australia, as a country, is displeasing to
eye. The eternal gum-tree has become to us an A
tralian crest, giving evidence of Australian ugliness. T
gum-tree is ubiquitous, and is not the loveliest, tho
neither is it by any means the ugliest, of trees. I
there are scenes of nature in Australia as lovely as
to be found in any part of the world;—not so clos
congregated as in Western Europe, but quite as m
so as in North America. They are often difficult of
cess,—and must remain so, till the population is la
enough to stretch itself about the country, and to m
railways, and to run river steamers.

The people of Sydney are by no means indifferent to the beauty of their harbour, and claim for it the admiration of strangers with something of the language, but not with the audacity of Americans, when they demand the opinions of their visitors as to their remarkable institutions. There is something of shamefacedness, a confession of provincial weakness, almost an acknowledgment that they ought not to be proud of a thing so insignificant, in the tone in which you are asked whether, upon the whole, you do not think Sydney Harbour rather pretty. Every Sydney man and every Sydney woman does ask you the question,—as does every American ask that other question; but it is asked in Sydney with bated breath, and with something of an apology, "Of course you have been bothered out of your life about our harbour;—but it is pretty;—don't you think so?" It is so inexpressibly lovely that it makes a man ask himself whether it would not be worth his while to move his household gods to the eastern coast of Australia, in order that he might look at it as long as he can look at anything. There are certain spots, two or three miles out of the town, now occupied generally by villas, or included in the grounds of some happy resident, which have nothing for the imagination to add. Greenoaks and Mount Adelaide, belonging to two brothers, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Henry Mort, are perfect. Sir James Martin, who was the prime minister when I was first there, and who, I hope, may soon be so again, has a garden falling down to the sea, which is like fairyland. There is a rock outside,—or probably inside,—the grounds of Woolhara, belonging to Mr. Cooper, on which the blacks in the old days, when they were happy and undisturbed, used to collect themselves for festive, political, and warlike purposes. I wonder whether they enjoyed it as I

did! How they must have hated the original Coope when he came and took it,—bought it for 20*s.* an acre out of which they got no dividend, or had a grant of i from the English Crown! Woolhara is a magnificen property, covered with villas and gardens, all lookin down upon the glorious sea. In England it would be worth half a million of money, and as things go on, it will soon be worth as much in New South Wales; and perhaps some future Cooper will be Duke Cooper o Marquis Cooper, and Woolhara will be as famous a Lowther or Chatsworth. It is infinitely more lovely than either. I envied the young man, and almost hated him for having it,—although he had just given me an ex cellent dinner.

I doubt whether I ever read any description o scenery which gave me an idea of the place described and I am not sure that such effect can be obtained by words. Scott in prose, and Byron in verse, are both eloquent in declaring that this or that place is romantic, picturesque, or charming; and their words have been powerful enough to send thousands to see the spots which they have praised. But the charm conveyed has been in the words of the writer, not in the beauty of the place. I know that the task would be hopeless were I to attempt to make others understand the nature of the beauty of Sydney Harbour. I can say that it is lovely, but I cannot paint its loveliness. The sea runs up in various bays or coves, indenting the land all around the city, so as to give a thousand different aspects of the water,—and not of water, broad, unbroken, and unrelieved,—but of water always with jutting corners of land beyond it, and then again of water and then again of land. And you, the resident —*even though you be a lady not over strong, though you be a lady,* if possible, not over young,—will find

unless you choose your residence most unfortunately, that you have walks within your reach as deliciously beautiful as though you had packed up all your things and travelled days and spent pounds to find them. One Mrs. Macquarie, the wife, I believe, of Governor Macquarie, made a road, or planned a road, or at any rate gave her name to a road, which abuts on the public domain, and is all but in the town. A mile and a half from the top of Hunter Street carries the pedestrian all round it. Two shillings does as much for him or her who prefers a hansom cab,—and the Sydney hansoms are the very best cabs in the world. At the end of it is Mrs. Macquarie's chair,—with a most ill-written inscription,—but with a view that affords compensation even for that. The public gardens, not half a mile from the top of Hunter Street, beat all the public gardens I ever saw,—because they possess one little nook of sea of their own. I do not love public gardens generally, because I am called on to listen to the names of shrubs conveyed in three Latin words, and am supposed to interest myself in the locality from which they have been brought. I envy those who have the knowledge which I want; but I put my back up against attempts made to convey it to me, knowing that it is too late. But it was impossible not to love the public gardens at Sydney,—because one could sit under the trees and look out upon the sea. There is a walk from the bottom of Macquarie Street,—not Mrs. Macquarie's Road, but the old governor's own street,—leading round by the fort, under the governor's house, to the public gardens. The whole distance round may be a mile and a half from the top of Hunter Street, which opens on to Macquarie Street. It runs close along the sea, with grassy slopes on which you may lie and see the moon glimmer on the water as

it only glimmers on land-locked coves of the ocea
You may lie there prostrate on the grass, with the ripp
close at your feet within a quarter-of-an-hour of yo
club. Your after-dinner cigar will last you there an
back if you will walk fairly and smoke slowly. Nobod
ever is there at that hour, the young men of Sydney pr
ferring to smoke their cigars in their arm-chairs. The
there is the little trip by steam ferry over to the nort
shore, where lives that prince of professors and greate
of Grecians, Doctor Badham, of the university. I shoul
like to be the ferry-man over that ferry to Lavender Ba
on condition that the Doctor met me with some refresh
ment on each journey. Sydney is one of those place
which, when a man leaves it knowing that he will neve
return, he cannot leave without a pang and a tear. Suc
is its loveliness.

The town itself, as a town, independently of its se
and its suburbs, was, to me, pleasant and interesting. I
the first place, though it is the capital of an Australia
colony, and therefore not yet a hundred years old, it ha
none of those worst signs of novelty which make th
cities of the New World unpicturesque and distastefu
It is not parallelogrammic and rectangular. One ma
walk about it and lose the direction in which one i
going. Streets running side by side occasionally cor
verge—and they bend and go in and out, and win
themselves about, and are intricate. Philadelphia, whic
has not a want in the world, and is supplied with ever
luxury which institutions can confer upon human natur
is of all towns the most unattractive because it is s
managed that every house in it has its proper place
which can be found out at once, so long as the mind
the seeker be given to ordinary arithmetic. No arithmet
will set the wanderer right in Sydney;—and this, I think

is a great advantage. I lived at 213½ in a certain street, and the interesting number chosen seemed to have no reference to any smaller numbers. There was no 1, or 5, or 20 in that street. If you live at 213 in Philadelphia, you know that you are three doors from Two hundred and Ten Street on one side, and seven from Two Hundred and Twenty Street on the other. Information conveyed in that manner is always to me useless. I forget the numbers which I should remember, and have no aid to memory in the peculiarity either of the position or of the name.

The public gardens at Sydney deserve more than the passing mention just made of them. The people of Australia personally are laudably addicted to public gardens,—as they are to other public institutions with which they are enabled to inaugurate the foundation of their towns, by the experience taught to them by our deficiencies. Parks for the people were not among the requirements of humanity when our cities were first built; and the grounds necessary for such purposes had become so valuable when the necessity was recognised, that it has been only with great difficulty, and occasionally by the munificence of individuals, that we have been able to create these artificial lungs for our artizans. In many of our large towns we have not created them at all. The Australian cities have had the advantage of our deficiencies. The land has been public property, and space for recreation has been taken without the payment of any cost price. In this way a taste for gardens, and, indeed, to some extent, a knowledge of flowers and shrubs, has been generated, and a humanizing influence in that direction has been produced. There are, in all the large towns,—*either in the very* centre of them or *adjacent to them,—gardens rather* than parks, which are

used and apparently never abused. Those at Melbourne in Victoria are the most pretentious, and, in a scientific point of view, no doubt the most valuable. I am told that in the rarity and multiplicity of the plants collected there, they are hardly surpassed by any in Europe. But for loveliness, and that beauty which can be appreciated by the ignorant as well as by the learned, the Sydney Gardens are unrivalled by any that I have seen. The nature of the land, with its green slopes down to its own bright little sea bay, has done much for them, and art and taste combined has made them perfect. It may be said that of all drawbacks to public parks distance is the greatest. We know that in London, Hyde Park is but of little service to those who live at Mile End. The great park at New York, though it is connected by omnibusses with the whole city, requires an expedition to reach it. The gardens of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham are so far off from the multitude that the distance rather than the cost of entrance deters the crowd which might take delight in them. Even the Bois de Boulogne are too remote for daily purposes. But the gardens of Sydney are within easy reach of every street of the combined towns of Sydney and Wooloomooloo. A little beyond the gardens, almost equally near to the town, are the sea baths,—not small, dark, sequestered spots in which, for want of a better place, men and women may wash themselves, but open sea spaces, guarded by palisades from the sharks which make bathing in the harbour impracticable, large enough for swimming, and fitted up with all requisites. It is a great thing for a city to be so provided; and it is a luxury which, as far as I am aware, no other city possesses to the same degree. There is no place for bathing in England like it, or at all equal to it. That at Kingstown in Ireland is perhaps as good;

Kingstown is six or seven miles from Dublin, and to be reached by railroad. A man or a woman may to the bathing place at Sydney in a quarter of an

I was much surprised at the fortifications of Sydney bour. Fortifications, unless specially inspected, pe even a vigilant seer of sights, but I, luckily for elf, was enabled specially to inspect them. I had iously no idea that the people of New South Wales either so suspicious of enemies, or so pugnacious ieir nature. I found five separate fortresses, armed, be armed, to the teeth with numerous guns,—four, or six at each point;—Armstrong guns, rifled guns, of eighteen tons weight, with loopholed walls, and for riflemen, as though Sydney were to become an- Sebastopol. I was shown how the whole harbour city were commanded by these guns. There were batteries and casemated batteries, shell rooms and owder magazines, barracks rising here and trenches there. There was a boom to be placed across the our, and a whole world of torpedoes ready to be beneath the water, all of which were prepared and y for use in an hour or two. It was explained to that "they" could not possibly get across the hes, or break the boom, or escape the torpedoes, or for an hour beneath the blaze of the guns. "They" d not have a chance to get at Sydney. There was h martial ardour, and a very general opinion that y" would have the worst of it. For a time I could gather who "they" were to be. But "indirect ages" were on men's tongues, and so I knew who the "they" at that moment uppermost in the ghts of my companions. *It would* be the same in *rd to any other enemies of* England, either in esse

or in posse. I hope that New South Wales may n
have to fight for England, and certainly that she
not have to fight America. But the feeling of loyalt
the colony is so strong, that were there a fight on ha
she would be unhappy not to be allowed to take so
share in it. But in viewing these fortifications, I
most specially struck by the loveliness of the s
chosen. One would almost wish to be a gunner for
sake of being at one of those forts.

Three different localities are combined to m
Sydney. There is the old city,—old as the age of ci
is as yet counted in Australia,—in which are Geo
Street and Pitt Street, so called from George III. and
minister, running parallel to each other, from the cen
The other chief streets are all named after the
governors,—Macquaire Street, King Street, Bligh Str
Hunter Street, and Phillip Street. Among these, M
quaire Street takes a proud pre-eminence, containing
Houses of Parliament, the Treasury buildings, the
trance to Government House, and the old hospital. D
ing a portion of its length it is built up but on
side, and looks on to the public domain—for there i
public domain or park, as well as public gardens.
deed, according to the maps of the city, there are
inner domain and an outer domain, and a Hyde P
To the south of these rises the important town
Wooloomooloo,—as to the remarkable spelling of wh
name the reader may take my assurance that I am ri
Wooloomooloo has become almost as big as Sydney
much more fashionable; and beyond Wooloomooloo,
and over various little coves of the sea,—Elizabeth B
and Rose Bay, and Double Bay, and Rushcutter's B
—*cluster* the various villa residences of the weal
families. It is here that the rising generation of Syd

desires to dwell, and there is much to justify its choice. Then there is the "North Shore," less fashionable, but almost as beautiful as the hills round the southern coves. The North Shore has to be reached by steam ferry from Sydney Cove, which now is better known as the Circular Quay, where is congregated the shipping of the port. When the wool ships from England are here, lying in a circle all round the margin, no port has a pleasanter appearance. This is during the summer months, from October perhaps up to March. I was at Sydney both in summer and winter; but during the winter the port seemed to be deserted. Crossing the main harbour from the Circular Quay, the inhabitants of the North Shore reach their side of the town in ten minutes. Here are St. Leonard's, which is fairly fashionable; Balmuir, which is less so; and up higher, the township of Pyrmont, which will perhaps hardly excuse me if I say that it is not fashionable at all. But then, on the other hand, Pyrmont is reached by a bridge, while the inhabitants of St. Leonard's are driven to use the ferry. I can hardly complete this attempted description of the city, without explaining that the Government House stands between the Circular Quay and the public gardens, with grounds sloping down to the sea. The position is one of great beauty, and the house has an air of magnificence about it, such as should belong to the residence of a viceroy. I have been told, however, that as a house it is not as good as it should be. Looking at it with the eyes of a humble private individual, I thought that it was all that a house need be.

The antiquity of Sydney,—perhaps I should say the comparative antiquity,—strikes an Englishman as being almost absurd, *as he remembers that* in his father's life-*time the place was covered by* gum-trees and peopled

by savages. There are houses so old that they are in almost ruinous condition—seeming to be as low, as comfortless, and almost as picturesque, as do some dilapidated tenements in the old streets of our old towns. These are chiefly of wood; but the eyes become so used to wooden houses that this speciality is not observed. Two or three were pointed out to me, each as being the oldest in the town, and which certainly were built when the hearts of the young colonists were heavy with many troubles. Little was thought then of beauty of position, of gardens down to the water's edge, and of views over the land-locked sea. How were the inhabitants to make themselves safe against black savages, against convicts who were still more savage, and against fire? It seems that the first comers into any land have rarely thought much about scenery. Trouble as to food and security is too heavy on the minds of pioneers to allow them to indulge in the luxury of landscapes, and the taste for scenery is one of latter-day growth. In the last century Englishmen travelled to see cities, and to see men, and to study the world,—but in those days mountains were troublesome, and dark valleys were savage, and glaciers were horrible. Much is said by those who first landed at Botany Bay and Port Jackson on the trees and plants and herbs of the new country,—what I believe is now called "the Flora;" but I do not remember a word in praise of its loveliness.

Among other old buildings at Sydney there is an old church, and a very old hospital. The hospital, I was assured, is quite antiquated. It seemed to be airy, easy, and as pleasant as is compatible with the nature of such an institution. St. James's Church is pewed *round with high* dark panels, and is as much like an *English comfortless* church of the last century, as though

in a second-rate town in an Eastern county. I ere once, and found it impossible to hear a word, rom the gentleman who read the lessons, or from o preached. But it is a fashionable church, and osed to be that at which the governor and his hould say their prayers. The cathedral, on the nd, is new, and very well arranged. I heard an t sermon there, in which I was told that it was tice of St. Paul to teach his own religion rather abuse that of others,—a lesson which is much at home, and by no means unnecessary in the an colonies.

CHAPTER XIV.

Religion and Education.

s natural that a visitor to any country should ost, and therefore speak with greatest fulness, of t in religion to which he himself belongs. He most prone to meet the pastors of that Church; nless he keeps his mind alert on the subject, he he be an Englishman of the Church of Eng- fall into the error of thinking that the Church of l is the only important Church. The feeling is mmon at home,—but even there it is a mistake. colonies the blunder would be much more is. As long as the colonies were Crown , governed directly from home,—a certain of Church of England ascendancy was estab- Bishops were appointed by the Crown, who ve, by virtue of their patents, some social pre- . They are recognised as titular lords,—having ronger *claim to the* appellation than their Roman *brother prelates.* But in all these colonies every

branch of the Christian religion is now supposed to sta
on an equal footing,—and to have an equal title
whatever support the State may be able and willing
give. In each of the colonies the energy of the vari
pastors and of their flocks, and the munificence of
dividuals, have added something to the clerical incon
which are for the most part provided by the volunt
payments of the people. I should only trouble
readers with unnecessary particulars were I to attemp
explain in detail the sources from which such funds h
arisen, and the manner in which they have been
pended; but it may perhaps interest some to know t
there are five bishops of the Church of England in N
South Wales, the Bishop of Sydney being the me
politan for the Australian colonies, with a salary
£2,000 per annum. The total income of the clergy
the Church of England in New South Wales is £13,
per annum,—of which £12,386 is the amount p
voluntarily by the people, and £1,576 that coming fr
the General Church Fund. The usual stipend of an
cumbent is £200 per annum. There are 229,
members of the Church of England in the colony.

One Roman Catholic archbishop has the Rom
Church under his government, with a salary of £
per annum. The total income of the Roman Cath
Church is £7,607 per annum, of which £6,583 is
sum derived from the subscriptions of the faithful,
£1,024 that from the Church Fund. The incomes
the parish priests are £200 or £150 per annum. Th
are 145,932 Roman Catholics in the colony.

The Presbyterians and Wesleyans have of course
bishops, but they also pay their ministers at the rate
about £150 each; the Presbyterians drawing altoget
£326, and the Wesleyans £180, from the Gen

Church Fund. The large remainder of the necessary sum is made up by the voluntary subscriptions of the flocks,—the Presbyterians paying £2,179 per annum, and the Wesleyans £1,572. The number of Presbyterians in the colony is 49,122, and that of Wesleyans, 36,275. There are nine other Christian sects who have parish ministers and places of worship of their own, and who together number 26,447 souls. There was also two Jewish synagogues,—and there is a congregation of Christian Israelites, as to whose religious doctrines I must own myself to be altogether ignorant.

Very much praiseworthy energy has been used throughout the colonies to bring religious teaching within the reach of the people under very disadvantageous circumstances. No doubt the fact of an endowed Church at home, and the theory of endowments which was brought from home to the colonies, has given rise there as well as here to an idea that religion and religious teaching and rites should be administered to a people without any demand upon them for direct payment. People in Australia will commonly make it a matter of complaint that no clergyman has ever been near them, that no religious aid has ever been sent to them,—although they themselves have taken no measures and paid no money towards bringing a clergyman into their districts. For the doctor and the lawyer they know they must pay,—as the Roman Catholic knows also that he must for his priest. But the normal English Protestant,—even when dissenting from the Church of England,—thinks that his spiritual pastor should be sent to him by some unknown authority which is supposed to have such matters in keeping. If the spiritual pastor be not sent, the Protestant goes on without clerical assistance, perhaps complaining,—*more probably troubling* himself very little on

the matter. He would go to church if there were a church near him; but if there be none within reach th fault does not rest with him, and thus his conscience i at ease. And again, the sparseness of the populatio and the great distances which lie between the sma towns, add greatly to the difficulty. Clergymen of a denominations are, when employed in the pastoral dis tricts, obliged to take charge of wide areas of countr rather than of parishes,—of areas so wide that service can be held by each perhaps only once a fortnight, an perhaps only once a month. The travelling also is ex pensive, laborious, and very disagreeable. It necessaril follows that in many places there is no religious worshi set on foot with clerical aid, and that squatters, with the families and their attendant shepherds, stockrider shearers, and the like, recognise Sunday only as a da of rest.

I should, however, be wrong not to add that in Ne South Wales, and in the other colonies, a system ha grown up under the direct sanction of the bishops of th Church of England for the performance of the Churc Service by laymen. The morning prayers, with th lessons and litany are read,—and often also a sermo I believe that Episcopal injunctions against original se mons by laymen are very strong; but I imagine that the are sometimes disobeyed. Whether the Presbyterians an Wesleyans employ lay readers I am unable to say. A a matter of course the Roman Catholics do not do s —and on this account I think that the Roman Catholi as a sect are more neglected than their Protesta brethren, although they are doubtless under stricter coe cion in regard to the payment of clerical dues.

I feel myself bound to record my opinion that re *ligious teaching*, and the exercise of religious worshi

are held as being essential to civilisation and general well-being by the people of Australia. Taking the inhabitants of the colonies all through, I think the feeling is stronger there than it is at home, first and chiefly because the mass of the population is better educated,—secondly, and in a much less degree, because they who are foremost in education, rank, and society, are less highly educated. That the first should be the case will surprise no one, and will be generally admitted as a consequence, if it be allowed, that the colonial education is superior to that which we have as yet achieved at home. The tendencies and influences which send children to school, send them and their parents to church also,—even though the schools be in all respects secular. Teaching produces prosperity; prosperity achieves decent garments;—and decent garments are highly conducive to church-going. Among us in England that portion of our rural population which never goes to church, and which is utterly ignorant of all religious observances, consists of the unfortunates upon whom the kindly dew of instruction has never fallen, and who have been left in almost brute-like ignorance. Among all communities in the colonies the children are taught. Wherever there is any community, however small it may be, there is a school; and where there is a school the children attend it. And almost as universally, wherever there is a community there arises a church, or more commonly churches. Though there be only two or three hundred persons within a twelve-mile circle, affording perhaps an average church attendance of less than a hundred, there will be a Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic church along side of each other, or a Church of England and a Wesleyan church. Sometimes *in a small* township, containing *ostensibly little in the way of* buildings beyond the four

public-houses, the blacksmith's shop, and the bank, ther will be three places of worship. The people are fon of building churches, and are proud of having them i their villages,—though they are unfortunately less addicte to pay annually for their clergyman than to defray th cost of their churches. You can, too, go in debt for church,—but hardly for a clergyman. There is, I think undoubtedly a general desire that the comfort and de cency of religious teaching should be recognised in th colony, and this I attribute mainly to the healthy stat of education.

It would be more difficult to show that a lower con dition of education among the better educated classes i the colony than that which has been reached at home should have a similar tendency, but I think that such i the case. There can be but little doubt that educatio among the most favoured classes at home does rang higher than in the colonies. It would indeed be mos disgraceful to England with her wealth, and her endowe colleges and schools, if it were not so. And it has com about as one result of such advanced teaching,—not i England only but in every country in which eruditio has been valued,—that the erudite have learned to dis regard and in part to dispense with the services of priesthood. I do not say that infidelity has been thu produced,—but rather a tendency in the man's mind t think that he can best suffice to himself as his own priest This feeling, operating from men to their wives, fro fathers to sons, and from mothers to daughters,—bu ever more strongly among men than women,—has in al highly intellectual communities had a certain tendency *to weaken* confidence in the administrations of church *services. In* the colonies this condition of society has *hardly been* yet reached. That it will come,—whethe

it be for good or evil,—is certain. In the meantime the absence of the condition has the tendency which I have alleged, of making the feeling in favour of religious teaching stronger among the higher classes in the colonies than it is among our higher classes at home.

I find by the statistical register of New South Wales that the average Sunday attendance at various places of worship amounts to something over one-third of the whole population. On 31st December, 1870, the population was 502,861, and during that year the average Sunday attendance had been 172,320.

It must be admitted on behalf of the colony, that New South Wales has supplied itself with schools on a most liberal footing; but it must be admitted also by the colony that too large a proportion of the expense of these schools has been thrust on the general taxation of the country. There are 796 public or common schools,—open to all classes, though not open without payment except under special circumstances,—of which 267 are denominational, and 529 are secular. The total cost of these is £150,866 per annum, of which only £39,583 is paid by the subscriptions of the scholars, leaving the large sum of £111,283 as a burden on the revenue of the country. And it must be remembered that this is the case in a country in which the wages of artisans average 7*s.* 6*d.* and those of rural labourers are about 4*s.* a day. These schools are all subject to the Council of Education, and in 1870 they taught 59,814 scholars. Including those at private schools, the cost of which cannot of course be given, there were, in 1870, 74,503 scholars under tuition in the colony—a number which I think will be regarded as high for a population of half a million, *which is continually* being increased by the *immigration of adults.*

I visited the largest of the Sydney public or con
schools, and, as is usual on such occasions, I lis
while the children were put through their facing
never know how far to believe the wonders which I
and see at such exhibitions. I endeavour to belie
little as possible, in order that I may be saved fr
consciousness of disgrace at my own comparative
rance. When a little boy gets up on his legs, and
out any aid of pen or pencil, does a sum in h
minute which I know that I could not do mysel
were locked up for half a day with all necessari
hate that little boy, and feel disposed almost to
that there must have been some fraud between him
his teacher. The following is the sort of question a
—"If a man invest £197. 7*s.* 6*d.* at 4½ per cent.
get a rise in the rate of interest of ⅛ per cent. at th
of 23 days, what will his income amount to at the
of 42 days?" Let me ask any ordinary English g
man whether he would do that sum for the sa
getting the forty-two days' income? But the little
does it out of head, looking innocently up to the c
for his answer, and getting not even praise whe
gives it with presumed correctness. I suppose the a
was correct, and that the figures were not exhibit
the little boy in some manner that I could not det

And certainly a little girl whom I questioned n
must have understood what she was saying. A pa
in Shakespeare had been read, in which the
"strategy" is used in its secondary, and not its tec
sense. I asked the meaning of the word, and the
girl said that strategy was the art of military manœu
She was a very nice little girl, and I hope she ma
to be the wife of the first commander-in-chief o
forces of New South Wales. The girls in some of

public schools are more wonderful even than the boys. They read better, and seem to have a clearer perception of things in general. I remember, at such an exhibition in New York, hearing a roomful of girls questioned by the mistress. She asked why the Romans ran away with the Sabine matrons. One girl suggested that it must have been because the Sabine matrons were pretty; but she was soon taken down by a clearer-headed maiden, who told us that it was done for the sake of population. The young girls at Sydney were perhaps not quite so far advanced as this; but nevertheless their condition amazed me. Putting aside all joking, I profess that the excellence of the teaching in the Fore Street School at Sydney was very high, though I doubt much whether all that be taught under its system is retained. Of course it will be understood that the school of which I am speaking is the school open to the people at large.

The glory of Sydney in the way of education is its university, and certainly a great deal of spirit has been shown by the colony in the creation of the institution and in the erection of the building. As regards the building, I think no one will dispute the assertion when I say that the college-hall,—or public room, for it is put to none of the comfortable festive uses for which college-halls have been built at our universities,—is the finest chamber in the colonies. If I were to say that no college either at Oxford or Cambridge possesses so fine a one, I might probably be contradicted. I certainly remember none of which the proportions are so good. In regard to the Sydney University itself, it must be remembered that it has been instituted simply for education, and not as a place of residence either for fellows, scholars, or commoners. *It consists*, therefore, of the hall, *library, lecture-rooms, museum*, and a residence for

one of the professors. It knows nothing of gaudy days of high tables, of sweet Latin graces, or of audit ale. It lacks the social charms to which the frequenters of Oxford and Cambridge have been accustomed; but perhaps the education on that account is not the worse, and certainly it is very much less expensive.

In a fiscal point of view, I cannot say that the university has been as yet a success. In 1870,—and I can give the figures for no later year,—the total cost of the university, consisting chiefly of the salaries of the professors, was £5,938, of which no less than £5,000 was paid from the taxes of the colony. There were but 41 scholars, whose friends contributed a trifle over £2 per annum each for their education, amounting in all to £938. But there are three professors attached to the college, each of whom enjoys an income in excess of the sum so subscribed, besides other professors less liberally remunerated.

There are also affiliated colleges, in which it is proposed that students from a distance shall live,—as they do at our English colleges,—under the charge of a Warden or Rector. Two of these have been already built, and are inhabited, by the Warden of St. Paul's, which is a Protestant establishment, and by the Rector of St. John's which is intended for the Roman Catholics. These gentlemen's salaries, of £500 each, are paid out of the taxes; but the affiliated students have not yet come in large numbers. When I visited the university, the happy Rector of St. John's was troubled with, I think, but one inmate, whereas the Warden of St. Paul's had three or four.

I am very far, however, from intending to sneer at the Sydney University. Amidst a population so sparse, it was of course necessary that the beginning, if made,

ll, should be made by the government, and be paid with government money. It has not yet had time success. Every effort has been made to lead to ess, especially in procuring first-class teachers for ervice. The reputation for scholarship of Dr. Bad-, the classical professor, is as high in England as it Sydney,—or nearly so; for in Sydney he is now rded as the one living uncontrovertible authority in questions of Greek literature. Mr. Pell, the pro- r of mathematics, stands equally high in his own There is no institution in the colonies which ex- and deserves the sympathies of an English traveller completely than does the Sydney University.

CHAPTER XV.

Legislature and Government.

THE first parliament under which responsible govern- was inaugurated in New South Wales commenced ction on the 22nd of May, 1856, and the first re- sible ministry came into office on the 6th of June, . Sir William Denison was their governor. When as sent to the colony, the governor really governed, ng a policy of his own, in the execution of which was not much to disturb him as long as he car- the Secretary of State with him in his measures. from May, 1856, all this was changed; and from date parliamentary rule has prevailed in New South s. The sixth parliament is now sitting, and the eenth ministry was formed in 1872. Australian stries are not long-lived, and it may well be that e these pages are published Mr. Parkes, who was ier and colonial *secretary* when they were written, *have given way, and a fifteenth* ministry,—possibly

under the presidency of Sir James Martin,—will be sitting on the treasury benches. Sir James Martin and Mr. John Robertson seem to be two statesmen whose services are most generally in request by the colony. Sir James Martin has been five times attorney-general and has three times, while holding that office, been also premier. Mr. Robertson has been in six cabinets, and has twice been premier. There can be but little doubt that a turn in the political wheel of fortune will restore them to the seats on that bench to which they are so well accustomed. The only question is as to the duration of their exclusion.

There are many other gentlemen who are well known in the colony as parliamentary politicians,—men who come into office for a time and go out, perhaps, for eternity. But as to the two whom I have mentioned there is a feeling that they are normal ministers—gentlemen who have almost a right to be in parliament and, being in parliament, almost a right to be in the cabinet. It is very hard to define parties in the colonial parliamentary contests, as they are defined with us. Of these two colonial statesmen, I should say that Mr. Robertson was a strong Liberal, and Sir James Martin a very strong Conservative. Mr. Robertson's name and fame are connected especially with the administration of the crown lands, in regard to which he has been regarded as the friend of the free-selecters, and therefore as the enemy of the squatters. Sir James is, I fear, a protectionist at heart. He is a proclaimed foe to separation, strong in loyalty to the Crown, very English, very confident in his own colony, perhaps a little jealous of others, very pugnacious, a consistent and thorough-going *politician*, and almost a Tory. He is, I think, certainly *the best* Australian speaker that I heard. Mr. Robertson

who was lately Sir James's colleague, but for many years his opponent, is entitled to the singular merit of having won for himself high parliamentary reputation in spite of organic impediments to speech which would have made a less energetic man dumb for life as regards all public assemblies.

When I was first in Sydney, the parliamentary question which was then exciting the minds of men in New South Wales,—and the minds of men also in Victoria,—was that of the border duties. I do not feel quite sure that these border duties will interest my readers as keenly as they interested me, or that I can in any way make the subject palatable to them. In the colonies they are of vital interest, not only from the effect they have had and must have on the intercourse between the two leading colonies, Victoria and New South Wales, but because the discussion which they are producing may probably assist in bringing about that one great measure, which is of all measures most essential to the future welfare of the colonies, a customs union which shall bind them together as one country in regard to duties on imported goods. I will tell the story of the border duties as shortly as I can.

The different colonies of Australia and New Zealand are at present competent to levy what duties they please on imported goods, each colony having in this respect a power as separate and individual to itself as that possessed by different independent nations. Victoria may charge what she pleases on sugar, and New South Wales what she pleases on tobacco. But they cannot import sugar or tobacco from Cuba at one rate of duty, and obtain them from the sister colony of Queensland either free, or at another rate. If they were to raise a revenue on these articles coming from Cuba, they must raise the

same revenue on them coming from Queensla
though Queensland is a part of Australia, a pa
English empire, and apparently as nearly connec
themselves as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are wi
cashire. Therefore it follows as a necessity that
duties must be levied between the colonies, ev
all the colonial statesmen agreed in opinion a
expediency of abolishing them. Revenue must b
on certain articles, and therefore any such articl
produced in one colony, cannot be carried free
other. On sea-borne articles,—goods carried,
say, from the port of Sydney to that of Melb
these duties can be levied at any rate without an
injury to commerce. That such duties are in th
injurious to the colonies at large is, I think,
proof, but that question is not necessarily inv
the question of border duties. The actual colle
the customs between one port and another car
fected without serious inconvenience. But betw
terminous states or colonies,—between adjoini
tions of one and the same nationality, which are s
from each other only by arbitrary lines,—ther
course, a considerable amount of traffic that is
borne. Goods are necessarily carried over the
The wine of one colony is consumed in another
also the flour and wheat. It is the policy of Vi
present to levy custom duties on flour and wh
therefore the flour and wheat of South Australi
be received duty free in Victoria without a brea
only of the Victorian, but also of the Engli
There is intercourse of this nature between Qu
and New South Wales, and respectively betw
South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia,—as
a line of custom-house offices along the entire

of the colonies would be required if the obligations of the law were fulfilled. But the one line of sufficient importance to create for itself special attention has been that between New South Wales and Victoria.

The river Murray divides the two colonies. North of the Murray there lies a pastoral district, — called the Riverina, as it is bounded or intersected by the largest known rivers of Australia,—which belongs to New South Wales, but which, from its position, and by the existing means of transit, is much more nearly allied to Melbourne than to Sydney. The people of the Riverina buy their goods in Melbourne and not in Sydney. We may take tea as illustration,—seeing that tea is an article of immense consumption among wool-growing people. The tea of the Riverina is bought in Melbourne; and as New South Wales cannot, of course, allow the government of Victoria to swell its revenue with duties levied on articles consumed in New South Wales, the tax upon this tea must either be recovered from Victoria, or must be collected as the tea crosses the border, having passed through the Victorian territory in bond. Some years ago the duties were collected on the borders,—on the banks of the Murray, as the goods passed over; but the inconvenience resulting from such an arrangement was intolerable. It was precisely the same as though there were a custom-house on the Thames at Hampton Court, so that people on the one side could not deal with their neighbours on the other, without the interference of revenue officers. This was so grievous that the two colonies were driven into a convention, by which the border custom-houses were abolished, and Victoria agreed to pay to New South Wales £60,000 per annum in lieu of these *duties, which she* would levy at Mel*bourne on goods there imported,* but sent for consump-

tion into the Riverina. Colonial produce, either from Victoria to New South Wales, or from New South Wales to Victoria, was to pass free under the same agreement, on the assumption that the £60,000 paid by Victoria would balance the whole account.

In this way, as it were by a side wind, the free interchange of colonial produce was sanctioned, in direct opposition to the spirit of the law. The law forbids either colony to import goods from the other on terms more favourable than those on which the same article can be imported from other countries. Just north of the Murray is the Albury district, and the Albury district produces wine which is consumed to a great extent in Melbourne. As Victoria charges a duty on French wines, she is bound to charge a duty on the wines of New South Wales. But the £60,000 per annum paid by Victoria was supposed to settle the whole question of the Murray duties, and the Albury wine-growers were allowed to send their wines into Victoria, to the manifest injury of France, Spain, and Germany,—also to the more manifest injury of the northern portions of New South Wales, which grows a wine perhaps as popular and plentiful as Albury, but which can send its wine to Victoria only by ships. No clearer evidence can be given of the absurdity of intercolonial duties than the confession thus made that they cannot be collected. It may, of course, be asserted that the £60,000 per annum which was paid up to February, 1872, was a fair adjustment of the balance of taxation between the two colonies; but it can hardly be asserted that the arrangement answered the purpose intended by the obligation enforced by Great Britain. The *arrangement* made simply admitted the Albury wines to *pass the* borders of one colony into another duty free, in *direct opposition* to the spirit and to the letter of the

obligation upon which the mother country was still insisting. The mother country, through her Secretaries of State, had declared that were one colony to be allowed to receive the goods of another colony free of duty while charging a duty on those goods from any other country, free trade would be so far abandoned, and protection would be so far encouraged. No doubt it would; and to an equal degree free trade would be abandoned and protection encouraged by allowing Worcester gloves to be sold duty free over the Severn in Worcestershire, should England be ever driven to reimpose a tax on French gloves, by the abrogation of Mr. Cobden's treaty. We still, I believe, levy a tax on imported gold plate and ornaments. Why do we not levy a tax on the gold plate of London when it is taken into Southwark? The argument is the same. Whenever any custom duty is levied, on entering a country producing the same article, the article produced by the country is protected. But why should there be less protection on one side of the Murray than another? or why, at any rate, should England interfere to say that it shall be so, England the while allowing her colonies to make what protective tariffs they please for their own advantage,—or detriment?

But,—to return to the late arrangement as to the border duties across the Murray. A sum of £60,000 was paid by mutual agreement, and the Colonial Office at home winked at the fact that wine and other articles were carried over the river free. This lasted for a few years, and then the ministers of New South Wales,—and among them especially Sir James Martin, their premier,—convinced themselves that £60,000 was not enough. The people of the Riverina drank a great deal of tea, and consumed much brandy and tobacco, the duties on which all went to swell the Victorian revenue. It was

evident to Sir James Martin that the amount should be increased, although when the contest began no returns were produced to show, with even assumed accuracy, what were the amounts of the commerce in question. A conference between ministers of the various Australian cabinets was held at Melbourne,—professedly in regard to postal matters. The discussions on that subject did not have much result. There have been many conferences between Australian ministers, which never seem to have much result, because there is no bond by which the delegates can be fixed to anything. The delegates are not bound by a majority of votes. They are not bound by a majority of colonies, or even by a majority of the population represented. A general palaver takes place, as to which minutes of proceedings are published—to be read, I fear, only by those few who take strong political action in the colonies. I think that very little came of the postal conference; but very much came of the subsequent disputes between the premiers of New South Wales and of Victoria as to the border duties. Mr. Duffy, on the part of Victoria, absolutely repudiated the idea of an increased payment. "We are allowing you to send wine and grain in without duty," said the Victorian prime minister; "wine and grain which are clearly subject to duty; and by raising our hand we can put a tax upon your cattle and sheep. Where would your squatters and graziers be if we put a duty on your mutton and beef? Would not £40,000 a year be nearer the mark than £60,000? As for any increase, that is altogether out of the question. I don't know how you can look me in the face and ask it." Such seems to have been the tenor of the reply made by the Victorian minister; and the minister from New South Wales was not less positive or less high-spoken. £100,000, or the border duties, was his ultimatum.

Of course there was no agreement; and the minister from New South Wales returned to Sydney full of resolution, full of courage, almost full of war. The border duties should be collected.

And the border duties were collected. But the real battle had to be fought in Sydney. It would be too long to tell the tale of the whole fight,—how it raged throughout long nights in the House of Assembly. Sir James Martin carried the House of Assembly with him at first by a small majority, but was afterwards defeated, and had to retire. He fought his battle with the utmost gallantry, and with an amount of parliamentary energy and power which filled me with regret that I could not place myself on the side which seemed to gain more honour by defeat than the other did by victory. But, to my thinking, Sir James was twice wrong. He was wrong in the first instance for disturbing an arrangement which, logically absurd as it was, did at any rate promote peace and good-will between the colonies, and which would not have been made less logically absurd had Sir James succeeded in increasing the lump sum from £60,000 to £100,000; and he was wrong in the second instance because he ought to have known that his own colony would be against him. He was beaten in his own House of Assembly,—in which previous to the raising of this question he had a majority. He induced the governor to dissolve,—for which the governor was abused by all parties,—and was then in a decided minority, having with difficulty secured a seat for himself after losing that for East Sydney which he previously held.

I have narrated the matter here at some length, not much hoping to interest English readers in the fate of the premier of *New South Wales* on the occasion,—or *even in the question of the border* duties itself, which

loomed so large when I was at Sydney,—because it offers a fair example of the confusion and grievous trouble into which the colonies are thrown by their present condition in regard to intercolonial custom duties. The Australian colonies are at any rate as closely allied as are the cantons of Switzerland, the United States of America,—or as were the different German kingdoms and duchies before the days of Prussian complete ascendancy. But among these various states and kingdoms,—which, in truth, have never had bonds of obligation half so strong as those which should knit Australia into one whole,—there has been union sufficient to prevent the cruelty of internal custom duties. Let those who have travelled in Germany think what it would be if all articles of commerce between Baden and Darmstadt, between Rhenish Prussia and Nassau, had been subject to the same restrictions as those imposed on goods imported from France into Germany. Americans are supposed by us to injure themselves considerably by the severity of their custom regulations;—but where would be their trade if New York could not deal with Jersey City, or Cincinnati with Louisville, Chicago with Buffalo, except through the intervention of internal custom-houses?

Sir James Martin wanted £100,000 in lieu of £60,000 for his border duties. The one arrangement would have been as irrational as the other. In either case articles of intercolonial produce would have been allowed to pass free,—not because it is right, or even legal to grant to the residents on the Murray a privilege denied to residents in other parts of either colony; not because it is just to give to the people of Albury a market for their wine in Melbourne free of duty, while the wine-growers on the Hunter River could not send their wine to Melbourne without subjecting it to the same duty as that

e on foreign wines. The Albury wines under the stem were allowed to pass free, because the pay- of a lump sum in lieu of duties on such articles as id sugar imported at Melbourne in Victoria for the f the Riverina in New South Wales, gave an op- nity for evasion. The British law still binding on colonies requires, that goods passing from one colony nother shall be taxed, if similar goods from foreign ntries are made subject to tax. Foreign wines are of se subject to duty, and, therefore, New South Wales e should pay a duty on going into Victoria;—but by pping these border duties it was allowed to slip through. e only cure for this anomaly and confusion is to be und in a customs union throughout the colonies, and e first step to such a union will be an alteration in the ritish law which forbids the colonies to exercise each s own discretion as to the free intercourse of their own produce, and put an end to all those abominable smuggling complications which must follow an attempt to collect duties over a long line of internal demarcation, such as that afforded by the river Murray. Dry as this subject is, I shall venture to return to it again before I finish the task which I have taken in hand, because I regard the present condition of things as fatal to the recognition of Australian integrity, either by the colonies themselves or by other nationalities.

These border duties were so much in the ascendant, both when I first visited Sydney and when I returned thither, that I hardly heard other matters of much im- portance discussed in the New South Wales parliament. There was a divorce bill brought forward, and I then was surprised to learn that the people of New Soutl Wales, *alone among English-speaking races, are witho any legalised means of separating* a wife from her h

band, or a husband from his wife. On this occasion th
divorce bill was thrown out, and the peculiarity still r
mains. The practice of the British parliament as
counting out and observing the presence of strangers h
been adopted, and is of course much more frequent
used than it is at home. I was surprised to find h
very large a proportion of the time of the House w
occupied in personal discussions and appeals to t
Speaker;—as to some of which I could not but feel th
the gentleman had by no means a bed of roses.
Speaker in an Australian House of Assembly should
a stout man, not thin-skinned, prone rather to cont
himself with a low level of conduct in his House than
attempt the maintenance of high dignified decorum,
but capable of speaking a very strong word if a mem
should occasionally fall into a bathos lower than th
low level. With some trains a driver feels that it is muc
to get along at all. The House at Sydney does certainl
succeed in making its journeys. When there, I often fel
that an exercise of some great act of authority would be
useful,—that an order to the sergeant-at-arms to carry
away an offending member and lock him up in some
parliamentary black-hole would be beneficial. I longed
for the moment to be the Speaker, that I might b
authoritative. But I perceived gradually that the wor
did get itself done, and that the gentleman in the chai
knew what he was about. I was not so sure that he wa
right, when on an occasion,—a new bill respecting th
border duties being then in committee,—he spoke fro
the benches as a member of the House, not simply o
the clause under discussion, but with considerable part
violence on the subject of the bill at large. I could n
but think that his authority as Speaker would be injure
by his descending into the political arena.

That a very commonplace man may make a fair debater was a lesson I had learned before I ever entered an Australian legislature. Such a one will not become a great orator. He will not overcome his hearers by reasons, or carry them away by passionate eloquence. But he may be very serviceable,—as flour is serviceable in the fabrication of a pudding. Indeed a pudding with much flour and but few plums will answer its purpose better than one in which the plums have nothing to hold them together. In the House of Assembly at Sydney there was a sufficiency of farinaceous matter to prevent the plums from cloying the appetite and injuring the digestion.

The Lower House, or House of Assembly, at Sydney consists of seventy-two members. They are elected members for four years, the house being, of course, subject to dissolution by the governor,—as is our House of Commons at home. Manhood suffrage prevails, and votes are given by ballot. There is no power of scrutiny after the ballot, and I was told by many that the personation of votes is common. I am inclined to think that the ballot has acted well in the colony,—serving, as it certainly has done, to preserve tranquillity at elections. I do not think that any conclusion should be drawn from this as to the expedience of the ballot in England. In New South Wales no voter is desirous of concealing his vote. It is not for secrecy,—to protect the voter from intimidation, or from bribery,—that the ballot is needed, but as a measure of police precaution for the day.

The Upper House, or Legislative Council, in Sydney is dignified and conservative. As in Queensland, the members are elected by the Crown, and are elected for life. *Practically the nomination* is made by the premier *of the day. The great majority* of the present members

have sat in the Lower House, and have thus learned the use of a debating chamber before entering the Council.

The Executive Council consists of the Governor and seven ministers,—one of whom must be in the Legislative Council. The following are the officers who generally compose the Cabinet:—the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Secretary for Lands, the Secretary for Public Works, and the Postmaster-General. Any one of these officers may be Premier, though the Premier generally chooses to be Colonial Secretary. Sir James Martin, when Premier, has always been Attorney-General. Mr. Robertson was at one time Premier and Secretary for Lands. The conduct of public business is almost the same as with us in England, the one exception being that the governors have the power of reserving bills passed by the two Houses for the sanction of the home government; and that the home government, even when bills have not been so reserved, may put its veto on a bill, even when it has been passed by the two Houses and the governor, at any time within two years of the date of its receipt by the Secretary of State.

By the last census, taken in 1871, the population of New South Wales was 503,981. At the beginning of 1872, the revenue was £2,218,699. Of this sum, £1,720,722 was made up by taxation, and £497,977 was revenue derived from the sale and lease of crown lands. The public debt was £10,614,330, and the interest of the debt was £530,514 per annum;—thus requiring every individual in the colony to bear a burden of about £1 per annum on its account. It must, however, be explained that nearly all the money so borrowed has been expended on public works,—such as roads and railways, and that the sum expended on railways, amounting to £6,500,000,

returns an interest of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the shape of profit. It can hardly be boasted on behalf of the colony that this outlay of money has been directly remunerative, as we know that $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is nearer to the mark of normal interest in New South Wales; but when we consider the general good that is done by an easy means of transit to a community in which the ordinary means are difficult, slow, and expensive, we can hardly look upon the debt in the light of a national incubus, as we should do had the money been laid out on the current expenses of the year, or in defraying the charges of past extravagance.

The total payment demanded from every inhabitant is higher than it is at home. With us it is less than £2 10*s.* a head. In New South Wales it is very nearly £3 10*s.* a head,—after giving the colony the advantage of the sum derived from the lease and sale of crown lands; but £3 10*s.* a head is not nearly so heavy a burden in the colonies as is £2 10*s.* in England. The rate of rural wages throughout Great Britain is not much above 12*s.* a week, whereas in New South Wales it averages about 24*s.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Country Towns, Railways, and Roads.

The country towns of Australia, generally, are not attractive, and it is hardly to be expected that they should as yet be so. There are, of course, exceptional instances,—Ballaarat, Geelong, and Beechworth in Victoria, are exceptions, as are also Launceston in Tasmania, and Strathalbyn and Mount Gambier in South Australia, which, from peculiarity of situation, or the energy of individuals, have become either well-built cities or pleasant little towns. No doubt there are others which I was not able to visit.

But, generally, there is a raw newness about these congregations of houses, an initiation of streets which as yet are no more than initiated, a deficiency in pavement and macadamisation which leads either to dust or mud, an apparent mixture of pretension and failure which is indeed indispensable to towns founded with hopes of future greatness, but which creates a feeling of melancholy sadness in the mind of a stranger. It could hardly have been otherwise, and yet it grieves us to see that they who have diligently made their plans, intending to produce comfort, social neatness, and sometimes even urban magnificence, should as yet have succeeded in producing only discomfort, untidiness, and insignificance. In old countries, such as our own, towns have grown up almost without an intention on the part of any founder. Cities have formed themselves out of villages, because it has suited first this man and then that to earn his bread in this or that locality. Consequently our streets have been narrow and crooked, our spaces confined and often ill arranged, and our supplies of water and air insufficient for an increasing population. We are daily compelled to pull down that we may rebuild,—and are almost angry with ourselves or with those who went before us, in that there has been so little foresight among us as to the wants of mankind. But it has resulted from all this that we are not, as a rule, incomplete, pretentious, or unpicturesque. The new countries, however, have taken a lesson from the deficiencies of the old countries, and have commenced their towns on a certain plan, with wide streets, and large spaces, and straight long lines, so that coming generations of thronging men may be able to build their houses *in spots properly* prepared, and to move about without *knotting themselves* into inconvenient crowds as men have *to do in the old* cities. When the generations shall have

come, this will be very well, and the wisdom of the founders will be acknowledged;—but in the meantime the new towns are ugly, and generally dirty.

They who have travelled in the United States beyond the big cities,—who have seen something besides New York, Boston, and Chicago,—must have felt this ugliness very strongly. It was the appreciation of this deformity, excited to its greatest intensity by the unfortunate youthfulness of the place then under inspection, and by the imagination of the artist, which produced that portion of a town in the wilderness which Dickens painted and called Eden. The founders of his Eden had sought the confluence of two great navigable rivers, and had planned long quays and broad streets;—but, up to Dickens's day, had produced nothing but mud and ague. I have seen no Australian town so bad as Eden,—which certainly when I visited it still deserved all the evil things which have been said of it. Such a picture of any Australian town, even if I could draw it, would be untrue. But I cannot say that as yet these communities possess many beauties to recommend them to the eye, or have much to please a stranger. I visited not a few of these in New South Wales, and found, almost invariably, the same characteristics,—broad streets, and many of them but streets very imperfectly filled with houses, a look of scattered, straggling incompleteness, and an air of disappointment, as though men were beginning to fear that their Eden was not becoming that city of Elysium which they had fondly anticipated.

And yet in these towns there is ample evidence of energy. The population of such places may be said to vary from 7,000 to 500, *the great* majority having less than *2,000 inhabitants. Exclusive* of Sydney there are *but six towns in the whole colony* of New South Wales

which have a population over 2,000, and of these f
Newcastle, Maitland, Paramatta, and Bathurst hav
population varying from 5,000 to 7,500. In all th
towns,—even in places with less than 500 souls,—th
is a bank. In most of them there are two or th
banks. In all these there is a church;—in most of th
there are churches. The hotels are more numerous e
than the banks and churches, and,—though I heard th
abused as inns are always abused in all countries
found them fairly comfortable and very much better t
I had expected from the sparseness of the popula
over so wide a district. Almost all inns in Austr
however small, have a bath-room,—though it may be
rude construction. I wish I could convey this infor
tion to hotel-keepers in England. I found, too, that
shops were better than they looked, and that the me
of comfortable life were to be found in towns wh
were not attractive in their appearance.

In England it is sometimes very difficult to disc
the raison d'étre of a community called a town. C
cannot understand why that especial lot of human bei
have formed themselves together and determined to l
in that particular place. It seems that the tailor li
on the butcher, the butcher on the baker, the baker
the publican, and so on. In many of our towns, p
bably in all the greater cities, there is some partic
industry,—but in others, especially in the South a
East, there is no such cause. I never could underst
why Wincanton or Ilminster should continue to exist,
Chelmsford or Bury St. Edmunds. There were cau
when the towns were new, and in new countries
causes are still to be recognised. In New South Wa
many of the towns have been absolutely created by
gold-fields, and are still being created. Some of the g

field towns are already in a state of decay, and are almost passing away. Still something of life remains, but of all the sad places I ever saw they are the most melancholy. They are "bush" towns. Readers who desire to understand anything of Australian life should become acquainted with the technical meaning of the word "bush." The bush is the gum-tree forest, with which so great a part of Australia is covered, that folk who follow a country life are invariably said to live in the bush. Squatters who look after their own runs always live in the bush, even though their sheep are pastured on plains. Instead of a town mouse and a country mouse in Australia, there would be a town mouse and a bush mouse,—but mice living in the small country towns would still be bush mice. A young lady when she becomes engaged to a gentleman whose avocations call upon him to live far inland always declares that she prefers "bush life." The mining towns are comprised of the sudden erections which sprung from the finding of gold in the neighbourhood, and are generally surrounded by thick forest. But in their immediate vicinity the trees have been cut down either for firewood or for use under ground;—but have not been altogether cleared away, so that the hideous stumps remain above the surface. Around on all sides the ground has been stirred in the search for gold, and ugly bare heaps of clay are left. The road to and from such a place will meander causelessly between yawning holes, in each of which some desponding miner has probably buried his high hopes,—and which he has then abandoned. One wonders that every child in the neighbourhood does not perish by falling into them. At different points around the centre which have once been supposed to be auriferous, there are the skeleton remains of wooden habitations, with here and

there the tawdry sign-boards of deserted shops from which high profits were once expected. In some few of these skeleton habitations there are still inhabitants,—men and women who having a house have been unwilling to leave it, even when the dreadful fact that gold is not to be found in paying quantities has been acknowledged. In the centre there is still the town, though day by day its right to the name is passing from it. There are still the publicans, and still the churches,—though the services become rare and still more rare,—and there is the bank holding its position as long as an ounce of gold is to be extracted from the unwilling soil. Here congregate Chinese in gangs, who are content to re-wash the ground which has already been perhaps twice washed by European or Australian Christians, and who, with the patient industry which is peculiar to them, will earn perhaps each 1*s.* 6*d.* a day by the process. I will name no such town, because by doing so I might offend the susceptibilities of some still hopeful denizens of the place specified, but they are easy to find by those who travel in New South Wales. There are, however, other mining towns in the colony full of life. Men are still crowding to them; and at these habitations cannot be put up fast enough to cover the eager seekers after wealth, nor shops opened quick enough to supply their wants. Of them I will say a few words in another chapter.

Other towns, and they probably the best and most enduring of the country towns of New South Wales, have been built in the wheat districts,—in those parts of the colony which have been found most fitted for cereal produce. Among these are Maitland, Bathurst, Goulbourn, Armidale, Albury,—and Wagga Wagga, celebrated *for ever in the* annals of the colony as having been once *the residence* of the great Tichborne claimant. Maitland

and Goulbourn I did not visit,—of Bathurst I cannot speak otherwise than kindly because of the kindness I received there. It stands in a fertile plain, just across that range of Blue Mountains which in the early days of the colony were so cruelly inaccessible to the first settlers. When at last their energies prevailed they got down upon the happy wheat-bearing land through which the Macquarie runs, where the town of Bathurst now stands with its broad streets and numerous churches. Bathurst has 5,030 inhabitants. There must surely be room there for treble the number,—so spacious is it, and so great are the distances. Truth compels me to state that the mud in their streets can be very deep in wet weather.

Newcastle, in population and importance, is second to Sydney. It is essentially a city of coal. As I must speak again of the coal of the colony, I need do no more here than mention the name. It remains that I should say a word in honour of Paramatta, the city of oranges, and the scene of some of the greatest efforts made by the early settlers to obtain subsistence from the ungrateful soil of the districts adjacent to Sydney. The Paramatta River,—called by the natives by that or by some similar name,—runs down into Sydney Harbour, and on this river, about fifteen miles above the city, now stands the pleasant and almost old-fashioned little town. It is quite unlike any other colonial place of the same size, having been established before the new order of things had commenced,—when men were struggling for existence rather than thinking of sanitary arrangements and future grandeur. The early colonists tried to grow wheat here and failed. Those who have come since have *planted oranges and* have made money. Now *Paramatta is known far and wide* for its fruit,—so that

no man or woman is supposed to have seen Sydney aright who has not visited Mr. Pye's orange groves, and shaken hands with Mrs. Pye, who in the matter of conserved oranges stands far above all competitors in any country. Either the soil or the climate, or both together, contain the requisites, whatever they may be, for this peculiar growth, so that neither Jamaica or the South of Spain, not Malta or the Havanna, can beat Paramatta in this especial article of produce. And as a consequence the consumption of oranges is very great throughout all the colonies. December and January are the months in which they culminate, but they are picked ripe throughout the entire year. On the 1st of July, in the very middle of winter, I ate fresh-picked oranges in Sydney which were ripe and perfectly sweet, and at the same period of the year they are exported in great numbers. At Paramatta I found an hotel so like an old English country inn,—that when there I could hardly believe that I was in the colony. But Paramatta, like Sydney, is not a mushroom, as are other colonial towns; but has an old history and savours of the last century. Steamers ply to it up the Paramatta River, and it lies also on the Sydney and Bathurst Railway,—so that it may almost be regarded as a suburb of the city.

In New South Wales there are three lines of railway nearly equal in length, comprising altogether 394 miles. The amount does not seem much for so great a country;—but it must be remembered that the very distances create the difficulty. The population is scattered so far and wide that the towns to be connected are too small to pay for railway traffic. The Great Northern starts *from* Newcastle, and runs up through the coal district *to* Maitland, Singleton, and Musclebrook. The average cost per mile of this line was £13,000, and it is carried

over 124 miles. The Great Western and the Great Southern,—it is of course necessary that the English pattern should be followed and that all railways shall be Great,—are one and the same from Sydney as far as Paramatta. This morsel of railway, 14 miles in length, the first opened in the colony, cost no less than £50,000 a mile to construct it, the total sum expended on it being six times the amount originally subscribed by a private company to make the entire railway to Goulbourn, a distance of 135 miles! At Paramatta the lines diverge, the Southern branch going to Goulbourn, and the Western across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst. The latter crosses the Nepean River at Penrith, and immediately ascends the hills. It is taken up by a zigzag ascent, and after running 60 miles through the mountains, by the only passable track which they afford even for foot travellers, it is brought down again by another zigzag. On the ascent from the Nepean the steepest gradient is 1 in 30;—on the descent towards Bathurst it is 1 in 42. The whole work is said to be, and appears to be, a wonderful feat of engineering enterprise,—and is not the less so certainly because it cost £25,000 a mile; whereas the portion of the line between Sydney and Paramatta, which cost double the money, runs through a perfectly flat country. The scenery through the Blue Mountain ranges is so grand, that the traveller should not content himself with looking at it from a railway carriage. There are three or four points on the line at which he should stay a few hours, and explore the defiles around him. The ranges which are so passed run all the length of the eastern side of Australia, dividing a narrow strip of land along the sea-shore from the huge plains of the interior. From Paramatta *the Southern* line branches to Goulbourn, *also passing the ranges*,—but doing so at a spot

in which the ascent is comparatively insignificant. But in this work also the gradients for three consecutive miles are 1 in 30. The line to Goulbourn from Paramatta cost £13,000 a mile.

The total cost of the railways in New South Wales up to the end of 1871 had been £6,532,184, and in that year the receipts taken on the 394 miles open were £365,322. The working expenses were £197,065, and the net profit on the sum expended £158,257, giving an interest on the capital invested of 2.42 per cent. These railways are exclusively in the hands of the government, are made with public money, and are managed by a minister of state,—as are the post-office and electric telegraph with us. The greater portion of the debt of the colony has been borrowed for the purpose, and has been so expended. As $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. may perhaps be named as the present normal rate of interest in the colony, it cannot be said that the business is directly remunerative as a speculation. The railways are still being extended, and it may probably be long before any material increase in the rate of direct profit will be realised; —but that adequate profit of an indirect nature is realised, amply sufficient to justify the outlay, no one I think can doubt.

Nevertheless, these railways are open to an objection which strikes an Englishman very forcibly. With a few exceptions as to short lines for local traffic, all the Australian railways have been made by the Australian government, and have necessarily been made under the authority of centralized officials. When it is determined to spend a million on railways, some individual has to determine *whether* the money shall be expended for the advantage *of this or that* district. No doubt the proposition must *be sanctioned* by parliament, but we all know what is

the power of a man "in power;" and we know also how prone such men are to use their power, perhaps unconsciously, towards the promotion of their own parliamentary interest. They who do not know it would soon be taught the lesson by a visit to the Australian colonies. When a change of government is effected, and a new set of men obtains possession of the treasury bench, the happy localities by whom the new ministers are sent to parliament immediately become assured that roads and bridges will be showered upon them, and they become loudly expectant of railways. But these benefits are to be procured by money subscribed by the colony at large, which should therefore be expended on behalf of the colony at large. When the member for Wonga-jonga becomes the honourable secretary for public works, it is a matter of course that the inhabitants of the Wonga-jonga district should expect great things; and it is almost equally a matter of course that the secretary for public works should do, if not great things, at least little things. He will do probably as little as may suffice to secure his popularity; but he will hardly be able to forget altogether his own interests in his public duty, and he certainly will not be encouraged to forget his own interests by the general feeling which prevails around him.

Nor would it be possible for any minister, let his sense of duty be ever so strong, to adjust the expenditure of public money on local objects so as to deal fairly with all by whom the money is subscribed. Consequently there is a continued outcry that money is unfairly spent. None of the railways of New South Wales confer any appreciable benefit on the *inhabitants* of the great Riverina *district, or on the district of* Illawarra, which lies *south from Sydney along the coast*; but Riverina and

Illawarra pay as much towards the Bathurst and Goulbourn railways as do the localities benefited. Consequently a certain amount of suspicion and distrust is the necessary consequence of the system adopted.

The ordinary roads of New South Wales would probably more thoroughly astonish an Englishman hitherto altogether ignorant of the condition of the colonies than any other phenomenon that he would meet. The extreme length of the colony along the sea-board is 900 miles, and its mean breadth about 500 miles. It is about three times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and larger than any state in Europe except Russia. Throughout the whole of this enormous country there are but 604 miles of metalled roads, by far the majority of which are closely adjacent to the towns. In the island of Ceylon, which has not been in our possession longer than New South Wales, and which is smaller than Ireland, there are 2,606 miles of principal roads, all of which are metalled and completed. Ceylon is a Crown colony, in which everything is done by almost despotic rule, whereas New South Wales enjoys the privilege of representative government.

I trust it may not be thought that I make this comparison as tending to show that a Crown colony is in a more blessed state than one under representative government, or that the native races of Ceylon are in a happier condition generally than the people of New South Wales. In Ceylon the labourers on the roads receive, I am told, about 1*s.* 2*d.* a day, and they live upon rice. Roads may therefore be made cheaply. In New South Wales the road-makers eat meat three times a day, and *are paid* certainly not less than 4*s.* a day. Roads, therefore, are costly. The contrast, however, will serve to show how very small a portion of the free colony's

received an accommodation which we at home regard as one of the primary requisites of civilised life.

In addition to the 604 miles of completed road, there are 1,255 other miles in different states of incompletion, of which the majority, in the summer of 1872, had been simply cleared. The lines had been surveyed, and the forest-trees had been cut down. As a consequence of this condition of things, journeys are made over forest-tracks, and are made so constantly, and with such a fair amount of average punctuality, that the traveller is at last driven to ask himself whether, after all that has been said on the subject, roads are a necessity.

This travelling through the endless forest of gum-trees is very peculiar, and at first attractive. After awhile it becomes monotonous in the extreme. There is a great absence of animal life. One may go all day through a pastoral country without seeing a sheep or a kangaroo. Now and again one hears the melancholy note of the magpie, or the unmelodious but cheerful gobble of the laughing jackass, and sometimes the scream of a cockatoo; but even birds are not common. Travellers one meets occasionally,—a man on horseback, with his swag before him on his saddle, or a line of drays drawn by bullocks, or perhaps a squatter in his buggy,—but they are few and far between. The road, such as it is, consists of various tracks, running hither and thither, and very puzzling at first to a "new chum"—till he learns that all these tracks in the bush are only deviations of one road. When the bullock-drays have so cut up a certain passage that the ruts are big enough and deep enough to swallow up a buggy or to overset the stage-coach, the buggies and the stage-coach make another passage, from which they move again when the inevitable bullock-drays have followed them. The government shows its

first care on these roads in making bridges over the streams, but even bridges are not absolutely essential. With some rough contrivance, when any contrivance is absolutely necessary, the vehicles descend and ascend the banks, though the wheels be down to the nave in mud. Over many of these bush roads, Cobb's coaches travel day and night, passing in and out through the trees, up and down across the creeks, sticking here and there in the mud, in a rough, uneasy, but apparently not very insecure fashion. Now and then one hears that a coach has been upset, and that the passengers have been out in the bush all night; but one very rarely hears that any one has been hurt, unless it be the coachman. The average pace of the travelling in New South Wales is about six miles an hour.

But more go in their own buggies than by coach, and perhaps more on horseback than in buggies. In Australia every one keeps horses;—every squatter keeps horses by the dozen; and a buggy is as necessary a part of his establishment as a dinner-table. These vehicles are either American, or are built on the American plan, and are admirably adapted for bush work. They are very light, and go over huge logs and across unfathomable ruts almost without feeling them. To upset them seems to be an impossibility. They are constantly being broken,—hopelessly broken to the mind of an ignorant stranger; but they go on apparently as well without a pole as with one, and are indifferent to bent axles and injured wheels. There are always yards of rope at hand, and supplementary timber can be cut from the next tree. Many scores of miles through the bush I have *travelled in* these buggies,—and have sometimes felt the *hours to pass* by very slowly; but though there have been *no roads*,—nothing that in England would be called a

road,—I have encountered no injury, nor have I been aware of any danger.

But the pleasantest mode of bush travelling is on horseback. It is open to this objection,—that you can carry nothing with you but what can be strapped on to your saddle before you. Two changes of linen, a night-shirt, a pair of trousers, with hair-brushes, tooth-brush, and a pair of slippers, is about as much as can be taken. But, on the other hand, bush-life requires but little in the way of dress, and a man travelling on horseback is held to be exempt from rules which he should observe if he travelled in a buggy. The squatter travelling alone through the country generally takes two horses, leading one and riding the other and in this way makes very long journeys. The work which Australian horses will do when immediately taken off the grass is very surprising. I have ridden forty, fifty, and even as much as sixty-four miles a day,—the whole weight on the animal's back being over seventeen stone, and have come to the end of the day's work without tiring the horse. According to the distance to be done, and the number of consecutive days during which you require your steed to travel, will be your pace. The fastest which I ever did from morning to evening was eight miles an hour throughout, resting two hours and journeying eight; but six miles an hour will perhaps be the average rate. The stories, however, that we hear are very wonderful,—for in matters of horseflesh, gentlemen in Australia do not hide their lights under bushels. I have heard men boast of doing ten miles an hour for ten hours running; and one very enterprising horseman assured me that he had ridden seventy-five miles *in four hours. The bush* horses are, generally, *not shod,—though I would always* recommend shoeing

for a long journey,—and are very rarely stabled. The are expected,—to use a bush phrase,—to cut their ow bread and butter, or, in other words, to feed themselve by foraging. The two paces which are commonl adopted by horsemen in the bush are walking and can tering. Men seldom trot, and consequently many horse altogether lose, or never acquire, the habit of trotting. have been assured that Australian horses will get ove the ground at a fast pace with greater ease to themselve by a continual canter than by changing that pace for trot. That such a theory is altogether wrong, I hav not the slightest doubt. I have found in Australia, a all horsemen know in England, that horses carryin heavy weights will make much longer journeys if mad to trot than they can do if required to canter hour afte hour. The canter is the easier pace to the man, an therefore it has been adopted. Not uncommonly a hors will knock up with his rider on the road. On suc occasions the rider turns into the nearest squatter' station, and borrows another. The fact that everybody' horses, and everybody's saddles and bridles, are alway at somebody else's house and never at the owner's, i one of the most remarkable and perhaps not least pleas ing phases of Australian life. Nevertheless, it tends t some confusion.

CHAPTER XVII.

Land.

I FEAR I shall have to repeat very often the fact tha at the commencement of colonization in Australia, a *land was the* property of the Crown,—and that on th *transfer in* each colony of the power of government fro *the Crown to* representative institutions, the land beca

the property of that colony, except in regard to such comparatively small tracts as had been already alienated to individuals. In other words, the land from the beginning has been held in trust, to be administered for the benefit of those who have ventured to go to it and to look to it for their future means of subsistence. Great difference of opinion has existed among men as to the way in which this trust should be administered, and undoubtedly many mistakes have been made. Equally without doubt, I fear, the trust has been occasionally betrayed by grants of land which there has been nothing to justify. Sales, too, have been made with partiality,—so that land has been transferred to the favoured for sums much less than it was worth in the open market. And political influences have been brought to bear upon the disposition of land, concessions having been made to the supporters of one interest at the expense of those who have been regarded as opponents. These differences of opinion have been so wide, the mistakes made have been so serious, the breaches of trust have been felt to be so obvious by men who have not themselves been favoured, and the political jobbing has been a thorn so sharp in the side of those who have considered themselves to be injured, that the matter in the colonies is discussed on all sides as though the only principle on which it was possible to act,—that of the land being in truth the property of colonists who would go and use it,—had been forgotten, thrown over, and abandoned. But the principle has never been forgotten and has never been abandoned. The adherence to it has perhaps been as close as has been compatible with the customary infirmities of human administrators. Under the old despotic governors, and under the government as since carried on by parliamentary ministers, there has ever

been an attempt at a system, founded on this principle. Mr. Wakefield's idea that the land should be sold for a price, and not given away, has been fully adopted. The idea of those who generally agreed with him, that the money so obtained should be expended on emigration, has been partially tried, but has fallen to the ground. The price paid for the land has become a part of the revenue of the colony, and has in this way been used for the benefit of those who paid it. It is now a fixed rule in all the Australian colonies that the public lands shall be sold to those who desire to buy them, in accordance with certain laws,—and that these laws shall settle the price, the area that may be bought, the way in which it shall be selected, the amount of credit that shall be given, and the terms as to residence and cultivation, by a compliance with which the purchase may at last be completed. These laws have been made with the expressed object of dealing fairly not only with the would-be purchasers of the land, but also with the interests of a set of men who, by their capital and energy, have gradually become the ascendant class or aristocracy of Australia. It must be remembered always that the would-be purchasers have rarely, if ever, proposed to settle themselves on lands altogether unoccupied. There have been settlers before them who have used the land, but who while using it were under no necessity to possess it. These were patriarch squatters,—owners of sheep who drove their flocks on the public pastures, and "squatted" on the land, conscious that it was not their own, but conscious also that by taking such temporary occupation they were making themselves the pioneers of *civilisation*, and were legitimately carrying on the true *purposes of colonization*. It is not too much to say, that *all the early* success of Australia was due to the squatter

of New South Wales, who followed the steps of Captain Macarthur, the man who introduced merino sheep into Australia. At first the sheep of the squatters ran free,—but it was soon recognised as a fact that as the foraging of sheep was profitable, the graziers should pay some rent for the land,—the land so used being still the property of the colony, and not the property of the graziers. Then it became necessary not only that a rental should be fixed, but also terms arranged as to the continuance of the lease. I have not heard that in New South Wales there has been much heart-burning as to the price demanded;—but there has been much as to the continuance of the squatter's holding. The squatter's pastoral run has been made fairly his own, as against other squatters, but it has been opened by law to the choice of the free-selecter. Any would-be farmer may take a bit here or a bit there, may choose the choice water-holes of the run without which the sheep cannot be pastured, may make his own of any portion of the squatter's holding. And ten, twenty, forty free-selecters may make their own of as many portions of it till they absolutely take his pastures from him. And perhaps this is not the worst aspect of the squatter's case. The man who comes and calls himself a free-selecter may at heart, and in very deed, be no farmer at all,—but a professional thief intent on living on his neighbour's goods. Or he may be joint farmer and thief,—growing perhaps a little maize and a few pumpkins, but still having an eye to the squatter's sheep or the squatter's oxen. That there is very much of such theft in New South Wales is certain, and also that it is very difficult to punish the offender. The flocks are so numerous and the spaces so vast, that it is often *long before the stolen* animals are missed, and often *impossible to bring evidence* against the thief, al-

though the squatter knows well where his beef and mu
ton have gone. And there is another evil-minded fre
selecter who is very odious to the squatter. This m
purchases his tract of land, something between 40 a
320 acres, simply in order that he may be bought o
He knows that he can be so disagreeable as a neighbo
that his neighbour will be fain to buy him out. He al
succeeds, too often, to the great grief of the squatt
The squatters urge that they had leases or promises
leases which should have preserved them for a term
years, and that their rights were ignored by new laws.
found the question to be very intricate in New Sou
Wales, and I do not know that I can do any service
expressing an opinion one way or the other. La
ministers in New South Wales have been confident
proving to me that no existing rights were ever infring
by the operation of a new land law. Squatters have be
equally confident in proving to me that their rights we
altogether ignored, and that the terms made with the
were infringed. I have endeavoured to believe bo
when listening to them, and do not doubt that they
were proclaiming truths undoubted to themselves.
speaking of Victoria I shall be obliged to return to th
subject,—for in Victoria I think that the squatter's righ
as confirmed by one law, were taken from them by
subsequent law. I mention the matter in regard to Ne
South Wales in order that the reader may understan
some of the difficulties with which the distribution of th
public lands has been surrounded. The professed obje
of the land laws has been so to adjust the disposal
the public lands as to attract small purchasers witho
injustice to the great squatters, and I believe that th
object has been truly sought by those who have frame
these laws in New South Wales.

When I was first at Sydney, a new land law was in the hands of the government,—which had then come hot from the brain of the indefatigable Mr. Robertson. It contained eighty-four clauses, and each clause required study for its comprehension,—so complicated is the subject. I was told that I could not hope to understand the bill unless I mastered all the details of the existing land law. I did my best, believing that the new bill would become a good law. But when I returned to Sydney, Mr. Robertson and Sir James Martin had fallen, and the new land bill with its eighty-four clauses had been shoved aside into pigeon-holes. It is melancholy to think how much futile work,—work that never comes to anything,—is done by statesmen and politicians. When we remember the bills that are drawn out, with numberless laboured clauses, the tedious toil of long days and long nights, and how often all this is done with no result, we ought to feel kindly to these ill-used patriots. Men do it from year to year, hoping only that each year's work may form, in some sort, an unacknowledged stepping-stone to the object in view. There were Mr. Berkeley's annual bills about the ballot! The ballot has come, but Mr. Berkeley is dead. I hope it may not be so with Mr. Robertson. I took the liberty of condoling with him about his bill, but he did not seem to require consolation. The wind is tempered to the shorn lamb, and the baffled statesman has some shield of proof of which ordinary mortals know nothing.

Under the existing law any would-be purchaser may select in New South Wales not less than 40, or more than 320 acres,—the price being 20*s.* an acre. Of this sum he pays down one-*fourth*,—£25 we will say for 100 acres. *He then enters in upon* possession, and no *further claim for payment is made* upon him for three

years. At the end of that time he may pay the othe three-fourths, as to which no interest is charged again him for those three years. If he does so, and can satisf the officials of the land office by certain declaration that he has complied with expressed stipulations as t residence and expenditure of money on improvement the fee-simple of the land is made over to him. But thi the free-selecter need not do,—and very rarely does. H may pay the outstanding 75 per cent. of his purchase money and get his title-deeds, but he need not do so Instead of that he may pay 5 per cent. interest on th debt for an indefinite term of years, having the while th undisturbed use of his land; and as his money is wort to him more than 5 per cent., this is what he does d The farmer, therefore, in New South Wales with 10 acres of land will have paid £25 down, will have ha the use of his land without further payment for thre years, and will then pay a rental of £3 15*s.* a year,— which obligation he can terminate at any time by payin down a further sum of £75.

The terms seem to be very easy, but yet, as far as could learn, the free-selecters in New South Wales ar not so prosperous a class as one would wish to fin them. It must be remembered in the first place th they enter in upon their land in its rough state, unfence and probably with heavy timber on it. They then b come almost invariably subject to, I will not say ill-usag but hostility from their richer neighbours. No doubt the can retaliate,—and can injure the squatter much mor materially than the squatter can injure them. They ca steal, and if provoked can set fire to fences. They ca *sell grog*, either with or without a licence; and a grog *shop in the* vicinity of his station is regarded by th *squatter as* one of the most grievous injuries which c

be inflicted on him. But the state of hostility which is thus engendered cannot tend to the man's comfort or to his material advantage. The climate, however, is the most severe enemy which the free-selecter has to encounter in New South Wales. Land capable of producing cereals he can obtain, but through the uncertainty of the climate he cannot be secure of his crop. Once in three years his crop is good,—but twice in three years it will hardly pay the price of production. In the year ending 31st March, 1870, there were in New South Wales 189,452 acres under wheat, and the crop amounted to nearly 17 bushels an acre. That was a good year. Nevertheless the area under wheat sunk in the next year to 147,997 acres, and the produce did not amount to 7 bushels an acre. That was a very bad year. Wages are so high,—averaging never less than 24*s.* a week, including the cost of board, when labour is hired only for a short time,—that unless a farmer can do his work with his own family, he will be worse off than his own labourer. And then his markets are probably far from home, and the roads to them are very bad. The condition in which the free-selecter of New South Wales seemed to thrive the best was that in which the farmer, who is his own master and perhaps the employer of labour during a part of the year, condescends to be the paid servant of a master during another portion, and to take the squatter's wages for work done in the wool-shed, or at the washpool. I should have added, when stating the terms on which the free-selecter obtains his land, that he is entitled by his initiated purchase to certain grazing rights. He has such privilege under the existing law;—but this arrangement has been found to work so prejudicially *both to the selecter* and to the squatter,—*adding a fresh ground of contention* between the two,—

that by the new bill to which I have alluded, that privilege would have been abandoned, under the conviction that it had done more harm than good.

I am far, however, from expressing an opinion that the cause of the free-selecters should be given up in New South Wales, or that efforts made to attract such a class should not be continued. It is by the influx of such men that the labour market of the colony must be maintained, and the body and life of the colony be supported. The condition of the free-selecter,—that of ownership of a piece of land to be tilled by the owner,—is the one which the best class of immigrants desire. It is the hope of attaining this condition which tempts men to come, such as all colonies are desirous of possessing. It is impossible not to sympathize with the efforts of colonial law-makers to assist the growth of such bone and blood in the body of the colony with which they have to deal. As time goes on the sheep-stealing and the cattle-stealing, which are less rife than they were ten years since, will become exceptional as they are with us. And as time goes on the gradual improvement of the climate which follows occupation, and the creation of roads, and increased skill in farming, will all tell in favour of the free-selecter. In describing the present condition of this most interesting of all colonists I have endeavoured to paint the picture as I saw it.

When telling the manner in which the public lands are alienated by the colonist on behalf of the colony, I should also state the terms under which the runs of the squatters are let to them. Leases are now granted for terms of five years, which are renewable. The tenure under these leases is in fact so good that a squatter buys or sells the right to pasture on a run without fear

of interference or loss of his grazing ground at the expiration of the term. But the lease affords no protection to the squatter against free-selecters. The rent demanded from him is calculated after a complicated and no doubt most sagacious fashion which I cannot explain, as I have failed to understand it. Practically he pays about 2*d.* a sheep. In the assessment of his rent 200 head of cattle are supposed to be equal to 1,000 sheep. The payment demanded by the government from the squatter in New South Wales is not above a fourth of that exacted in Victoria.

The squatter himself is almost invariably a free-selecter, as he buys the ground on which his homestead stands, and his water frontage, and horse paddock, and wool-shed, to save them from other free-selecters. Not unfrequently he goes much further than this, and by calling in the aid of friends and dependents makes large purchases, which are entirely opposed to the spirit of the act. For the land laws here, as in all these colonies, have been framed with the view of preventing,—though they have never succeeded in preventing,—the accumulation of large domains in the hands of territorial magnates. I have, I think, explained elsewhere the system of dummying, by which this intention of the laws has been evaded. I must add here that there are large landowners in the colony whose title-deeds are more ancient than any of the laws which now regulate the sale of lands. In the early days of New South Wales vast grants of land were made to early colonists who undertook the charge of convicts,—were made, too, sometimes under other circumstances not always with strict impartiality. These grantees, or *more frequently* their descendants, still *own the estates thus conferred*, and are exempt *from rent, and exempt also from* selecters. There are

others, too, who have purchased large properties. B the bulk of the land of the colony is still the proper of the colony. At the close of 1870, 8,437,638 acr had been alienated in the colony,—but there were st left 104,618,436 acres unsold.

In 1872 there were no fewer than 3,495 pastor holdings, or runs held under the Crown, in New Sou Wales. It should, however, be explained that o squatter generally holds two or three of these runs, a not unfrequently one squatter or one firm of squatte will hold eight or ten. In Queensland there were the same year 2,310. In Victoria only 973,—the co parative smallness of the number being due to the fa that the greater part of the pastoral land in that colo has been already purchased. In South Australia the are 778 runs. The small number is there due, as f as I could learn, to the fact that the land has be taken up in larger tracts than in the other colonies.

At the end of this volume (App. No. 2, vol. i.) w be found a digest of the present land laws of New Sou Wales, as far as they refer to free-selection. This taken from MacPhaile's Australian Squatting Director published at Melbourne.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Meat.

By the latest returns which I could get before leav ing the colonies, I found that there were in Australi 4,340,638 horned cattle, and 41,366,263 sheep. In thes numbers the cattle and sheep of New Zealand are no *included.* In Great Britain and Ireland, at the beginnin *of 1872,* there were 9,346,216, horned cattle, an *31,403,500* sheep. The population of Australia th

amounted, in round numbers, to 1,700,000. That of Great Britain and Ireland to 32,000,000. There was therefore for every 100 of the population in Australia over 250 cattle, and over 2,400 sheep, and for every 100 at home less than 30 head of cattle, and less than 100 sheep. In other words, every Australian has 2½ head of horned cattle and 24 sheep to his or her own share, whereas every Briton staying at home has but a third of a bullock and one sheep. The price of meat ranges from 2d. to 4d. a pound in Australia, ranging perhaps from 8d. to 1s. in England. At the same time the wages of a labouring man in Australia are about double the wages of his brother at home. Consequently the labouring man, let his labour be what it may, eats meat three times a day in the colonies, and very generally goes without it altogether at home. That is a plain and, I think, a true statement of the case. In regard to almost all other necessaries of life such great inequality of price and consumption is prevented by the easy transport of the article produced. The price of wheat nearly equalises itself in all the great cities of the world. Tea, sugar, clothing, spirits, and tobacco are carried about so readily, that any difference in their prices is due rather to the fiscal necessities of the country importing them, than to the cost or difficulty of carrying them. But meat has hitherto been an exception to this rule,—from a cause that is manifest to every one. It becomes decomposed, and is destroyed by contact with the air. Hence has arisen the very important question,—important equally to the countries which have too much meat, and to those which have not enough,—whether the skill of man cannot devise some plan by which meat can be carried as securely, *and at the same* time as cheaply, as other *commodities.*

The glut of meat, or rather of meat-giving an in the colonies, has been so great, that for many past flocks and herds have been boiled down to duce simply tallow,—because tallow can be easil ported. In 1870 there were, in the one colony of South Wales, 48 boiling-down establishments, at in the previous year 290,550 sheep and 246 bu were converted into 67,175 cwt. of tallow. The cases of all these animals, for any other purpose that of giving tallow, were absolutely wasted, whi at home were paying 11*s.* or 12*s.* for a leg of m or going without the mutton because we coul afford to pay for it.

In circumstances such as these, the wit of ma of course, been set to work to devise plans by the meat might be taken to the market. Hence arisen various meat-preserving companies, some of I visited in Queensland, and have spoken of them account of that colony. The difficulty of sending home that shall be eatable has been easily over The sheep and oxen are slaughtered. The meat roughly from the bones, and is cooked in closed During the cooking the tins have a vent, which is when the cooking is done, and the meat comes the tins in England in a condition fit for use. does not come out in a condition pleasant to the nor, as regard flavour and nutrition, can it be s be equal to fresh meat. The prices in England latterly ranged from 4½*d.* to 6*d.* a pound,—an pound of meat so bought is without bone. Ther I think, be no doubt that these preserved meats, e *they* have hitherto reached the English markets, *been of great* value to both countries. They have c *a marked rise* in the price of sheep, for which, in

to meat, there was almost no market at all in many parts of the colonies previous to the opening of these establishments; and they have added, at any rate, something to the very limited diet of the poorer classes at home. All the meat which could be exported from Australia, even were it as easy to export meat as flour, would not, at present, go far towards feeding the people of England. But the pastures of Australia are unlimited, and if the trade were fully established, the Australian flocks and herds would be multiplied for the supply of the markets across the water. Australia is not a corn-producing country. Her capabilities, at any rate, do not lie especially in that direction. But she is especially a grazing country. European animals have not only been acclimatized in the colonies with the greatest ease, but have proved themselves to be much more quickly procreative there than in the countries from which they or their ancestors lately came. Horses have bred so freely, that in many places they roam wild through the bush, and are a scourge to the squatters, whose grass they eat, and whose fences they destroy. Oxen also, whose sires and dams have escaped from the herds of the grazier, roam wild and unowned through the distant bush. Sheep are more valuable than horses and oxen, because wool is the staple produce of the country, but sheep have multiplied so quickly, that there are at present in the colonies about twenty-four sheep for every man, woman, and child inhabiting them. In Great Britain and Ireland there is not much above a sheep apiece for each individual. If meat can be brought home in a condition to meet the requirements of the British purchasers, the Australian pastures will go as far towards supplying England *with meat as do the prairies* of the United *States with corn;—and they will* do so with the ad-

vantage of being a part of the empire which they supply.

The one great fault found with the meats hitherto sent to England is that they are over-cooked. Those which I saw and ate before I left England were almost tasteless on account of this fault. They come out, too, from these tins in a guise which creates a prejudice against them, which I have found to be very strong in the minds of poor people. I have heard them say that if they can't have English meat, they will do without Australian meat. Servants are averse to it, thinking that they are ill-used if asked to eat it. I have found the managers of meat-preserving companies in the colonies quite aware of this, and have thought that they were disposed rather to think that these prejudices should be made to sink before the undoubted superiority of over-cooked meat to no meat at all, than to express a hope that they could remedy the evil by sending the meat to England at the same time secure and with the ordinary juices in it. If the evil be inseparable from the enterprise, of course they are right. The meats, ugly as they are, unappetising, and either dry or greasy, are wholesome, nutritious, and cheap. But if anything better can be done, of course that better will be very welcome.

When I was at Sydney I was asked to lunch on preserved meats by a gentleman who was managing a Queensland meat-preserving company, of which that distinguished and well-known old colonist, Sir Charles Nicholson, is chairman. My attention was especially called to some roast beef which had been preserved by "*Jones'* Patent." What may be the specialities of Jones' patent I did not learn, but as to that special joint, I protest that I never eat better cold roast beef in my life

It was not over-cooked, and judging from its colour, appearance, and flavour, it might have been cooked and put into the larder on the previous day. Whether it can be made to travel to England in the same condition, I cannot say. Our host assured me that it would do so,—but he told us at the same time that it could not be sold for less than 8*d.* a pound. Let the meat be as good as it may, any meat that finds its way ready-cooked to England will encounter a certain amount of prejudice, and I fear that the price of 8*d.* a pound will be too high to stand against this dislike.

But the enterprise which promises most in regard to the exportation of meats from Australia is that at which Mr. Thomas Mort of Sydney has been at work now for many years. No man is better known in New South Wales,—perhaps no one is so highly regarded,—for commercial enterprise, joined to science and ingenuity, as the gentleman I have named. In Sydney Mr. Mort is as well known as are the most familiar objects of the streets, and all who know New South Wales well are ready to declare that no inhabitant of the colony deserves better from her than Mr. Mort. He has set on foot a scheme for sending meat home in ice,—or, to speak more correctly, a scheme for sending meat home in a chamber the temperature of which shall be always kept below the freezing point by the use of ice. As the quantity to be sent home must be very great, in order that the meat may be sold cheap, and still at a remunerative price, the ice for the purpose cannot be carried with the meat, but must be daily fabricated on the journey by chemical appliances. The difficulty is not in regard to the meat, but in *regard to* the ice. That ice can *be made in any quantity by* a process which I will *not attempt to describe, but in* which ammonia is the

principal ingredient, admits of no doubt; but unless can be made at a low expense, the speculation will n be remunerative. For years Mr. Mort has been workin at this matter, and has spent very large sums of mon on the attempt. He thinks that he has now been su cessful, and in June, 1872, spoke of sending his fir cargo of fresh meat to London early in 1873.

Should this be done, the meat will reach Englan not cooked, nor cut into junks,—but in the shape joints, as we at home are accustomed to buy them i the butchers' shops. I ate at Mr. Mort's house a portio of a leg of mutton,—which had been frozen I know n for how long,—as to which it would have been impo sible for any one to know that it had been treated othe wise than in the ordinary way. Mr. Mort imagines th meat thus prepared may be sold in England for 6*d.* p pound. The meat when received will simply want thaw ing before it is cooked,—as is often necessary wit home-grown meat in winter. If this plan can be carrie out, there is no reason why all the carcases in Australi not required for the food of the people there, shoul not make their way to the English market, and that i a form which will not render them unfit even for th most fastidious.

CHAPTER XIX.

Metals.

I WAS in New South Wales in October, Novembe and December, 1871, and again in June and July, 187 During my former visit very little was said in Sydne *about gold* or other metals. The tone of the publi *mind on the* subject of mining was very different fro *that prevailing* in Melbourne and Victoria genera

Indeed there seemed to be a feeling, in which I sympathized, that though gold-fields when found should of course be worked, the finding and working them could hardly be regarded as an unmixed good to a community. Such operations led to gambling, disturbed the ways of legitimate commerce, excited men's minds unduly, and were dangerous. Victoria was very keen about gold, believed in gold, was willing to trust to gold for her greatness and population. Victoria prided herself on being a gold colony. Let it be so. New South Wales was conscious of a pride in better things. That perhaps may be taken as an expression of the general mind as I read it. When I returned after an interval of six months all this was changed. No one in Sydney would talk about anything but mining shares. It was not only gold, nor, as I think, chiefly gold, that was in men's mouths. Copper had been found in the west,—in the district between Bathurst and Orange,—and tin in the north,—in New England. It seemed that all they who had been so sober before were now as mad after mining shares as the gentlemen who congregate under the verandah in Melbourne. Everybody had shares in copper, and almost everybody shares in tin. Gentlemen went about with specimens in their pockets, and seemed to think that any conversation diverging from the one important subject, was frivolous and unneeded. "You find us a little changed; don't you?" one old friend of the last year said to me. When I acknowledged that I had recognised an altered tone, he assured me that Sydney had now shaken herself and had ceased to be dull. Copper and tin were at the moment in the ascendant; but gold, too, was very "lively." The glories of Hill End, *and of Hawkin's Hill in the* Tambaroora district *had culminated since I had before* been in the colony,

and Tambaroora itself had come to be talked about as perhaps the future greatest gold-field of Australia. I was asked whether "I had visited Tambaroora?" I replied that I had not, and now could not do so. Then I was told that I had then missed the one place in all that eastern world which more than any other would make Australia wealthy, happy, and great.

Though I did not visit Tambaroora or Hill End, I did go to other gold-fields in the colony. Gold, as I have said, was very "quiet" when I was first in New South Wales;—but it is not therefore to be inferred that there were no gold-seekers in the colony, or that the business was not being carried on with individual enterprise at this or that happy, or less happy, "rush." The quiescence described was that of the colony at large, as evinced by the feeling in the metropolis,—as was also subsequently the reverse of quiescence. Since the days of Hargreaves, the reputed discoverer of gold in New South Wales, there has never been a time when the search for gold has been abandoned in New South Wales, or in which large quantities have not been extracted from the earth. Whether the gold-seekers have or have not prospered as a body, it is impossible for any one now to say with accuracy. A statement sufficiently true of the value which has been got from the soil can no doubt be made. Such statements are published from year to year with all the correctness usual to statistical records. We know that in 1862 New South Wales produced gold to the value of £2,212,534, which amount in 1870 had gradually fallen down to £763,655. But we do not know, and never can know, *all the money* expended, and the value of the time expended, *not only* in extracting the gold when the site of *it was found*, but in seeking for the sites in which it

might perchance be hidden. The search has ever been going on, and there has usually been some new "rush" to which miners could hurry themselves with renewed energy and hopes still green.

To the stranger personally uninterested in the search, it seems that the known presence of gold beneath the earth begets a fury in the minds of men compelling them to search for it, let the risk, the danger, the misery, the probable losses, be what they may. That a thing in itself so rich, so capable of immediately producing all that men most desire, should lie buried in the dirt beneath their feet, loose among the worthless pebbles of the rivers, mixed at haphazard with the deep clumsy lumbering rocks, overcomes the imagination of the unconscious thinker, and takes possession of his heart and brain. For a while he makes no estimate as to the cost of his labours as contrasted with the value of his chance of success. It is gold that is there, — gold that is customarily treasured, gold that is kept within bars and dealt out in tiny morsels as the recognised reward of the sweat of many hours, gold that is thought about, talked about, dreamed about, gold that is longed for, worked for, gambled for, and sinned for; and this gold may be got by the handful, if only the lucky sod of earth be turned. There is a feeling almost impersonal in the would-be miner's breast, as he feels it to be a shame that the dirty earth should hold, and hold without in any way using, the treasure of all treasures that is sweetest to the heart of man. "Cogere humanos in usus," should certainly be the motto of the gold-seeker.

When I was leaving Sydney in October, 1871, with the intention of travelling westward into the colony, the rush to Gullgong was the rush of the day, and to Gull-

gong I went in company with the gold commissi
of the district. I have already given some descri
of Gympie, in Queensland, but Gympie when I
there was an old-established place, and the rush th
was a thing quite of the past. The rush to Gull
was recent. The great attraction proposed to one
ing a rush seemed to consist in the sight of a
gregating together of a great many men, without a
the ordinary comforts of life, and with but few of t
appliances which are generally regarded as necess
I was told there were 12,000 people at Gullgong, a
whom had collected themselves thither within a
months. The place had begun to be a place abo
month since,—but the real rush had only lately
menced. I confess that I felt an interest in seei
town without streets, and people collected together
houses made of canvas and rough boards,—an int
akin to that which induces others to see a crim
hung. Our journey thither was one of three days
Bathurst, and was performed in the commissio
buggy. As we went we saw parties of men, gene
ten or twelve in number, either leisurely tramping a
the road with their swags on their back, or taking
mid-day siesta under the gum-trees. The man
travels on foot in Australia, whether he be m
shepherd, shearer, or simply beggar, always carrie
"swag" with him,—which consists of his personal
perties rolled up in a blanket. The blanket is a
sential necessity, because the man sleeps out in
bush beside a fire. And he carries also a pannikin
a "billy." The latter is an open pot in which he
his water and makes his tea,—for the bushman
always have a bag of tea within his swag. The bi
as essential as the blankets. A bushman of any

ment has the pannikin for drinking; but the rough old chum will dispense with it as a useless luxury, and will drink his tea out of his billy.

And these men were making a rush! They seemed to me to rush very leisurely. I hardly know what I had expected,—whether to see each miner galloping on his steed, or running continually towards his gold-field at the rate of eight miles an hour. Though the influx of the men to such a place as Gullgong is a "rush," and when very numerous may be described as a stampede, the men themselves are orderly and slow. They have probably done it before, and know, if not the tale of the hare and the tortoise, at any rate the moral of the tale. But the men I saw were journeying some one way and some the other. Backs were turned upon Gullgong as well as faces towards it. Then I learned that such was the case with almost all rushes. Men would try their luck for a month, or perhaps for a fortnight, and if they failed, or did not meet success to satisfy them, would pack up their swags and would betake themselves elsewhere. In this way the population at a rush is very precarious, falling as quickly as it rises, receiving or losing a thousand in a few days, as the place gives or refuses to give its treasures. And, as a matter of course, the trade by which the place is supplied with meat and bread, with tea, sugar and sweetmeats,—the articles of food on which miners chiefly live,—must be equally precarious.

On our route we passed the little town of Sofala, which was in point of time the second established gold-field in New South Wales, Ophir having been the first. Sofala is now a poor little town, containing 644 inhabitants, of whom a considerable portion are Chinese. It is built on a river, the channel of which contained

the gold which created the town. The hills rise abruptly on each side of the stream, and give to the place a quaint picturesque appearance,—as though it were altogether out of the world. Here we found about a dozen Chinamen "fossicking" after gold amidst the dirt of the river, which had already been washed by the first gold-seekers. These men "washed up" while we were looking on, and we saw them reduce the dirt collected during the day to a few dim specks of the precious metal. They then told us that they estimated their earnings for that day at 1*s.* each. They seemed to think that this was bad, but were not at all demonstrative in their disappointment.

Two days' travelling from Sofala took us to Gullgong; we stayed a night on the way at Mudgee, a clean little town, celebrated for the special breed of sheep produced in its neighbourhood. At Mudgee I was taken to visit the Mechanics' Institute, at which place I found a great number of well-thumbed novels. There were other books certainly; but the Mudgee shepherds certainly prefer novels. All these small towns have public libraries by one name or another. Mudgee boasts no more than 1,786 inhabitants, but seemed to be very much better off in the way of churches, hotels, institutes, and schools than towns of more than double the size in England.

Gullgong was certainly a rough place when I visited it, but not quite so rough as I had expected. There was an hotel there, at which I got a bedroom to myself, though but a small one, and made only of slabs. But a gorgeously grand edifice was being built over our heads at the time, the old inn being still kept on while the new inn was being built on the same site. The inhabited part of the town consisted of two streets at right angle

to each other, in each of which every habitation and shop had probably required but a few days for its erection. The fronts of the shops were covered with large advertisements,—the names and praises of the traders,—as is customary now with all new-fangled marts; but the place looked more like a fair than a town,—perhaps like one of those fairs which used to be temporary towns and to be continued for weeks,—such as some of us have seen at Amsterdam and at Leipsic. But with this difference,—that in the cities named the old houses are seen at the back of the new booths, whereas at a gold rush there is nothing behind. Everything needful, however, seemed to be at hand. There were bakers, butchers, grocers, and dealers in soft goods. There were public-houses and banks in abundance. There was an auctioneer's establishment, at which I attended the sale of horses and carts. There was a photographer, and there was a theatre, at which I saw the "Colleen Bawn" acted with a great deal of spirit, and a considerable amount of histrionic talent. After the theatre a munificent banker of the town gave us an oyster supper, at a supper-room. It may be inferred, therefore, that the comforts of life have not been altogether neglected at Gullgong. In the middle of the day there had been a public dinner or lunch, at which there was much speaking. I cannot say that the Gullgong oratory was as good as the Gullgong acting, or the Gullgong oysters.

I think that the town of Gullgong, including its general inhabitants and mode of life, was more interesting to me even than the mines. I was charmed to hear that a few nights before there had been a most successful public ball. But I was *distressed to find* that there had been *some heart-burning. Where was* the line to be drawn in *reference to the ladies? The* postmistress would not attend

the ball unless barmaids were excluded. The barmaids,—I think very properly,—were admitted, and the post-mistress, who enjoyed the reputation of being the beauty of Gullgong, remained at home.

Of course, having come to Gullgong, I had to see the mines, and I went down the shaft of one, 150 feet deep, with my foot in the noose of a rope. Having offered to descend, I did not like to go back from my word when the moment came; but as the light of the day faded from my descending eyes, and as I remembered that I was being lowered by the operations of a horse who might take it into his brutish head to lower me at any rate he pleased,—or not to lower me at all, but to keep me suspended in that dark abyss,—I own that my heart gave way, and that I wished I had been less courageous. But I went down, and I came up again;—and I found six or seven men working at the bottom of the hole. I afterwards saw the alluvial dirt brought up from some other hole, puddled and washed and the gold extracted. When extracted it was carried away in a tin pannikin,—which I thought detracted much from the splendour of the result.

Of the men around me some were miners working for wages, and some were shareholders, each probably with a large stake in the concern. I could not in the least tell which was which. They were all dressed alike, and there was nothing of the master and the man in the tone of their conversation. Among those present at the washing up, there were two Italians, an American, a German, and a Scotchman, who I learned were partners in the property. The important task of conducting the last wash, of throwing away for ever the stones and dirt from which the gold had sunk, was on this occasion confided to the hands of the American. The gold was ex-

ried away in a pannikin by the German. Why should he not have put in his fingers and appropriated an ounce of the fragments to his own use? I know it is mean to suspect; but among us in England checks are necessary. No doubt the German to whom the pannikin was confided was respected far and wide for his honesty. Of the courtesy of all these men it is impossible to speak too highly, or of the civility of the miners generally; and in saying this I do not allude to the demeanour of the men to myself or to other chance visitors, but to their ordinary mode of conducting themselves. The Australian miner when he is in work never drinks,—and seems to feel a pride in his courtesy. It must be understood that his is not a submissive deportment, prone to the touching of hats and a silent reverence of his betters,—but a manly bearing, which enables him to express himself freely, but which never verges on distasteful familiarity.

I found that miners working for wages at Gullgong were earning from £2 10*s.* to £3 a week;—but I found also that many were there who could not get such work to do. No doubt a glut of labour would soon tend to lower the wages,—but the population did not seem to be fixed enough to have produced that result. Men came, and tried their fortune on little speculations of their own, and failed. Then, if they could not at once get wages to their mind, they took up their swags and departed to some other rush. I found also that many men were employed on the most singular and easiest task that I ever met in my travels. When a mining speculator had taken out his claim to a piece of land, the law required him to occupy it. If he did not at once work it, he must hold it by his own *bodily presence* or by that of some *deputy for at least two hours a day.* I think I was told *that this minimum of occupation* for two hours must be

before noon, either from nine to eleven or from ten to twelve. This duty was called "shepherding,"—and the wages of a man to shepherd a claim were 25*s.* a week. But these mining shepherds are not miners. I asked a miner whether it would not suit him to earn 25*s.* a week by shepherding, and then to take a day's work, or a part of a day's work, at his own enterprise. But he gave me to understand that shepherding a claim was dishonourable for a miner.

It seemed to me, when I was at Gullgong, that the rush was not regarded as a success. The population was decreasing; and though much gold had been extracted much useless labour had been expended on "duffers." A shaft sunk without any produce from it is a duffer. Looking around, an inexperienced stranger would think that gold about Gullgong was ubiquitous. There were holes everywhere, and the ugly masses of upturned clay which always mark the gold-seeker's presence. But of these excavations the majority were duffers. It is the duffering part of the business which makes it all so sad. So much work is done from which there is positively no return!

I came away from Gullgong with a feeling that I had hardly seen the rush in its most characteristic phase. The rush had been rushed before I reached it. The place had become to a degree settled,—and people were going out at any rate as fast as they were coming in. But there was another rush to a place about 150 miles from Gullgong,—a place called Currajong, which was described to me as being quite new, and I went there also. It was new, and a more wretched spot I never saw *in my life. I* was told by one inhabitant that there were *over 2,000 people;*—by another that there were not above 500. *Of the* number I could not at all judge myself

either by the concourse of people or of habitations. There were a few public-houses roughly constructed of timber, and a shop or two for the sale of general articles. The miners and their followers were living in tents scattered here and there among the holes they were digging. When gold was "struck" at any of these holes,—when enough had been found to be regarded as a probable forerunner of commercial success,—a red flag was hoisted. Here and there I saw the red flag,—but the holes and adjacent heaps at which there were no red flags were as legion to the distinguished few.

At Gullgong I had found satisfied miners,—men who said that they were doing well; at Currajong everybody seemed to be disappointed, unhappy, and hopeless. The rush, it was found, was going to turn out a "duffer" altogether. The street of the place, if it can be said to have had a street, consisted of a bush road, wider and more trodden than usual, with the trees standing close around, though the undergrowth and shrubs had been burned or otherwise used and the trees themselves mutilated. Everywhere through the bush there were little tents, and holes and heaps. I visited one spot at which three men were working, one below filling a bucket, and two above drawing the bucket up. This they had been doing for a fortnight, and had found nothing. They did it for three weeks longer, and still finding no gold, had then gone away. One of them was the son of an English gentleman, who had thought that Australian gold-mining might probably be a road to easy wealth. He got his experience at Currajong, but he got nothing else. I can fancy no more heart-breaking occupation than the work of trundling dirt up out of a hole eight hours a day *without results*. *There were* drunken people about *Currajong,—which I had not* seen elsewhere,—and a

rowdy aspect which made me think ill of the prospects of the place. I was told subsequently that for a while it was not a success, and that many left it in disgust; but that afterwards gold-bearing quartz was found in large quantities, and that they who stuck to the place through its early misfortunes did well there. Currajong, when I saw it, seemed to be the most hopelessly disappointing place I had visited in the colonies.

New South Wales contains coal as well as gold, and has coal-mines which are worked successfully. In this respect she is blessed above any other of these colonies. Coal is heard of and talked about in, I think, every province of Australia,—and specimens are shown in proof of its existence; but coal is worked successfully in New South Wales, and as yet in New South Wales only. Newcastle, as the head-quarters of Australian coal is properly called, has become the second city of the colony. Coal is the mineral product of New South Wales next in value to gold, but is so at a very great distance. The value of the gold raised in 1862 and 1870 was for the former year £2,212,534, and for the latter £763,655. That of the coal produced in the same years was, in 1862, £476,522, and for 1870, £316,385. As regards both there had been a falling off in value,—that of the gold being by about two-thirds. That in the coal is small, and does not at all indicate the amount produced, but only the price of the article. In 1862 thirty-three coal-mines in New South Wales produced 342,067 tons of coals,—and in 1870 thirty-two mines produced 868,564 tons. It seems that the increase in produce has gone on almost steadily, whereas the price has fluctuated considerably. *In 1862* the coals at the pit's mouth were worth very *nearly 13s. a ton,* whereas in 1870 they were not worth *8s. At the end of* 1871, when I visited Newcastle, they

were still somewhat lower. The shareholders of coal-mines doubtless regard this falling-off in price as a great calamity, but the consumers of coal in Sydney and Melbourne and the owners of steam-ships plying to and from the colonies probably regard the matter in a different light.

In England we are accustomed to think that the possession of coal is the greatest blessing which Providence has bestowed upon us, and to believe that we owe to it our wealth, our population, and our greatness. I doubt whether there is a man of business in Great Britain who would wish to exchange our coal-mines for gold-fields. When the idea is presented to our minds we at once feel that the really productive powers of coal must be much more fertile in producing actual wealth than any amount of a metal, the value of which is in truth little more than nominal. No increase in the production of coal would at all diminish the real value of the article; but were the production of gold to be increased suddenly, violently, and to a great extent, the value of the metal would fall away in a quickly increasing ratio in accordance with the increase of production. Its value depends on its comparative rarity;—and, therefore, when we are told of some probable future development of Australian gold-fields at a hitherto unprecedented rate; when we are assured that Australian gold is as yet in its infancy,—as I have been assured very often;—we feel that even should it be so, the expected wealth will not follow the new discoveries. Should it come very quickly, the dislocation of prices, which is now being effected slowly by the gradual increase in the amount, and therefore gradual decline in the value of gold, would become rapid,—and therefore ruinous to many. In such a case the wealth of the world would

be increased only as far as gold is required,—not as wealth,—but as a symbol of wealth. Whereas every additional ton of coal that we get will contain as much power as every ton of coal that was got before it. Therefore, although the coal of Newcastle and Wollongong, in the present price paid for it, falls very far behind the gold of New South Wales, I regard coal as being the more important produce of the two. Had there been no coal found in New South Wales almost every source of wealth in Australia would have been stunted. Steamers could not have plied, nor railways have been worked, unless at prices which would have made them inaccessible to the community. All machinery for mines and other works must have been procured from Europe. The copper must have been sent home unsmelted, and therefore at treble the freight now paid for it. It is useless to expatiate on this,—as who is there that does not know that a country without coal is poor and miserable, and that a country with coal ought to be rich and blessed?

The most extensive coal region of Australia is that in the valley of the Hunter River, which empties itself into the sea at Newcastle, about 75 miles north of Sydney. The collieries are found for many miles up the river,—indeed along its whole length up to the base of the mountain ranges—and are worked within three or four miles of Newcastle. They rejoice in the old well-known North of England colliers' names,—such as Wallsend, Lampton, Hexham, Alnwick, and the like. I should probably be thought guilty of exaggeration if I were to say that they are inexhaustible. After the disputes which *have latterly* taken place at home as to the growth, production, and consumption of coal, a plain man hardly *dares to have* an opinion on the matter. But there is a

world of coal around Newcastle,—which looks as though it would suffice for the wants of the South-eastern people to the end of time.

About 40 miles south of Sydney there is another coal-field, in the Illawarra district, for which Wollongong is the seaport. I did not visit Wollongong, but I learned that there were five different mines worked there, from which about 90,000 tons of coal were extracted in 1870. To the west of Sydney, there have also lately been opened coal-mines at Hartley,—which are as yet young, but which in 1870 produced 2,600 tons of coal. The Hartley coal is, I believe, used only for the production of gas; but shale is found there, and also at American Creek, near Wollongong, from which kerosene is made. It is boasted on behalf of the shale oil of New South Wales that it is better than the American,—the advantage in favour of the Australian oil being that it will not ignite at a temperature ten degrees higher than that at which the purest American oil breaks into fire. I give this statement merely as I got it from the pages of the Report of the International Exhibition at Sydney, to which I have before referred,—and not as the result of any experiments made by myself into the qualities of kerosene.

I have said above that when I returned to Sydney I found all my formerly quiet-going friends in that city very much disturbed, and many of them considerably elated in regard to copper and tin. I can say nothing, from my own observation, on the resources of the colony as far as these metals were concerned. Copper-mines had previously been worked in the Orange district, and also near Lake George in the Goulbourn district, but not to *such an extent as to have* become a source of *great public interest.* Iron also has been found and

worked at Nattai in the south, but never as yet with any profit to the proprietors. That there is iron in New South Wales is a matter beyond doubt. Silver also has been found at Bronleo and Murrurundi, and cinnabar at Rylstone. There were also diamond-mines on the Cudgegong River, near to Rylstone, which some time since were worked by an Australian Diamond Mining Company;—but the expenses exceeded the returns, and the work has been abandoned.

It was believed of Australia, when Great Britain first planted her colonies there, that she would prove to be a country almost blank and barren in regard to minerals. It seems, however, now that few countries on the earth are richer in ores than she is. If iron can be found on her hills, and worked, she will probably become as populous and as rich as the United States.

In the meantime the lately awakened but now energetic speculators of New South Wales are all making fortunes out of tin and copper.

CHAPTER XX.

Country Life in the Bush.

When in New South Wales I spent a month at a small squatter's station in the distant bush, and as the difference between bush life in Australia and country life in England is more marked than I think any other difference between the two countries, I propose to describe the thing as I found it. I had already stayed at various sheep-stations in Queensland, but only for a few days at each; and these had been generally large places, *where perhaps from* one to two hundred thousand sheep *were shorn,—and* into which consequently the comforts *and luxuries* of civilised life had been imported. These

were hardly typical bush residences. At that to which I now went, a young squatter beginning life owned not much more than ten thousand sheep, and was living quite "in the rough." The number of sheep at these stations will generally indicate with fair accuracy the mode of life at the head station. A hundred thousand sheep and upwards require a professed man-cook and a butler to look after them; forty thousand sheep cannot be shorn without a piano; twenty thousand is the lowest number that renders napkins at dinner imperative. Ten thousand require absolute plenty, meat in plenty, tea in plenty, brandy and water and colonial wine in plenty, but do not expect champagne, sherry, or made dishes, and are supposed to be content with continued mutton or continued beef,—as the squatter may at the time be in the way of killing sheep or oxen. During this month we killed mutton. After six months I returned to the same station, and beef was the provision of the day. Wool had gone up, and sheep had become valuable, and the squatter could not be persuaded to kill a sheep for love or money. He bought cattle as he wanted them, and found that his beef cost him 1½*d.* a pound.

The station I visited, and which I will call M——, was about 250 miles west of Sydney, and was decidedly in the bush. I have already endeavoured to explain that nearly every place beyond the influences of the big towns is called "bush,"—even though there should not be a tree to be seen around;—but in reaching this place I journeyed for three days after leaving the railway through continuous woodland, doing about forty miles a day in a buggy. The house stood on a small creek,—hardly to be called a rivulet, because the water does not continually run, and in dry weather lies only in a succession of water-holes,—and was surrounded by inter-

minable forest. Close around it was the home-paddock rails in, and containing about 50 acres. Such an enclosure about a gentleman's house in England is an appendage of great value, and constitutes with some who are ambitious almost a little park. In the bush it is little more thought of than as so much waste ground round the house. Two or three cows may run in it, or a horse or two for immediate use. It is generally found convenient to have a horse near the house for the sake of "running in" other horses. One horse in the stable to catch two horses in the home-paddock wherewith four horses when wanted may be run in from the horse-paddock, make together a combination which in the bush is considered to be economical and convenient. At M—— the home-paddock was partially cleared of timber, and was pretty enough. Outside it, meeting the creek both before and behind, was the horse-paddock, containing about 250 acres. This was supposed to be the domain appropriated to the horses of the establishment needed for the working of it. At that time there were about twenty, and I believe that there was not one too many. My young friend also had his rams here during a portion of the year, but hardly expected more from so small an enclosure than food for the animals required for use. A public road, such as bush roads are, ran through the horse-paddock,—very inconvenient in that it caused the gates to be left open, and brought travellers that way whose presence was hardly desirable, but not without compensation, as a postman with the mails passed each way twice a week. The postman was a great blessing. If he wanted food for himself or his horse, he got it; and in return he complied with all requests made to him, conveying letters, telegrams, and messages with wondrous accuracy. A mailman coming,

by,—they are mailmen and not postmen in the bush,—is a great addition to the comforts of bush life. At the back of the horse-paddock was the wool-shed paddock, containing about 1,200 acres, with the wool-shed at one corner of it, distant about a mile from the house. For many reasons the wool-shed should not be close. The squatter does not want to have his shearers always in his kitchen, nor to hear their voices close to his verandah. But as it is well for his superintendent to be there constantly during the shearing, and for himself to be there often, any great distance is inconvenient. As my young friend sorted his own wool himself, he was generally in the wool-shed before the shearers, and did not leave it till long after they had "knocked off" work. The wool-shed was a wooden edifice, made of rough timber, roofed with bark, divided into pens, with room for eleven men to shear, and with outside pens for the shorn sheep as they leave the men's hands,—a pen for each shearer. It was constructed to hold about 300 sheep,—and that number would be put into it over-night, so that, even should rain come, there might be so many ready for the shearers in the morning,—for sheep cannot be shorn when wet. The form of the shed was that of the letter L, the base, however, being considerably larger than the upstroke. Along the base the shearers worked. At the corner were the sorting-table, and divided cribs for the different fleeces. In the upper part of the letter the wool was packed, and pressed, and stored, till the drays should come to take it away. My friend acknowledged that he did not think much of his own house, though he had built it himself,—but he was proud of his wool-shed, which was also the creation of his own ingenuity. *About a quarter of* a mile from the wool-*shed was the shearers' hut, in* which the men slept, and

ate, and smoked their pipes. They had their own cook, who on this occasion was a Chinaman,—and, as is always the case with shearers, they gave their cook enough to do. He was generally to be seen outside the door of the hut chopping up onions. The cook had 25*s.* a week and his rations,—the shearers were earning on an average about 7*s.* 6*d.* a day, which was considered bad work. There was rain, and the weather was against the men. The shearers bought their own food from the head station, paying at the rate of 7*s.* 6*d.* a week each for it.

There were three other paddocks on the run,—one containing 12,000 acres, and the others 7,000 acres each. The greater part of the fencing necessary for these domains had been put up by my friend since his occupation at an average cost of £25 a mile. There were over forty miles of fencing on the run, made either with logs laid at length on short round blocks,—called in the bush chock and log,—or of bushes laid lengthways and staked down with forked timber. This fencing suffices for sheep, but would be of no use at all on a run intended for cattle. When a run is not fenced, each flock of sheep requires a shepherd, and the sheep are brought up at night to an enclosure close to the shepherd's hut. When a run is "paddocked," shepherds are not required; —but boundary-riders are employed, each of whom is supplied with two horses, and these men are responsible not only for the sheep but for the fences. They should see every portion of their fences at any rate three times a week, and repair the breaches. A bush fence is easily broken down, but is as easily put up again.

The natural grasses of the bush in the locality of which I am speaking would carry in ordinary weather a sheep to three acres. When the weather was damp and

warm it would do much more; when there was either frost or drought, it would not do so much. At M—— there was back ground outside the paddocks as extensive as the fenced area, and it was computed that the run might carry safely about 16,000 sheep.

The house was built at right angles to the creek, to the edge of which the little garden ran. It was of course only of one story. A squatter rarely builds a two-storied house till he be a very large squatter indeed, and then his habitation loses most of the characteristics of the bush. It was of one story and contained but three rooms,—a sitting-room in the middle and a bedroom on each side;—but along the front there ran a verandah twelve feet wide, in which everybody lived,—using the sitting-room simply for meals. Life in the bush would be nothing without a verandah. The men of course spend their days mostly out of doors,—but in the evenings the verandahs are delightful. Here are congregated lounging chairs, generally very rough, but always comfortable,—with tables, sofas, and feminine nicknacks, if there be ladies, till the place has the appearance of a room open to the heavens. A verandah to be perfect should be curtained against the sun, and should be sheltered also from the heat by creepers. Behind the house, about thirty yards distant from it, was the kitchen, with a servants' room attached to it,—and behind that again another edifice called the cottage, consisting of two rooms, in which slept the young men who were about the place;—for it must be remembered that there always are young men about a squatter's station. Then there were other buildings,—forming a quadrangle, which however was never as neat as such homestead quadrangle should be. There was a rough stable, and a rougher coach-house,—and that indispensable accessory the store-

room. The place was altogether rough, and certa
not well kept; but it was comfortable and pictures
and easily susceptible of improvement when increa
flocks and high prices for wool would justify the ex
diture.

Almost all these pastoral homesteads are thus r
up of various cottages,—till sometimes the place assu
the appearance of a village. When the station is l
there will often be a church and a school, and a sep
house for strangers, and a shop for the stores, and
office. At M—— no such grandeur had as yet
played itself. But there was a garden,—in which
opossums would eat the vegetables,—and an orc
had been commenced.

There was one house at a distance of only t
miles which was a great drawback to my friend's ha
ness,—for it was inhabited by a free-selecter an
publican. I rather liked the publican, as he got
kangaroo hunt for me,—but the vicinity of grog
looked upon as a serious evil by the squatter. And
the men never drank when they were at work,—w
work for weeks without anything stronger than tea.
if, on an occasion, any one of the station hands did
to drink, he would stay and drink till he was turned
of the house on the plea that he had consumed al
money. This public-house was a blistering thorn in
side of my friend. A gold-field town, whence the le
came, was twelve miles distant, but this was visite
rarely as possible, and was regarded as almost obtr
in having caused itself to be built in a pastoral dis
The nearest neighbours for any social purpose was
other squatter, twenty-five miles off.

Of social gatherings, such as we know them, t
are none in the bush. Squatters do not go out to

or ask each other to dinner. As a rule, I think, they rarely invite each other for country visiting. But they make the freest use of each other's houses,—so that society of a certain kind is created. They do not make visits exclusively of pleasure,—but when business calls them from home they make no scruple of riding up to each other's doors, and demanding hospitality. A bush house is never considered to be full. If there be not rooms apiece for the guests, the men are put together and the women together. If there be not bedsteads, beds are made up on the floors. If room be still lacking, the young men wrap themselves in blankets and stretch themselves in the verandah. It is a point of honour that the house shall never be full,—unless some one very odious comes the way. But even for those who are odious shelter and food are provided in some outside hut or barrack.

I was at M—— during washing and shearing. I speak of course of the washing of sheep. It was the busiest time of the year, and the squatter himself was always out soon after five, and rarely back at the house in time for dinner at eight. He had two assistants, one of whom was his permanent first lieutenant on the run, and the other was borrowed for the occasion. The three, who were all young, certainly worked much harder than any other men about the place, and seemed to have more on hand than a British prime minister in June. I rode about at my ease,—from the washpool to the wool-shed, and from the wool-shed to the kangaroos, —giving now and then a fantastic opinion as to the doing of the work, criticising the roughness of the mode in which the poor brutes were hauled into the water, or the cruelty with *which they* were wounded by the *shearers. But my friends were* terribly in earnest. Now

and again a man would misbehave, and squatters' law had to be exercised with prompt decision. If a man would not work, or worked amiss, he was sent away with very curt warning,—for the deed of agreement which is always drawn up, gives the squatter the power of judging as to the man's deficiency, and of punishing him for being deficient. The sheep were always being washed, and always being shorn,—but if the rain should come between the two operations all would be spoilt. Rain did come,—but not thorough rain, and all was not spoilt. And then the "yarding" of sheep by hundreds at a time, —getting them through one set of pens before washing, and through another set before shearing,—having them ready for the morning's work, and finished off before the dark night came,—weighing out tea and sugar and flour for the men, killing and preparing meat for them, sorting and packing the wool, pressing and labelling the bales, —all seemed to demand more than Herculean energy. At large stations all this is done easily, because the greater number admit of divided labour. It seemed to me that the care of ten thousand sheep was the most difficult task that a man could have imposed upon him.

Those rides through the forest either when I was alone, or when I could get my host to go with me,— which was rarely, unless on a Sunday afternoon,—were very pleasant. The melancholy note of the magpie was almost the only sound that was heard. Occasionally kangaroos would be seen,—two or three staring about them after a half-tame fashion, as though they had not as yet made up their mind whether it would be necessary for them to run. When approached they would *move,—always in* a line, and with apparent leisure till *pursued. Then they* would bound away, one here and *one there, at* a pace which made it impossible for a single

man to get near them in a thickly timbered country. s all wood. There arose at last a feeling that go e one might through the forest, one was never going here. It was all picturesque,—for there was rocky nd here and there, and hills in the distance, and rees were not too close for the making of pretty through them;—but it was all the same. One t ride on, to the right or to the left, or might turn , and there was ever the same view. And there no objects to reach, unless it was the paddock . And when the paddock fence was jumped, then s the same thing again. Looking around, one could y no outward sign whether one was inside or out- the boundary,—whether one was two miles or ten from the station.

erhaps the most astonishing phenomenon on these is the apparent paucity of sheep. As a fact, there housands all around;—but unless looked for they never seen; and even when looked for by inex- nced eyes are often missed. If the reader will bear ind that an enclosure of 12,000 acres contains more eighteen square miles, he will understand how un- to anything in England must be even the enclosed try in Australia. One seems to ride for ever and to to nothing, and to relinquish at last the very idea object. Nevertheless, it was very pleasant. Of all s that I was ever in this place seemed to be the t for contemplation. There was no record of the s but by the light. When it was night work would ver. The men would cease as the sun was setting, t the masters would continue till the darkness had upon them.

here were four or five meals in the day. There *early breakfast* in the cottage for the young men,

—there was another breakfast at nine for those who were idle,—for the ladies who were there and for myself. There was lunch at about two, to which one or two from the wool-shed might or might not rush in as things were going with them,—and there was dinner at about eight o'clock. My wife had brought a cook with her from England who was invaluable,—or would have been had she not found a husband for herself when she had been about a month in the bush. But in spite of her love, and her engagement to a man who was considerably above her in position, she was true to us while she remained at M——, and did her best to make us all comfortable. She was a good-looking, strong woman, of excellent temper, who could do anything she put her hand to, from hairdressing and confectionery up to making butter and brewing beer. I saw her six months afterwards,—"quite the lady," but ready for any kind of work that might come in her way. When I think of her, I feel that no woman of that kind ought, as regards herself, to stay in England if she can take herself or get herself taken to the colonies. I mention our cook because her assistance certainly tended very greatly to our increased comfort. The viands provided were mutton, bread, vegetables, and tea. Potatoes were purchased as an ordinary part of the station stores, and the opossums had left us lettuce, tomatoes, and a few cabbages. Dinner was always dignified with soup and salad,—which must not, however, be regarded as being within the ordinary bush dietary. In other respects the meals were all alike. There was mutton in every shape, and there was always *tea*. Tea at a squatter's table,—at the table of a squatter *who has not yet* advanced himself to a man-cook or *butler and a two*-storied house,—is absolutely indispensable. *At this* squatter's table there was colonial wine

and there was brandy,—produced chiefly to supply my wants; but there was always tea. The young men when they came in, hot and fagged with their day's work, would take a glass of brandy and water standing, as a working man with us takes his glass of beer at a bar. But when they sat down with their dinners before them, the tea-cup did for them what the wine-glass does for us. The practice is so invariable that any shepherd whose hut you may visit will show his courtesy by asking you to take a pannikin of tea. In supplying stores to men, tea and sugar, flour and meat, are the four things which are included as matters of course. The tea is always bought by the chest, and was sold by the merchant at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* a pound. There was but one class of tea at the station, which I found to be preferable to very much that I am called upon to drink in England.

The recreations of the evening consisted chiefly of tobacco in the verandah. I did endeavour to institute a whist table, but I found that my friends, who were wonderfully good in regard to the age and points of a sheep, and who could tell to the fraction of a penny what the wool of each was worth by the pound, never could be got to remember the highest card of the suit. I should not have minded that had they not so manifestly despised me for regarding such knowledge as important. They were right, no doubt, as the points of a sheep are of more importance than the pips of a card, and the human mind will hardly admit of the two together. Whist is a jealous mistress;—and so is a sheep-station.

I have been at very many bush houses,—at over thirty different stations in the different colonies,—but at

not one, as I think, in which I have not found a fair provision of books. It is universally recognised among squatters that a man who settles down in the bush without books is preparing for himself a miserable future life. That the books are always used when they are there I will not say. That they are used less frequently than they should be used I do not doubt. When men come in from physical work, hungry, tired,—with the feeling that they have earned an hour or two of ease by many hours of labour,—they are apt to claim the right to allow their minds to rest as well as their limbs. Who does not know how very much this is the case at home, even among young men and women in our towns, who cannot plead the same excuse of real bodily fatigue? That it should be so is a pity of pities,—not on the score chiefly of information lost or of ignorance perpetuated; but because the power of doing that which should be the one recreation and great solace of our declining years perishes from desuetude, and cannot be renewed when age has come upon us. But I think that this folly is hardly more general in the Australian bush than in English cities. There are books to be read,—and the young squatter, when the evening comes upon him, has no other recreation to entice him. He has no club, no billiard table, no public-house which he can frequent. Balls and festivities are very rare. He probably marries early, and lives the life of a young patriarch, lord of everything around him, and master of every man he meets on his day's ride. Of course there are many who have risen to this from lower things,—who have become squatters without any early education, who have been *butchers, drovers*, or perhaps shepherds themselves. *That they should* not be acquainted with books is a *matter of course*. They have lacked the practice in

youth of which I have just spoken. But among those who have had the advantage of early nurture, and have been taught to handle books familiarly when young, I think that reading is at least as customary as it is with young men in London. The authors I found most popular were certainly Shakespeare, Dickens, and Macaulay. I would back the chance of finding Macaulay's Essays at a station against that of any book in the language except Shakespeare. To have a Shakespeare is a point of honour with every man who owns a book at all,—whether he reads it or leaves it unread.

I have said that squatters marry early. The reasons for doing so are very strong; and those reasons for not doing so, which are terribly familiar to us at home, hardly exist in the bush. The man is alone, and can have at any rate no female companionship unless he marry. In ordinary life, as we know it, the unmarried man enjoys as many comforts,—unfortunately, perhaps, more luxuries,—than do they who take to themselves wives. But in the bush the unmarried man is very desolate, and will probably soon become forlorn and wretched in his mode of life. He will hardly get a woman who will cook for him decently, or who will sew a button on his shirt when it is wanted. And he will soon care nothing how his dinner is cooked, and whether his shirt be with or without a button. On the other hand, the cost of his household when he is married will hardly be more than when he is single. If his wife know how to keep a bush house, her presence will almost be a saving to him. At home, in England, the young man when he marries has to migrate from his lodgings to a house, he must make up an establishment, buy furniture, hire servants, and enter altogether upon a new phase of life. He must have ready money in his pocket

to begin with, and a future income probably very much in advance of that he has hitherto been expected to expend. But on a station there is nothing of the kind. There is the house, in which it may be necessary to put a few additional comforts. There is the establishment,—already on so large a scale in consequence of the necessity of supplying men with rations that no recognised increase is created. When children come, and education is needed, expenses of course will grow;—but at first the thing is so easy that the young squatter simply goes out in his buggy and brings home the daughter of some other squatter,—after a little ceremony performed in the nearest church.

As a consequence of this, life in the bush is decent and moral. The bulk of the labour is performed by a nomad tribe, who wander in quest of their work, and are hired only for a time. This is of course the case in regard to washing sheep and shearing them. It is equally so when fences are to be made, or ground to be cleared, or trees to be "rung." The ringing of trees consists of cutting the bark through all round, so that the tree cease to suck up the strength of the earth for its nutrition, and shall die. For all these operations temporary work is of course required, and the squatter seldom knows whether the men he employs be married or single. They come and go, and are known by queer nicknames or are known by no names at all. They probably have their wives elsewhere, and return to them for a season. They are rough to look at, dirty in appearance, shaggy, with long hair, men who, when they are in the bush, live in huts, and hardly know what a *bed is. But they* work hard, and are both honest and *civil. Theft among* them is almost unknown. Men are *constantly hired* without any character but that which

they give themselves; and the squatters find from experience that the men are able to do that which they declare themselves capable of performing. There will be exceptions, but such is the rule. Their one great fault is drunkenness,—and yet they are sober to a marvel. As I have said before, they will work for months without touching spirits,—but their very abstinence creates a craving desire which, when it is satisfied, will satisfy itself with nothing short of brutal excess. Among the masters of these men,—among squatters with their superintendents and overseers,—drinking is not a common fault. I have seen a squatter drunk. I have seen a squatter very drunk. But he was a jovial exception.

Squatters, I think, do not as a rule go very frequently to church. Churches are not near to them, and as they are always either driving in buggies or riding on horseback in pursuance of their ordinary occupations, on Sundays they are not ready to add perhaps thirty miles, perhaps forty, to their week's work in quest of a sermon. I have spoken of stations which possessed churches of their own. When that is the case, the squatter is generally the parson for three Sundays,—being relieved by a real, but itinerant, clergyman on the fourth. I am, however, bound to acknowledge that Sabbath-day observances are laxly kept in the bush.

The resident squatter is generally a young man,—one at least not past the prime of life. For this state of things there are sundry causes. The squatter who succeeds in life, as he grows old does not cease to be a squatter. He sticks to his wool as closely as the lawyer does to his wig, or the banker to his ledger. He knows well every shilling that is spent and made. But he becomes an *absentee squatter,—having* a son, or a junior partner, *or perhaps a manager, to* manage the run and to send

him the accounts. The money comes into his hand readily, as the produce of a sheep-station is never sold on the spot. London is almost always the rich squatter's market. Then again the work to be done is hardly fitted for an old man. All that an old man can do, he can do away from the station. He has become tired of buggies and bucking horses, perhaps tired of tea and mutton; and he makes himself comfortable in a town.

And many no doubt are ruined before they grow to be old;—for, to tell the truth of it, the growing of wool is at the best a precarious trade. Thousands have made their fortunes at it,—but thousands also with small capitals have gone to the wall in their struggles, and have been no more heard of among the stations. What becomes of them I cannot say. Who knows the fate of the ruined man? The business is always on a large scale,—and being large and also precarious cannot but be dangerous. With wool ranging from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a pound, a squatter with 20,000 sheep, and a small capital, may be made by high prices, or marred by low prices, in one year. The year of favourable circumstances in regard to weather and climate may put him at his ease for life,—and a year's drought may beggar him. This also tends to weed out the old men, and leave the young men in possession. At fifty the squatter can afford either to live in town or in England,—or else he can no longer afford to live on his station.

CHAPTER XXI.

Scenery in New South Wales.

I HAVE said in the preceding chapter that the scenery of the bush is monotonous. It is the complaint that has been made generally of all Australian landscape, — so generally as to have reached England, and to constitute one of the few facts that are supposed to be known about the country. The "everlasting gum-tree" has become proverbial. Consequently no one visits Australia to see its scenery, and comparatively few of those who go there in pursuit of business, or to see men and women, make a search after the beauties of nature a part of their programme. The same feeling prevails with permanent settlers and with natives. It is taken for granted that Australia is ugly, and that the touring in quest of the picturesque, which forms so great a part of the delight of an Englishman's holiday, would be altogether time wasted and money misapplied if attempted at the Antipodes. Nevertheless, there is grand scenery in, I believe, all the Australian colonies. It is certainly to be found in Queensland and Victoria. Tasmania is one of the prettiest countries I ever visited. And in New South Wales I came across wonders almost as magnificent and charms as lovely as any that I have seen in Europe. As yet the localities are unknown, as yet the means of communication are unfrequent and uncertain, as yet popular taste has not settled herself in the direction of scenery, directing people to go here or to go there, — and by her potency providing the means of encouraging them, feeding them, and amusing them. But the time *will come in which* Australian men and *women will find that they need* not go to Europe to *delight themselves with* mountains and rivers.

Of the extreme beauty of Sydney Harbour I have already spoken, and will only say of it further that its extent is so great as to require days for its examination. It is not a sheet of water which can be seen from one spot,—and then be ticked off from the list of sights as a thing completed, and numbered among the lions which have been killed. That lion will demand four or five days before it can be killed to satisfaction, and will then bear to be rekilled by those who really take delight in natural loveliness.

The Australian Alps, whence springs the river Murray, or Hume,—for the upper part of this river was called the Hume in the early days after the explorer of that name,—stand on the south-eastern corner of New South Wales, forming a part of the great range which divides the narrow eastern strip of the continent from the vast bulk of the interior. Of the beauty of these mountains I can only speak by hearsay, having seen no more than their snowy tops at the distance of forty miles. Mount Kosciusko stands just on the borders of New South Wales and Victoria, and is 7,300 feet high. It is the monarch of Australian mountains as Mount Blanc is of those of Europe. From what was told to me, I was very anxious to visit the district, and made plans with that purpose. But I found that Australia was too big and my time too limited to enable me to see everything; and as the life of the men and women around me was more essential to my object than scenery, I was obliged to leave Kosciusko unseen. The district is difficult of access, and must be visited either on horseback, or, by those who are strong enough, with much greater facility on foot. The starting-point should, I am told, be from the little town of Tumberumba, from whence the mountains are distant about forty miles. From the description

I have heard of them, I imagine the country to be wild and fine, but I doubt whether the summits ever rise in sharp inaccessible peaks. I feel bound to apologise to my readers for attempting even so far to describe a region I did not see;—but on the other hand, an apology more humiliating would have been due to Mount Kosciusko, had I written a book about Australia and not mentioned him.

The railway from Sydney to Bathurst passes through the Blue Mountains, which form a portion of the same dividing range. They presented a cruel, awful barrier to the earlier settlers, and for a long time debarred them from the land beyond, which they hoped to find flowing with all the requisites for milk and honey. The eastern strip, where Sydney is built and Paramatta, was singularly barren, though a little farther to the north and west there were river valleys, the soil of which was as singularly rich. It was felt by all the settlers that the Blue Mountains hemmed them in, making, as it were, a prison for them on the shores of Port Jackson. With infinite suffering and indefatigable energy, a way was at last found through the dark defiles of the hills, and the colonists made their way down to those plains, which are now called the Plains of Bathurst. Now a railway passes up and down through the wildest parts of the mountains, crossing their very summit, and passengers go from Sydney to Bathurst, thinking nothing of the struggles of their forefathers,—and thinking very little of the wonders around them.

Close to the highest part of the range, with a fall to it so slight as to be hardly more than perceptible, and at a distance of about two miles from the railway, there is a ravine called Govat's Leap. Mr. Govat was, I believe, simply a government surveyor, who never made

any leap into the place at all. Had he done so, it would certainly have been effectual for putting an end to his earthly sorrows. I had hoped, when I heard the name, to find that some interesting but murderous bush-ranger had on that spot baffled his pursuers and braved eternity;—but I was informed that a government surveyor had visited the spot, had named it, and had gone home again. No one seeing it could fail to expect better things from such a spot and such a name.

It consists of a ravine probably more than a mile wide. I had no means of ascertaining the distances or heights of the place,—but the whole was on so gigantic a scale as to deceive the eye greatly at the first sight. The only approach to it from the railway leads the visitor to the head of the ravine, at which he is stopped by a precipitous wall of rock, which runs round, in various huge curves, till on each side it loses itself in the distance. As you stand there, looking down, you see a world below you,—a valley, but certainly not a happy valley, dark, awful, and inaccessible. Nowhere round these curves and lines of the rock can the eye find a spot at which it would be possible to descend. It is as though the ocean were below, and you were standing on the edge of a lofty cliff;—but in lieu of the ocean there is this black valley, densely filled with forest timber, filled so densely that you see nothing but the continuous tops of the black foliage, which, though the wind is blowing hard above, never seemed to move. In looking down from cliffs upon the sea, one is conscious that the foot of the rocks may be reached. A boat, at any rate, will place you there, if the weather be fair. But here the mind becomes aware of no mode of entering the abyss. On reaching the edge it seems as though you had come upon a spot of earth which defied you

to touch it, and which forbad the possibility of escape should you succeed in doing so. The idea is common to us when we look up at snowy peaks,—and is not the less common because we know that men have learned the way to climb them. But to look down on a place which cannot be reached, — into a valley full of trees, through which a stream runs, a green, dark, crowded valley,—and to feel that you are debarred from reaching it by a sheer descent of four or five hundred feet of cliff all round, is uncommon. I would say double that descent only that I do not quite believe in their entirety some accounts of the place that I have heard. I never saw before so vast a gaping hole on the earth's surface.

At about half a mile to the right, as you reach the edge, a stream of water very much like the Staubbach, near Lauterbrunnen, in Switzerland, falls precipitously over the rock. I was there in winter, after rain, and there was water in plenty. I heard different altitudes named for the fall, ranging up to very high figures indeed. I believe it to be about 900 feet. From the spot whence it is seen it appears that the water is broken nowhere by striking against the rocks, and that therefore the descent is perpendicular; but this, no doubt, is a fallacy of the eye, caused by the distance. As we lay on the rock gazing at it, the wind would every now and then catch the long silver thread and sweep it away into the bend of the curve, so that it would disappear from sight. The forest trees above were wild with the wind, but the interminable thickets below were never stirred. I have said that we could not descend. There was not a spot at which we could think of making the attempt; —but there was an *easy track down* to a jutting rock, *about 200 feet below the top*, and this we found to be

the proper spot from whence to look down upon the awful grandeur of the scene below us.

As I have already said the place is to be reached by railway from Sydney, from whence it is between four and five miles distant. The nearest station, or stopping place, is Blackheath,—at which the trains are pulled up if there be passengers. But there is no inn at this place. We,—the young squatter of whom I spoke in the last chapter and myself,—left the train at Mount Victoria, a station four miles distant from Blackheath, where we found very good accommodation at the house of one Mrs. Perry,—whom we knocked up at two o'clock in the morning, and who took our somewhat noisy intrusion in perfect good humour. I would advise any stranger who finds himself at Sydney to make a visit to Govat's Leap, and to stop at the inn at Mount Victoria when doing so.

Govat's Leap astonished me very much,—but not, I think, so much as the scenery of the Hawkesbury River. A great portion of this is within forty miles of the town of Sydney, and might be as easily reached and much more quickly and cheaply seen than the Rhine,—if only people knew of it, so that an hotel or two might be built on its banks, and a steamer built to ply upon it. A trip of two days from Sydney, at a cost of 30*s.* a head, might make the river known to every pleasure-seeker in Sydney,—and if the expedition were customary, the Hawkesbury would soon be as much to Sydney as the mouth of the Clyde and the Kyles of Bute are to Glasgow. And yet who has heard of the Hawkesbury? As it is altogether unknown in Sydney, it is hardly surprising that the river should not have been *much talked* about in England. Had it been known in *Sydney*, it would have been talked about in England. I must own that when I was invited to join a party to

sit the scenery of the river, I myself had never heard the Hawkesbury, except as one of the first named ers on the Australian continent,—so called many years o when Lord Liverpool was young.

The party which I was kindly invited to join was a y august party, consisting of nearly all the cabinet nisters, and a very considerable minority of the House Assembly. The Premier was at the head of it, and man fitter for such an occasion ever held absolute minion over hampers. It was by no means a partisan ty; for I observed on my return to Sydney six months rwards, when that premier had, alas, succumbed to fate of premiers, and another head of the govern- nt reigned in his stead, that two of the most lively of politicians on the Hawkesbury trip were sitting on treasury bench. And we had been all so friendly n! I must confess that when I saw those two gentle- n on that bench, and saw that former premier oppo- , turned out into the cold, partly, no doubt, by their rts, I could not but say to myself that there could be ratitude in New South Wales as deep as among the er nations of the earth.

We went by railway to the little town of Windsor, which a branch line runs from the Sydney and hurst line;—a quaint little place, inhabited by old lers who came to this district as being singularly ile. Very fertile it is; no land in the Australian colo- s is perhaps more so; hardly any soil in any country perhaps more so. But for this great gift it has to pay roportionate penalty. Every now and then, perhaps e in six or seven years, it is so absolutely flooded by Hawkesbury and its tributaries, that the farmers are ced *to fly for their lives. And there* have been floods *sudden and so high* that all the farmers have not

been able to fly with their lives. Windsor is built upon the Hawkesbury,—here so called; but up above this it has another name and is called the Nepean;—for it is the fashion in New South Wales to divide what with us at home would be the last syllable. From Windsor we went five miles down the river in open boats, and there found a steamer waiting for us. I must confess that during the first part of our journey I was disposed to think that I had been enticed away by false representations. Immediately below Windsor the river is not beautiful. It passes through a rich country, which gradually becomes narrower as the hills are approached;—but for an hour or two the fertility of the land and the specialities, such as they might be, of its productiveness were the chief attractions. But gradually as we reached the bluffs and high banks of the lower reaches, the scene was changed, and as the afternoon wore itself away we steamed down among river scenery as lovely as any which I ever beheld.

There can I think be no doubt that among rivers the Rhine has the highest character for sustained beauty. There may be special points on other streams which have endeared themselves to the world,—such especially as the Falls of Niagara,—such as the Inn at Innspruck, or the Rhone at Geneva,—or the Upper Lake at Killarney, which is, in truth, a river. But for continued scenery the Rhine stands first. There is a river, or rather a portion of a river, known to very few tourists, which I think beats the Rhine. This is the Upper Mississippi, for about 150 miles below St. Paul. It is not my business here to describe the Mississippi,—but I mention it with the object of saying that in my opinion the Hawkesbury beats the Mississippi. I should not make the contrast unless there were many features in the two

ich are similar. At all of them the beauty consists the breaking of the land on the very margin of the r, and is not carried far back into the interior. At of them the banks rise suddenly, sometimes covered timber and sometimes bald, — sometimes sloping sometimes precipitous,—but at all of them the banks broken here and there into lateral valleys, which to the imagination the idea that the glory of the ie is far spread, and would repay pursuit. Unless it convey this vague feeling of distant, unapproachable, almost mysterious delight, scenery loses half its ms. On the Rhine, on the Mississippi, and on the kesbury alike, there is created an idea that if the eller would only leave the boat and wander inland, would be repaid by the revelation of marvellous ties of Nature,—beauties which have perhaps never met the eyes of man. The Rhine has its castles and islands,—and it has, too, in its favour the bright ur of its waters. The Upper Mississippi has no les, nor are its waters bright; but it has islands, and merable bluffs and headlands and varied valleys, park-like timber, and its own fast-running rush of rs,—which are to me more than compensation for castles and the colour. The Hawkesbury has neither les nor islands, nor has it bright clear water like the ne. But the headlands are higher and the bluffs are ler, and the turns and manœuvres of the course ch the waters have made for themselves are grander, to me more enchanting, than those of either the opean or American river.

It took us two days to descend the Hawkesbury to ken Bay, and *during the night* our steamer lay at a *d in the river called Wiseman's* Ferry,—where there *large dilapidated and unused* church, showing how

soon ruins may be instituted in a new country. Along the banks, at intervals from each other of a few miles, whenever a bit of alluvial soil gave an opportunity for cultivation, settlers had placed themselves, and lived by growing maize, potatoes, and fruit. These people, or their fathers, were among the earliest colonists of New South Wales,—as the banks of the Hawkesbury had been soon reached. But civilisation had passed by them and gone beyond them,—and they were left now much in the condition in which their fathers were sixty or seventy years ago. A great portion of the banks are not approached by any road, and are accessible only by water. Small luggers from Sydney ply up and down the stream, taking the produce of the settlers to market, and bringing them back flour and tea in return. There can be but little intercourse even between families at ten miles' distance from each other,—as a river is, after all, but a poor road for the purposes of familiar intercourse. Life there must be very solitary and cheerless,—but at the same time independent and plentiful. We saw children about, amidst the garden patches,—but I fear that they were often out of reach of any school.

The lower part of the river, that between Wiseman's Ferry and Pitt Water,—which is a large inlet of the sea, running southward from Broken Bay,—is very much finer than the upper reaches. There are various spots, especially at Mangora Creek, Berowa Creek, and Mullet Creek, at which the expanse of water assumes the appearance of a lake, and from which the stream escapes under banks almost perpendicular, and, as we calculated, from four to six hundred feet high. At Broken Bay, after having steamed up to the head of Pitt Water, we got out into the sea, and within an hour and a half were in Sydney harbour.

Up along the river banks there were numberless sites fit for private houses or for hotels,—all of which might be reached within a few hours from Sydney. We saw but one house of any pretence,—which, I was told, was occasionally inhabited by a gentleman's family. But residence here, except to a cockatoo farmer, or to a hermit, is at present impossible. Though the place be no more than forty miles from Sydney, it is altogether beyond reach,—as many parts of the highlands of Scotland were some few years ago. In another space of a few years there will probably be daily means of getting to the Hawkesbury; and there will be villas dotted on its banks, and hotels of all descriptions for the accommodation of Australian tourists.

As of Australian scenery, so also is it generally said of Australian country houses, that they are without the charms and prettiness which are thought so much of at home by our squires and their wives and families. I do not know that I had many preconceived opinions as to country life in the colonies,—but I certainly did think that the surroundings of it would be ugly. It is a matter of course that finished beauty at a homestead cannot be achieved to order by any given time. The surroundings of a house want years for the full creation of their charms. In England many an old ruined house is lovely, but who has ever succeeded in making a new country mansion pleasing to the eye? On this account landscape beauty of the domestic kind must be less frequent in a new than in an old country, and is, of course, less frequent in Australia than in Europe. But, nevertheless, it is to be found,—and I saw the preparations for it frequent in many of the colonies. I think that Coombing Park, *in New South Wales,—the* property of Mr. Icely, *one of the oldest settlers, and* now the residence of his

neither, of course, can the population be stated with accuracy. It lies, as the name implies, among the rivers,—among the only well known great rivers of the continent. These rivers, with many tributaries, are the Murray, the Murrumbidgee running into the Murray, the Lachlan running into the Murrumbidgee, and the Darling running into the Murray below the Murrumbidgee. I fear that my readers may become weary of these rivers,—but I can hardly make the subject plain here without repeating their names. The Murray, carrying down the waters of an immense portion of the great Australian plains, finds its way into the sea at last by so poor an aperture as to forbid internal navigation on a scale greater than that which in other countries is achieved by canals. And the navigation afforded by these natural waters is only spasmodic. During a portion of the year it is interrupted by drought. At uncertain seasons in some years it is stopped by floods. Consequently large towns have not arisen on the river banks. And again nearly the whole of this country is unfit for agriculture. Though the soil in many parts of it is rich, the climate will not allow the soil to produce wheat. The average rainfall is not above fourteen inches in the year,—and the summer heats are very intense. Nevertheless, in the southern parts of the district, and on the frontages of the rivers, free-selecters are numerous,—to the great and, as I think, irrational displeasure of the squatters, for the free-selecter if he cannot live on his land must work for the squatter's wages. To the south-east, around Albury and Wagga Wagga,—if on behalf of the Riverina we may venture to say that those towns are within its limits —*wheat is grown.* The rainfall here is greater and the *heat less intense.* But even in the localities named it *seems to be a question* whether cereals can be produced

with sufficient constancy to repay the farmer. Nor is the Riverina a gold-producing district,—nor has it coal or copper. Gold has, I believe, been found within the limits above-named, but not in sufficient quantities to attract a mining population. The Riverina is essentially a pastoral district, in which the squatters are patriarchs owning many flocks. But of all strictly pastoral districts of the world it is perhaps the best. As a wool-growing district I have no doubt as to its being the best in Australia. It consists of vast plains, a great part of which is completely without trees, and the whole of which is without hills or even rising ground. Where there is timber, the timber is light. And there is no stone,—not a particle of what the road-makers call metal,—in the country among the rivers. The houses are made of wood or brick. The roads are altogether unmade, and consist of tracks through the mud or dust. When anything is done towards the making of a road in or near the towns, clay is burned for the purpose into brickbats, or wooden blocks are used. The dust of Riverina I have never seen, but its mud is the most tenacious I ever encountered.

The secret of the wealth of the country for pastoral purposes lies in the salt which the soil possesses. A great proportion of the Riverina used to produce salt-bush,—a shrub about three feet high, pale in colour, and ugly to look at when it covers a whole plain, on which the sheep feed willingly and which can stand great heat and great drought. I was told that the salt-bush was disappearing on runs which had carried sheep for many years, and that it certainly receded as the squatters advanced. But, though the salt-bush may go, the salt remains. Australian squatters who differ so widely among themselves on many pastoral questions,—

who will dispute as to what breed of sheep is best, whether wool should be washed or shorn in the grease, whether, if washed, warm water should be used, whether sheep should be shorn early or late, whether wool should be sold in London or in the colonies,—are all agreed that a salt country is the best for sheep. In a salt country, though it seems to be as bare as a board, sheep will keep their condition,—and on a fat sheep wool will grow long and thick, while on a thin sheep the wool also will be thin. And, on a plain country, sheep can be managed with very much less expense than among hills and valleys, and rock and thick timber. The knowledge that it is so comes upon the observer by degrees amidst infinite regrets. The plains of the Riverina are not lovely to look at. The observing stranger, placing himself for a while, as every observing stranger will do, in the shoes of the observed, declares to himself at first that he will squat and lead his sheep afield amidst the rocks and gullies and widely-spreading forest trees. He will know nothing at that time of the difficulty of mustering sheep in the midst of such picturesque impediments; he will not as yet understand how dingoes, or wild dogs, are harboured by them; he will hardly calculate how much farther afield sheep must travel for their food where trees are plentiful and grass is scarce, than on the open prairies where the whole strength of the soil is devoted to the production of the herbage; nor will he probably know that the unromantic animals find the food sweeter on which the sun shines openly, than that which they find beneath the forest foliage. But the squatter who has been at work for a year or two amidst timber and *hills, sighs for the* salt plains, and dismisses his aptitudes *for the picturesque* to the winds.

Such is the Riverina;—a wide, open, ugly pastoral

district on which squatters prosper and grow rich. Of its settled towns it cannot boast much. The two largest in the area which I have attempted to define as belonging to the Riverina are, Albury and Wagga Wagga, nearly equal in size, and containing each something under 2,000 inhabitants. But Albury and Wagga Wagga are all but outside the district and do not especially partake of its idiosyncrasies. Deniliquin is the capital of the Riverina, and Deniliquin, according to the census of 1871, only boasts of 1,118 inhabitants. And I was told in its neighbourhood that the boast was hardly true of the town,—as, in the making up of that number, a large adjacent section of country had been included for municipal purposes. Nevertheless were Riverina a separate colony, divided off from the parent province as has been done with Victoria and Queensland, Deniliquin would probably be the chosen capital.

I should hardly have ventured to write a separate chapter on the Riverina district had not such a project of separation been entertained. I may as well say that as far as my own opinion goes,—which necessarily must be crude,—I think that the project will be renewed and consummated. I think also that this consummation, if effected, will be for the advantage of the district itself, and for that of the adjacent colonies,—including New South Wales, of which it at present forms a part. In order to explain the question as well as I may be able to do, and in giving a reason for my opinion, I must say a few more words on the terribly complicated and, I fear, rather tedious subject of the border-duties;—for the Riverina district, and almost that alone, is affected by them.

The government of Victoria have made a railway *running north from Melbourne* across the colony to

Echuca, a little town on the Murray. They are making, and soon will have accomplished, a second line running north-east from Melbourne to Woodonga, another small town higher up on the Murray, on the direct road to Sydney, and just opposite to Albury,—one of the towns I have mentioned as belonging to the Riverina. By the former of these railways, the wool and the sheep of the district,—in which the wealth of the district altogether consists,—are sent to Melbourne, and the stores required for the use of the squatters are brought back from that city. The second railway when completed will of course make the intercourse more close,—though the line to Echuca must always be the one on which the material prosperity of the Riverina must depend. The communication between this district and Sydney is by a succession of coaches till the New South Wales railway is reached at Goulbourn. Deniliquin is nearly 500 miles distant from Sydney, of which distance all but 130 miles must be travelled by coach. The roads are not made, and the average pace is about six miles an hour. But Deniliquin is reached by coach in six hours from Echuca. The cost and labour of passenger traffic are by no means the chief obstacles to close connection between the western and eastern parts of the colony; but they indicate the difficulty of other traffic. If a four-horse coach cannot get from Deniliquin to Goulbourn in less than eighty hours, a dray laden with wool dragged throughout by the one team of horses or bullocks will be nearly ten times as long. Hence has arisen the fact that for all commercial purposes the Riverina depends on Melbourne and not on Sydney. In Melbourne it is often said that the money which has populated the plains of the Riverina with sheep is Victorian money, and that the squatting interests of the district have all been created

by Victorian energy. The boast seems to me to be absurd. It might as well be said, on the other hand, that Victorian prosperity has arisen from Tasmanian energy because many of the most prosperous graziers and wool-growers of Victoria found their way over to Port Phillip from Tasmania. The cluster of colonies is not only too small in population to admit of such divisions, but is too closely united by language, by nationality, by mutual dependence and loyalty to Great Britain, to allow of any real diversity of interests. Individual men may foster petty jealousies in their hearts, and politicians may fancy that they see an opening for their ambition in short-lived ascendancy of this or the other colony; but the interest of one of these colonies is in truth the interest of them all; and to all Australia Melbourne and Sydney are as Manchester and Liverpool, or as Nottingham and Norwich, are to England. It should matter nothing whether the Riverina send her wool to Port Jackson or to Port Phillip,—whether she buy her tea at Sydney or at Melbourne,—except to the individual tradesmen and merchants concerned. What does matter is this,—that the Riverina itself should be allowed to prosper if she have the means of prosperity within her borders; that she should at any rate be hindered by no quarrelling among outside parties.

But she is terribly hindered. At the present moment, as I write, every article carried across the Murray is subject to the interference of the custom-house,—as things used to be subject, and perhaps will again become subject, between Dover and Calais. The Riverina and Victoria, instead of being to each other as are Lancashire and *Yorkshire, or as* are New York and New *Jersey, are in reference to their* custom-house laws as are *France and Germany.* That a real cordon of custom-

house officers should be maintained along a line over 500 miles in length, on each side, by two provinces whose joint population is a million and a quarter, is, of course, out of the question. But the hostile arrangement is carried on at the points which permit of the greatest amount of injury and inconvenience, at Albury and at Echuca. Elsewhere also along the line,—but especially at those places,—duties are collected. Passengers, as far as I am aware, are allowed to take their luggage over unexamined. No custom-house officer troubled himself with mine either at the one place or at the other. Nor do the custom-house officers do so at many of the European barriers. The trouble would find no results to pay for itself, and the nuisance would be intolerable. But articles brought down for purposes of commerce are treated as though they were going from one country into another.

I will name an instance or two to show the effect. If a lady in the Riverina wants a piano, she purchases one at Melbourne, which the Melbourne dealer has imported from London. The Melbourne dealer has paid the duty on its entrance into Victoria; but the Riverina lady has to pay a second duty on its crossing the river Murray and entering New South Wales. It is urged by the supporters of the border duties in the Sydney Assembly, that the Riverina can supply itself by purchasing its goods in bond at the port of Melbourne. No doubt, if Deniliquin had 100,000 inhabitants instead of 1,000 it might avail itself of this permission;—and get a store of pianos for itself. As it is the lady does, in fact, pay the two duties,—or go without her piano. It is argued in the Sydney parliament, on behalf of the border duties, that it can matter nothing to the people of the Riverina whether the duties on the articles they consume are col-

lected at Melbourne or on the Murray frontier, and that goods made subject to duty on the Murray are passed through Victoria in bond. The traders of Deniliquin, a town with 1,118 inhabitants, can no doubt get their tea and sugar in this way, if their dealings are large enough to admit of it. But the squatters of the Riverina, who send their wool to Melbourne, buy their tea and sugar in Melbourne, and must do so. The agents who dispose of their wool purchase for them their stores. Indeed, had not the matter been argued so stoutly, though at the same time so vainly, in Sydney, it would seem to be quite unnecessary to put forward reasons to show that the construction of a custom-house barrier between a rural district and its emporium must be regarded, not only as a political folly, but as a prodigy among political follies.

This folly will probably be soon abandoned. A bill having this object and brought in with the intention of enabling the two colonies to revert to the payment of a lump sum from the one to the other, was passed by the Legislative Assembly at Sydney, in 1872, but was thrown out by a narrow majority in the Legislative Council. Such a bill may probably be passed. But in that case one folly will have been abandoned by means of another folly, by no means so irritating as the first, but as irrational. The one colony will again pay to the other a lump sum as the balance of exchange on behalf of these border duties. Victoria will pocket the duties collected on goods sent to the Riverina, and will pay £60,000 per annum to New South Wales. Goods will then be allowed to pass each way free,—in direct contravention of the terms of the constitution, which constitution *in each colony gives to* it its legal status, and *is, in fact, so much British law* equally binding on the

colonies and on the mother country. By these terms Great Britain forbids her colonies to send their produce from one to another, except on payment of such duties as are levied on the same articles when imported from foreign countries. On the New South Wales side of the Murray wine is grown which finds its market in Melbourne. On the Hunter River also, in the northern portion of New South Wales, wine is grown which would find its market in Melbourne,—but that it is subjected to duty on entering Victoria by sea, as it must do if it enter Victoria at all. Under the arrangement, as it did exist, and as it will probably exist again, by which a lump sum is paid as balance by Victoria to New South Wales, the Murray wine will go free, in opposition to the British law; but the Hunter wine will be taxed, in obedience to the British law. The custom-house cordon will be maintained by sea, because it will not be absolutely unbearable;—but it will be abandoned by land, as constituting an infliction too irritating for men to endure.

I have endeavoured to make the matter plain,—not chiefly on account of these Murray border duties, which will probably be made to vanish, and which can hardly be of much interest to ordinary readers,—but because I would endeavour to make clear the fatal injury which the colonies endure by the collection of any custom duties between themselves. The greatest present want of Australia generally is unity with itself. That the colonies should have been divided for purposes of local government was indispensable to their success. The different interests of the different parts were too divergent to allow of their being duly considered at one centre;—*and the distances* were far too great for parliamentary *legislation to* embrace the whole from one capital. Further *separation will* probably take place, and will take place

to the advantage of the colonies. But the divisions already made, and any new divisions which may be made, are not incompatible with national unity, and certainly need not be accompanied by the all but hostile feeling, by the unloving and unbrotherly condition, which is inseparable from custom-houses between the one and the other. The Australians are surely as closely knit together as are the Swiss in their several cantons, or as were the Germans of different kingdoms, who in spite of various nationalities and dynastic jealousies consented to trade with each other under the Zollverein. But the strongest example of their position, or that which is in every respect the most like to them, is to be found in the United States. They speak the one language, are subject, in regard to their foreign relations, to one central head, are the home of a spreading people determined to rule themselves, and have each their separate legislature for the purpose of doing so;—but they do not declare war against each other by border tariffs.

Downing Street will answer to this that the war is not perpetuated there. Downing Street is very fond of free trade,—as indeed are all English streets and English people,—and does not at all prohibit the colonies from the free interchange of commodities among themselves, if only they will take them free from other countries. Downing Street also goes much farther than this, and will admit of a customs union between the colonies or between any two of them,—although such customs union would, in the opinion of Downing Street, inflict a grievous blow on free trade in the colonies by allowing them to import each other's goods while charging duties on foreign goods. And Downing Street now has gone still farther, *and has said, under pressure, that* if the colonies be imperious *in their demands, she* will permit them to import

this or that article free, at their discretion,—adding, however, that any use of this permission in a direction hostile to free trade will have a tendency to loosen the bonds between the colonies and the mother country. Downing Street has all but given way in this matter,—and would give way altogether but that she fears to compromise herself by an apparent defalcation in regard to free trade. But there is no fairer ground for question of free trade in the matter than there would be between Middlesex and Surrey if the English parliament were to put a customs duty on some article of French produce, but which was produced also in one of those counties and carried thence into the other. The nationality between the Australian colonies is too close to admit of the doctrine of free trade having any bearing upon intercolonial commerce.

As the matter stands at present, Downing Street has simply notified her assent to a customs union between the colonies, should the colonies desire it. Two or three of them have agreed in principle to the arrangement, Tasmania having gallantly taken the lead. But the question has become so complicated among them by small diverse interests,— the jam-makers of Victoria, for instance, objecting to the free introduction of Tasmanian jam,—that no efforts made by some among themselves can, I fear, be successful. But if it were initiated from Downing Street,—if Downing Street would arrange the measure, and fashion the clauses, and give her earnest influence towards carrying it out,—it would be done. Victoria might not at first agree to it,—or Queensland,—or possibly New South Wales. But it *would not* require the agreement of all. Tasmania, *South Australia*, and New Zealand would agree. It is *probable* that the others would do so also, if the pro-

posal were fairly made to them by the imperial government. But if three were combined,—if only two were combined,—not only with sanction from home, but also with British encouragement,—the union would soon grow till it included the whole.

In returning to the Riverina, I am bound to acknowledge that there has been proposed by many who are interested in her fate a remedy for the evil of border duties and for other evils, which is declared by them to be altogether effectual. But there must first be said a word as to those other evils. It has been explained that the Riverina is very far distant from Sydney; and it is thought by the people of the district that on this account she is greatly neglected by the Sydney parliament. She returns four members to a House of Assembly consisting of seventy-two members, having indeed her fair proportion according to her population;—but what are four among so many? She cannot even "log-roll." If there be a proposition for spending public money in the north, or in the south, she is not strong enough to do aught by making her assent conditional on the spending of money also in the south-west. It must be remembered that very much is done in the colonies by public money which is with us accomplished either by private enterprise or by local contributions. Railways, bridges, and in a great measure roads also, are made out of taxes appropriated to that purpose by vote of the Assembly,—and are made under the superintendence, and are subject to the patronage, of a cabinet minister. How can any assembly be moved by four members; or what influence on a cabinet minister can be brought to bear by those forlorn ones? *Consequently* there are no roads, *and no bridges, and not a mile* of railway in the Riverina. *But the Riverina pays* taxes as do the other

districts. When I was at Deniliquin an election was in progress for a member for the Murray district, and I heard the speeches. There were three candidates, and the man for the Murray,—which is the most centrically Riverinan of the constituencies of the Riverina,—was he who would give the loudest promise as to a certain bridge. The bridge ought to have been made years ago, connecting Victoria with New South Wales,—and the money had actually been borrowed for the Riverinan half of it. But not a pile had been driven, and now it was shrewdly guessed that an economical chancellor of the exchequer,—or treasurer as he is called in the colonies,—was going to swallow the money. I had not the slightest doubt in my own mind but that the money would be swallowed. But this or that gentleman, if returned, would hurry up to Sydney,—probably to arrive too late because of the mud and the distance,—and would take that treasurer by the throat, if only he could get so far before the process of swallowing was completed. But it was manifest that not one man in the room expected the bridge, although the money had been voted,—and borrowed for the express purpose. What did Sydney want of a bridge over the Murray? Did not every one know that Sydney was more anxious to increase than to curtail the distance between herself and Melbourne? Candidates must say something, and it was as easy to promise a bridge as anything else. The feeling was general that nothing was to be expected from a Sydney parliament. Why should not the Riverina be annexed to Victoria?

The question was not asked at that meeting, as with *the majority of* those there assembled it would have *been unpopular*, but I heard it asked very often outside. *In Victoria I* have heard it put as though there could be

but one answer to it. The genuine Victorian thinks that annexation to Victoria would be a road to fame and fortune for any colony or any nation. The inhabitants of Port Phillip, having separated themselves from New South Wales, would annex their parent to-morrow without compunction. But they will first annex Tasmania and Riverina. The Riverinans, however,—as also the Tasmanians, of whom I will speak hereafter,—do not seem to be in love with Victorian practices. Their deputies would be lost in the Victorian Assembly,—quite as much as those from the Riverina are now lost at Sydney; and after a while, lawyers from Melbourne would represent them, receiving £300 per annum for their labour in doing so. And the Victorian land laws, which have made themselves peculiarly odious to Victorian squatters,—are not at all to the liking of the Riverinan squatters. The Victorian Assembly might no doubt make promises as to pastoral leases, might declare that the sauce with which the goose to the south of the Murray had been cooked and eaten, should never be warmed up again on behalf of the gander in the Riverina;—but it is hard to bind a parliament by a promise, or to obtain obligations from a nation. There is a class of spiritual beings among whom, if you must be troubled by such an attendant, it is generally thought better to have an old friend than a stranger. The Riverinans do not much regard Sydney,—but they prefer Sydney to Melbourne.

It is well that it should be so, as it cannot be for the interests of Australia at large that the colony which is at present the most populous and the most important should be made greater *and more* important by annexing *her sisters. It is for the* advantage of England and *of Englishmen,—for England* will continue to feed

Australia with Englishmen,—and of Australia and Australians, not that Victoria should be ascendant, but that Australia should be well governed and prosperous. That good government and prosperity would be promoted by a federation of the colonies, no one, I think, denies,—though there are various opinions as to the period at which such federation should, or can, be accomplished. As to the results which may be expected from federation, I will venture to speak elsewhere;—but among the measures which will tend to produce it, none will probably be so efficacious as the division of those colonies which are now too large in area for government from a central parliament in itself too weak in its elements to spread its arms afar; and among those which might retard federation none certainly would be so fatally strong as the increased preponderance of any one colony over the others. The preponderance of Victoria is at present the drawback most to be dreaded;—and to that a most injurious addition would be made,—not only as regards population, but in pride also,—were another colony or a section of one to add itself to the Victorian borders.

The only other remedy for the Riverina is Separation;—or, in other words, a setting up for herself among the colonies. That argument which I have attempted to use against customs duties would undoubtedly be a strong argument against further separation, if the continuance of such a barrier between cognate colonies were a necessity. Who would willingly multiply such barriers, and accumulate the sure means of intercolonial *irritation*? But if we look forward to a grouping of *these Australian* colonies under some form of government *which* may be combined in regard to external *matters, but* be separate as to local matters,—such as is

the form of government adopted in the United States,—then the arguments against a small colony, or a poor colony, or a colony sparsely inhabited, fall to the ground. In saying this I trust that I may not be considered as specially advocating what we at home call "American institutions." Of those institutions this is not the place to speak. But the institutions necessary for the combined colonies would be no inch nearer to American institutions, and would be no inch farther removed from British institutions, than those which are at present used. Indeed I know not that any institution would be changed,—that any single "Palladium of British liberty" would be altered by the clipping of a hair. But I name the union of the American States as giving the best example which modern history affords us of a secure federation of self-governing communities.

There are, no doubt, objections which can be urged against such separation as that proposed, not only plausibly, but rationally;—objections which would perhaps be fatal, if the system of government in the Australian colonies, as at present administered, admitted of no change. The population of the Riverina is but 28,000, and it would seem to be absurd to saddle so small a body of people with all the expenses of a government house and a parliament, at the scale now adopted in the Australian colonies. It might be alleged, in answer to this, that when the separation of Queensland from New South Wales was sanctioned, the population of Queensland was under 18,000, and that in 1861, two years after its separation, it had only reached 30,000;—but it must be acknowledged, in behalf of Queensland, that her external circumstances gave better promise of a quickly increasing population than do those of the Riverina. The population of Queensland is now 125,000,

and she supports what, for the sake of distinction, I will call a full-fledged government and a full-fledged parliamentary establishment. She is a bold, pushing colony, and will herself, probably, soon endure further separation. The progress of the Riverina will necessarily be slower,—but it may perhaps be well to accept such an opportunity as she would offer for ascertaining whether a separate colonial state may not be set on foot, with advantage to herself and to the group to which she belongs, on a more moderate footing. An attempt to define the details of such an establishment would be beyond my purpose here, and certainly would be beyond my capacity;—but hereafter I shall have to speak of Western Australia, with only 25,000 inhabitants,—as to which colony it may be said, that the slowness of her progress has been due rather to the evil nature than to the small number of her population;—for Western Australia has received over 10,000 convicts.

If it be allowed that a federation of the colonies would be for the advantage of the colonies, it will also, I think, be allowed that a federation of small states and of many states will be more easily constructed than one consisting of few and large states. That there should be equality of size between them is out of the question, —and with inequality of size there will of course be inequality of influence. Rhode Island and Delaware do not loom so large among the United States as do New York and Pennsylvania. But Rhode Island and Delaware hold their own, govern themselves, and assist in forming a great nationality. Victoria and New South Wales may probably feel a mitigated jealousy in giving some co-ordinate power in a confederation to so small a people as that of the Riverina, when they remember that Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania united themselves

with Rhode Island and Delaware, on a basis which gave two senators each to small and to great states alike.

It is urged also, as a reason against such a measure, that the Riverina has no sea-board;—nor has Bohemia, as all readers of Shakespeare are taught to remember; nor have any of the Swiss cantons; nor had a dozen German nationalities; nor have half the states of the American Union. If a separate nationality, with custom duties and the like, be required for each political division of Australia, then sea-board may be essential. But if any unity be desired for Australia,—if the Australians of next century are to be one great people, instead of being denizens of a dozen little provinces,—then we may allow this question of sea-board to be passed as answered. It is not to be expected that another Melbourne will grow up in the Riverina,—nor that a Liverpool will establish itself in Oxfordshire. But Oxfordshire can hold its own among the counties by other influences than those to be derived from a great sea-port.

In all these colonies the government is entirely centralized, and it is perhaps necessary that it should be so in new countries. When a small community is first established on some shore far distant from its parent country, the power of ruling must for a time rest in the hands of a few. Without such rule, there would be turmoil, anarchy, and destruction. But the effect of such centralized power is not, after awhile, beneficial to those who have wandered to a distance from the centre. They are not only disregarded, but they are taxed for the benefit of those who by their greater numbers are enabled to help themselves. It *was the* feeling of this unavoidable *injustice which produced* the various separations *which have already taken* place among the Australian

colonies, and which will produce further separation. The Riverina would soon have roads and bridges,—would soon have a railway from Deniliquin to Echuca, if she stood so far alone as to have the management of her own internal finances for her own internal purposes.

In February, 1864, a petition on this subject from "The inhabitants of the pastoral districts and others interested in that part of the colony of New South Wales known as the Riverina district," was presented to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, and a great debate was held on the moving of certain resolutions, the first of which proposed that the western district of New South Wales,—within certain bounds then defined,—should "be declared a province, to be called the Riverina province, with provision for separate local administration," and the third resolution proposed that, after providing the fair quota of the cost of such public institutions as courts of law, the post office, &c., "the balance of the revenue of the Riverina province should be expended therein upon public works, under the supervision of local boards." Here it will be seen that a partial separation was proposed,—but a separation which would enable the new province to spend its own money. There were other resolutions, with which I will not trouble my reader, the chief object of which was so to alter the land law within the bounds of the province, as to suit the views of the Riverinan squatters. The matter was debated at great length, and the resolution was lost by a majority of 27 to 11. The number which voted for the proposition in an Assembly held at Sydney, five or six hundred miles from the centre of the district interested in the discussion, may be taken as indicating a strong feeling as to its justice. Whether the province should be separated entirely from New South Wales, or

ne only semi-self-acting as proposed in the resolu-
of 1864, may admit of discussion. Looking for-
to a federation of the different colonies, with some
n of central Australian government, I myself would
to see the separation complete. I believe that the
on of smaller colonies on the Australian continent,
colonies is the proper name by which to call them,
l conduce more quickly than any other step to this
. I believe that a community of many states would
ce produce at any rate a customs union, and would
n end to the internecine absurdity of border duties.
s regards the Riverina itself, and its desire to make
n roads and put up its own bridges,—that object
l probably be obtained as well by the one political
s by the other.

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

Appendix No. I. page 176.

Regulations under which free-selections of Land can be effected in Queensland, taken from a digest of the Queensland Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868.

Conditional Purchases.

This portion of the Act contains some of the most important provisions, and embodies novel principles, both in the legislation of Queensland and the other colonies. In the first place, land can be purchased on easier terms of payment, both as regards price and time for payment, than under previous Acts. Larger areas can also be secured, by which means both agricultural and pastoral farming may be combined in one selection. Secondly, the land is classified, and the rate of purchase money proportioned to its value, in connection with its capabilities.

The foregoing are the main features in the Act relating to conditional purchases, with the exception of certain conditions which the selecter has to comply with, and which have been introduced into the Act in order to prevent undue monopoly of land, or selection solely with a view to speculative purposes. These conditions impart to the measure a practical character; as, with the encouragement afforded to purchase land on liberal terms, provision is made for its being turned to useful account, and a certain expenditure made on it.

The lands open to settlement are—

Firstly.—The Crown lands in the settled districts not under lease or license.

Secondly.—The lands on the resumed halves of runs, inclusive of the railway reserves, which extend three miles on each side of the railway lines throughout their entire length.

Thirdly.—The lands in large township reserves, not less than two miles in a direct line from the nearest town lot.

The following will show the lands open to selection on the 31st December, 1870, in the several districts.

	Acres.
Moreton	1,994,169
Darling Downs	650,000
Wide Bay and Burnett	2,706,979
Port Curtis	3,545,600
Kennedy	4,178,020
Cook and North Cook	18,368,000
Burke	4,746,000
Total	36,188,768

These lands constitute the area available for selection under the Act.

The areas allowed to be selected by any one person, and the rates of purchase money per acre, are as follows:—

Agricultural land, not less than 40, nor more than 640, at 15s. per acre.
First-class pastoral land, not less than 80, nor more than 2,560, at 10s. per acre.
Second-class pastoral land, not less than 80, nor more than 7,680, at 5s. per acre.

It is not permitted to exceed the maximum areas prescribed for each class of land. The selection may be in one or not more than three blocks—one of each class being allowed; and provision is made for adjacent lands being selected by the occupant, provided the boundaries are conterminous and the maximum area of each class is not exceeded. In township and railway reserves the land cannot be classed lower than first-class pastoral.

The mode of taking up land is in this way:—The applicant attends at a land agent's office, and having ascertained that the land which he wishes to select is available, he lodges an application in triplicate, accompanied with the amount of the first year's rent and survey fee. This application sufficiently explains itself. It contains a declaration that the applicant lives in Queensland, is above the age of twenty-one years, and that he applies for the land in his own behalf and use, and not as agent or trustee for any other person. He further declares that he intends to use the same, and that he has not entered into any agreement to sell, demise, or mortgage it. These declarations are required by the Act. The application should also contain a clear description of the boundaries, with reference to some known feature or previous survey. The area and the particulars of the first year's rent, being one-tenth of the whole purchase-money, whether in cash or land orders, are also to be furnished. With respect to the area, it may be remarked that each class of land may be included in one application. For example:—

	Acres.	*At per acre.*	*First year's rent.*
		s. d.	*£ s. d.*
Agricultural land . . .	50	1 6	3 15 0
First-class pastoral land .	100	1 0	5 0 0
Second-class pastoral land .	200	0 6	5 0 0
Total . .	350	Annual Rent	£13 15 0

The applicant in the first instance puts his own class upon the land applied for. On receipt by the land agent of this application, an entry is made in a book, called the "Application Book," which the applicant signs. This entry governs the priority of the selection at the time the Commissioner deals with it, as hereafter described; and on the land agent giving the applicant a receipt for his rent, no further proceedings are to be taken until the next Commissioner's Court Sitting, which occurs about once a fortnight, at which the applicant or his agent must attend, when the acceptance or the rejection of the application is publicly declared. After such declaration, the deposits of rent previously paid on rejected applications are then refunded to the applicants by the Commissioner, and, in the case of those provisionally approved, instructions are sent to a surveyor to effect a survey of the selection. At the time the survey is being carried out, means are taken to verify the classification put upon the land by the selector; and if the Commissioner, through the surveyor, or a competent witness, or his own personal knowledge, considers that the land should be classified at a higher rate, he is empowered to call upon the selector *to pay a sufficient sum* to cover the balance due on such *higher classification; and if the demand be* not attended to within three months, *the land becomes forfeited.* After the boundaries are surveyed and the rents adjusted, *the Government will issue* a so-called lease for ten years, at a

APPENDIX.

t of one-tenth of the purchase-money. This lease will contain certain
s, of which the following are the principal ones:—
he lease shall date from the nearest first day of January or July to date
of application.
The annual rent reserved for every acre, or fraction of an acre, shall be,
except in the case of second payments:—
Agricultural land, 1s. 6d. per acre.
First-class pastoral, 1s.
Second-class pastoral, 6d.
to be paid in cash to the land agent of the district in which the selec-
tion is situated, on or before the 31st day of March in each year.
The second payment on all selections under the Act, shall be made on
or before the 31st day of March following the date of selection; and
the said payment, together with the twelve months' rent paid at time
of selection, shall cover the period from such selection to the next suc-
ceeding 31st day of March. The second payment in each case will,
therefore, be proportionate to the number of clear months intervening
between the expiration of the twelve months from date of selection and
the following 31st day of March.
As this second payment covers a broken period, the last payment under
the lease (the eleventh) will be the balance of the full year's rent
which is not demanded on the 31st day of March following the date of
selection. The second and the eleventh payments will, therefore,
gether amount to a full year's rent. All the other annual payme
will be as above stated.
3. The lessee shall within six months from completion of survey
substantial boundary posts along the measured boundaries of the
at distances not exceeding five chains apart, or shall erect a goo
substantial fence along such boundary. If the posts fall into dec
Commissioner of the district can require the lessee to replac
and if this is not done may inflict a fine for the neglect. If the
4. During the currency of such lease the Governor, or any
authorised in that behalf, may make entry to dig and remov
other metals, &c., provided that any damage done to the less
made good to him, the amount to be determined by arbitrat
5. Residence in person, or by bailiff, is necessary during the
the lease.
6. In the case of pastoral land,—if the lessee shall prove with
from date of selection, by two credible witnesses, to the
the Commissioner, that he has resided in person, or by
said land for a period of two years, and that a sum a
ten shillings per acre for first-class pastora
an acre for second-class pastoral land, has b
than
improvements, or that he has fenced in th
then the Commissioner shall issu
have been duly performe
grant in fee-simple on
lessee

shall prove that one-tenth part of the land has been cultivated, he shall be absolved from the conditions of residence, and a grant shall issue on payment of the balance of rent as aforesaid.

8. No transfer or assignment of any lease can be allowed until the lessee has obtained a certificate, as above described, from the Commissioner; but after the issue of such certificate, transfer may proceed, with the sanction of the Government, on payment of ten shillings for the registration thereof.
9. After the certificate is obtained, balance of purchase-money may be paid up in one sum in cash.
10. The Government reserves a right to resume land for road purposes during ten years, on payment of twice the amount which should have been paid as rent or purchase-money on such land, and when the land is enclosed, the Government will be required to fence off the road from adjacent land.

The above are the conditions on which the leases are issued. They are given in detail in order that the principle of the Act relating to conditional purchases may be clearly understood. It may be remembered, that a failure to comply with the conditions referred to in sections six and seven, as above, within three years, will deprive the lessee of the right to transfer his interest or to purchase the fee-simple of the land during the currency of the lease.

The general rules applicable to conditional purchases include certain restrictions respecting the shape of the selections, and the proportion of frontage allowed on rivers or roads; also, with respect to monopoly of water or other privileges, which it is not necessary to enter upon, further than to state that they are required for the protection of the public interests. It may, however, be added, that conditional purchasers are restricted, under a penalty, from depasturing more than twenty head of cattle, or fifty sheep, for every hundred acres of land, until their selections are securely fenced. This provision is rendered necessary, as the pastoral lessee is entitled to a license to depasture stock, under certain limitations, on the resumed half of the run, and, therefore, his interest has to be protected. With this view, the cattle and sheep of the conditional purchasers and pastoral licenses must have a distinctive brand, to be registered at the Commissioner's Office.

Homesteads.

The introduction of the clauses referring to homesteads in the Act, is one of its distinctive features. The idea was mainly derived from American legislation, which is universally acknowledged to have proved successful in promoting settlement on the land. It has also worked well in this colony, so far as can be judged. Since the Act came into operation, 1,661 homesteads have been taken up; and as some further particulars respecting this class of selections will probably prove interesting, a return of the number in each of the settled districts is given.

District.	*Homesteads.*
Moreton	1,239
Darling Downs	162
Wide Bay and Burnett	144
Port Curtis	67
Kennedy	49
Total	1,661

With the view of setting clearly before the public, the fullest information respecting homesteads, the following compilation, embracing every particular in connection with the provisions of the Act relating to that class of selections,

has been inserted. The mode of application is similar to that for conditional purchases.

Persons entitled to select homesteads.

1. Any person being a natural born or naturalised subject of Her Majesty, who is the head of a family, or is twenty-one or more years of age, is entitled to select a homestead; or any person owning and residing on land, may enter other land lying contiguous to said land, which shall not with the land already owned and occupied exceed 160 acres.

Persons not entitled to select homesteads.

2. No married woman, who has not obtained a decree for judicial separation, or an order binding in Queensland, protecting her separate property, is entitled to select a homestead.

Assisted Immigrants entitled after three years' residence in the Colony.

3. Any person arriving hereafter in the colony, either wholly or in part, at the public expense, will not be entitled to select a homestead until he has lived three years continuously in the colony.

Land available for selections.

4. Selecters of homesteads are entitled to select any land proclaimed or otherwise open to general selection by lease.

Areas of homesteads.

5. Selections by homestead leases must be in one block, and are not to exceed 80 acres of agricultural, or 160 acres of pastoral lands.

Roads and permanent water.

6. Applications will be subject to regulations concerning survey, roads, and prevention of monopoly of permanent water.

Applications may include two classes of land.

7. Selecters of homesteads may include the two classes of agricultural and pastoral land in their applications, provided the area of each does not exceed the proportionate equivalent of the gross acreage allowable for each class under the Act.

Improvements must be paid for.

8. Where there are improvements on the land selected as a homestead, the selecter must state in his application the nature of them, and his estimate of their value, and at the same time pay the amount to the land agent. If, on valuation, any further sum is awarded, it must be paid within one month after date of award.

Rent payable on homestead selections.

9. The rent payable on homestead selections, is *9d.* per acre on agricultural land, and *6d.* per acre on first and second class pastoral land, paid yearly in advance for five years from date of entry.

Payment of rent, and penalty for default.

10. The first year's rent on homestead selections must be paid either in cash or land orders at the time of making the application. The second and all *subsequent* annual rents must be paid to the land agent, in cash, on or *before the 31st March* in each year; in default of such payment the lease will be *forfeited*, and the land selected, and all improvements on it, will revert to the *Crown.* The second payments on all homesteads are computed in the same

way as in the case of conditional purchases, the amount being proportionate to the number of clear months intervening between date of selection and 31st day of March following.

Forfeiture may be defeated.

11. The lessee may defeat forfeiture for non-payment of rent by paying to the land agent in cash, within 90 days of the day on which the rent has fallen due, a sum equal to the annual rent, with one-fourth added as a penalty. But if the rent and penalty be not paid within such ninety days, the lease will be absolutely forfeited, and the lessee, or any person claiming under him, will be deemed a trespasser upon Crown lands, and liable to be removed therefrom.

Conditions to be fulfilled before Crown grant is issued.

12. The lessee or his family must have resided five years continuously on the land, and cultivated one-tenth part of it; or in addition to residence as aforesaid, he must have fenced in the land with a good and substantial fence, during the time of five years immediately succeeding the date of his application to enter on such land. At the expiration of five years, or at any time within two years thereafter, upon proving to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of the district, by two credible witnesses, that the above conditions have been complied with, and making an affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, the lessee will be entitled to a Crown grant.*

May purchase at upset price.

13. The lessee may at any time after two years, and before the expiration of five years, obtain a Crown grant, by paying the upset price for the quantity of land taken up, and giving proof as before-mentioned of residence and cultivation of one-tenth part.

Lessee dying before obtaining Crown grant.

14. If the lessee die before obtaining the Crown grant, his widow, or, in case of her death, his heirs, or devisees, or in case of a widow being the lessee, her heirs or devisees, on proving the fulfilment of the conditions as above, may obtain the Crown grant.

Parents dying and leaving an infant or children under twenty-one years of age.

15. If both father and mother die, leaving an infant child or children under twenty-one years of age, such child or children shall have a right to the land, and the executors, administrators, or guardians may at any time after the death of the surviving parent, sell said lands for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose, and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to the Crown grant on payment of the deed fees.

Homesteads not liable for debt.

16. Homesteads acquired under the Act of 1868 are not in any case liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the Crown grant thereof.

Mode of proceeding to obtain a homestead.

17. Having selected a site for a homestead within the limits appointed by the Government as open for selection, make application to the land agent of the district, and fill in *the under-mentioned* form in triplicate, which must then

**It will be observed that in the case of a homestead the residence must be personal—in the case of an ordinary selection it may be by agent.*

be declared before a magistrate, and pay the first year's rent in land orders or cash, and the survey fee in cash.

[Then follow certain forms which, as they can only be wanted in the colony, need not be reprinted here.]

Appendix No. II., p. 262.

Regulations under which free-selections of Land can be made in New South Wales, taken from MacPhaile's Australian Squatting Directory.

Crown lands, other than town or suburban lands, and not being within a gold-field, nor under lease for mining purposes to any person other than the applicant for purchase, and not being within ten miles from the outside boundary of any city or town containing according to the last census 10,000 inhabitants, or five miles from a town of 5,000 inhabitants, or three miles from a town of 1,000 inhabitants, or two miles from a town or village of 100 inhabitants, and not reserved for any public purpose, and not containing improvements, shall be open for conditional sale by selection, the selector tendering at the Land Office a written application for the conditional purchase of not less than 40 and not more than 320 acres at 20*s.* per acre, and paying a deposit of 25 per cent., and in case there be more than one application at the same time for the same land or any part thereof, the application shall be decided by lot; and Crown lands within gold-fields, not within areas excluded by proclamation, and not occupied for gold-mining purposes, shall be open for sale in like manner, provided that properly authorised persons may, at any time, be at liberty to dig and search for gold within the land selected, and that, should such land be found to contain auriferous deposits, it shall be within the power of the Governor in Council to annul the sale, but the conditional purchaser shall be entitled to compensation by appraisement of the value other than auriferous.

If at the time of purchase such land shall not have been surveyed by the Government, temporary boundaries shall be determined by the conditional purchaser, who shall within one month after such time of purchase occupy the land. And any dispute respecting such boundaries shall be settled by arbitration: Provided that if such land shall not be surveyed by the Government within twelve months from the date of application, it shall be lawful for the purchaser to withdraw his application, and demand and recover back any deposit paid by him, or the purchaser shall have the option of having the land surveyed by a duly qualified licensed surveyor, and the expense of such survey shall be allowed to such purchaser as part payment of his purchase money, such expense to be allowed in accordance with the scale of charges fixed or to be fixed by the Surveyor-General.

Crown lands conditionally purchased under this Act shall, if measured by the authority of the Government previously to such purchase, be taken in portions as measured, if not exceeding 320 acres, and, if unmeasured, and having frontage to any river, creek, road, or intended road, shall, if within the first-class settled districts, have a depth of not less than twenty chains, and otherwise shall have a depth of not less than sixty chains, and shall have their boundaries, other than the frontages, directed to the cardinal points by compass, and if having no frontages as aforesaid, shall be measured in square blocks, and with boundaries directed to such cardinal points: Provided that should it seem to the Minister to be expedient, the boundaries of portions having frontages may be made approximately, at right angles with the frontages, and otherwise modified, and the boundaries of portions having no frontages

may be modified, and necessary roadways and water reserves excluded from such measurement.

At the expiration of three years from the date of conditional purchase of any such land as aforesaid, or within three months thereafter, the balance of the purchase money shall be tendered at the office of the Colonial Treasurer, together with a declaration by the conditional purchaser or his alienee, or some other person in the opinion of the Minister competent in that behalf, under the Act 9 Victoria No. 9, to the effect that improvements as hereinbefore defined have been made upon such land, specifying the nature, extent, and value of such improvements, and that such land has been, from the date of occupation, the *bonâ fide* residence, either continuously of the original purchaser, or of some alienee or successive alienees of his whole estate and interest therein, and that no such alienation has been made by any holder thereof until after the *bonâ fide* residence thereon of such holder for one whole year at the least. And upon the Minister being satisfied by such declaration, and the certificate of the Land Agent of the district, or other proper officer, of the facts aforesaid, the Colonial Treasurer shall receive and acknowledge the remaining purchase-money, and a grant of the fee-simple, but with reservation of any minerals which the land may contain, shall be made to the then rightful owner: Provided that should such lands have been occupied and improved as aforesaid, and should interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum on the balance of the purchase-money be paid within the said three months to the Colonial Treasurer, the payment of such balance may be deferred to a period within three months after the 1st of January then next ensuing; and may be so deferred from year to year by payment of such interest during the first quarter of each year. But in default of the above requirements, the land shall revert to Her Majesty, and be liable to be sold at auction, and the deposit shall be forfeited.

INDEX TO VOL. I.

QUEENSLAND.

Aboriginals, 62
Brisbane, 44
Bunya Bunya Orgies, 69
Canoona Gold-field, 33
Cattle-stealing, 104
Coach-travelling—Maryborough to Gympie, 79
Cunningham Gap, 113
Customs Duties, International, 151.
Darling Downs, 111
Emigration, 35
Executive Council, 156
Farming, 174
Free-Selecters, Mode of selecting Land, 38, 176
Gladstone, Town and District, 45
Gold 60, 82
Government, Form of, 152
Gracemere Sheep and Cattle Station, 61
Gympie Gold-fields, 82
Homesteads, Free-selected, 39
Immigration, 35
Ipswich, Town, 112
Jardine, Messrs., their Expedition to Cape York, 78
Labour, Wages paid for, 162
Land, Purchase of, 102
Legislative Assembly, 158
Legislative Council, 157
Maryborough, Town, 62, 79
Meat-preserving, 58
Miners, their Condition, 87
Moreton Bay, 31
Polynesian Labour, 132
Rations, Amount allowed on Sheep-*stations*, 128
Rockhampton 49
Separation of Queensland, North from *South*, 53
Shearing of Sheep, 126
Squatters, their Condition, 94
Sugar, 149
Tiaro, Town and District, 82
Vagrants, 107
Warwick, Town, 115
Washing of Sheep, 122

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Albury, 317
Australian Alps, 302
Bathurst, 240
Birds, 183
Bishop of Sydney, 214
Bligh, Governor, 196
Blue Mountains, 197
Border Duties, 225, 231
Bourke, Governor, 199
Cattle, Number of, in Australia, 262
Church Attendance, 219
Church of England, 213
Church of Rome, 213
Cinnabar, 284
Coal, 280
Cook, Captain, 190
Copper, 269, 283
Country Life at M——, 284
Currajong Gold-field, 279
Customs Unions, 225, 233
Darling, Governor, 199
Deniliquin, Capital of the Riverina, 317
Denison, Governor, 199
Diamonds, 284
Early History, 190
Echuca, 318
Emus, 184
Farming, 258
Fishes, 184
Fleets of all Nations, 201
Fore Street School, 220
Fortifications, 209
Free-Selecters, 235, 236
Gipps, Governor, 199
Gold, 269

Leap, 303
g Gold-field, Rush to, 275
Coal used for Gas, 283
bury River, Scenery, 306
t excessive, 180
Governor, 196
River, 282
large Australian Lizard, 182
s, 283
os, 182
e, Qualities of Australian, 283
overnor, 196
ko, Mount, 302
Occupation and Alienation of,

er Bay, 206
tur, Captain, 197, 255
Sir James, 224
rozen, 267
reserved, 266
Wages, 277
r. Thomas, 267
tle, 243, 280
aland, 198
Island, 194
hore, 211
Peter, and other early Aus-
n Discoverers, 191
, Excellence of, 244
Mr., 223

Paramatta, 240, 243, 244
Pastoral Rents, 262
Phillip, Governor, 193
Presbyterians, 214
Public Gardens, 207, 208
Rabbits, 185
Railways, 244
Reptiles, 181
Riverina, 312
Riverina, Annexation to Victoria, 326
Roads, 248
Robertson, Mr. John, 224, 257
Rusden, Mr., his Account of the Discovery of Port Phillip, 193
Schools, 219
Sheep, Number of, in Australia, 262
Snakes, 181
Sofala Gold-field, 273
Steamboats, 186
Sydney, 200
Sydney Harbour, 203
Tambaroora Gold-fields, 270
Tin, 269
University of Sydney, 221
Wagga Wagga, 314, 317
Wesleyans, 214
Wild Horses, 185
Windsor, 307
Wollongong, Coal, 283
Wooloomooloo, 210

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTING OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER.

COLLECTION

OF

BRITISH AUTHORS

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

VOL. 1306.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

AUSTRALIA
AND
NEW ZEALAND.

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

COPYRIGHT EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LEIPZIG
BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
1873.

The Right of Translation is reserved.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME II.

VICTORIA.

		Page
CHAPTER I.	Separation	7
— II.	Early History of Port Phillip	16
— III.	Melbourne	37
— IV.	Ballaarat	56
— V.	Bendigo or Sandhurst	69
— VI.	Gipps Land, Walhalla, and Woods Point	81
— VII.	Land	95
— VIII.	Ladies and Gentlemen	114
— IX.	Newspapers, Books, Railways, Roads, Towns, and Wines	132
— X.	Rama Yuck	147
— XI.	Legislation, Government, and Commerce	153

TASMANIA.

— XII.	Past History	163
— XIII.	Port Arthur	182
— XIV.	Present Position	198
— *XV.*	*Future Prospects*	221

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER XVI. Early History . . . . . .
— XVII. Rottnest and Freemantle . . . . . .
— XVIII. Present Condition . . . . . .
— XIX. Future Prospects . . . . . .

APPENDIX . . . . . .

VICTORIA

CHAPTER I.

Separation.

I PROPOSE in this chapter to say a few words as to the treatment which the Australian colonies generally have received and are receiving from the mother country. In the next I will endeavour to trace very shortly the early history of the most populous and most important in the group, and in doing so I will take my facts from a pamphlet lately published by Mr. G. W. Rusden, of Melbourne;—than whom I have found no one better informed on the affairs of Australia generally, and whose information, conveyed in a small compass, is the latest that has been given to us,—bearing date September, 1871.

It may perhaps be right that I should state that Mr. Rusden's pamphlet is dedicated to myself, lest they who are disposed to think that I am here repaying one compliment by another may claim to have "found me out" should they ever happen to have the two books in their hands at the same time. I find it also convenient to allude to the circumstance, in order that I may take this occasion of expressing an opinion as to the future destiny of these colonies, which must be expressed in some part of this work, and which is specially evoked by a certain passage in *Mr. Rusden's* dedication. He, a colonist, *seems to regard the colonies* as an element in England's *future glory,—to look upon* Victoria, for instance, as

one of the gems by which that glory is to be maintained and consummated. I, on the other hand, who am an Englishman, look upon the colonies as an element, and a very material element, in the future happiness of Englishmen,—or of men and women of English origin,—thinking that England's glory should be left altogether out of the question in any consideration of the matter. Mr. Rusden speaks of the revolt of the American colonies having been brought about by the "wicked folly of Greville and North," as though the effects of that revolt were still to be deplored, and implies that any act tending to the separation of the Australian colonies from the mother country would be tainted with the same folly and partake of the same wickedness. It is most remarkable that this should be the aspect in which the future of these Australian colonies is regarded by all the best minds among the colonists. One hardly meets with an exception among educated men of British origin. The few of this class who entertain feelings and opinions of an opposite tendency are generally Irishmen, whose immigration has been of a comparatively late date.

I hope that I am not myself dead to England's glory. I am indeed well aware that my own feeling on the matter,—my own belief in my own country's pre-excellence,—is so near to self-praise, that it should be checked rather than enforced. But I cannot believe that the homes of millions of human beings around the world are to be made subject to any special form of government, or that their mode of living is to be regulated in any special fashion, because such may be the form of government and such the fashion of living adopted by the country from which those millions have sprung, and whose language those millions speak. This form of government and this fashion of living may be

the best the world has yet known. I, with my English idiosyncrasies, do believe that they are so. I believe further,—that we at home, with the honest, high-spirited, high-handed, blundering philanthropy which is peculiar to us, have, in spite of all the abuse which we have lavished upon ourselves in the matter, done nearly the best that we could have done with these colonies. But not on that account can I bring myself to look forward to their being kept as "gems" in England's "diadem." I do not desire the possession of such gems. As long as the national prosperity of the colonies can be advanced by their dependence on England, that dependence England is bound, both morally and politically, to maintain. When the time shall come in which the colonies can serve themselves better by separation than by prolonged adherence, England, I think, should let them go. The difficulty will consist in fixing the time;—but this question of time is one which must be solved mainly by the colonies themselves. It will be for them to declare, as it was for the United States, when that time shall have come. It will be for us to take care that when the time does come, the work of separation may be effected, not only without hostility, but without acerbating roughness.

"Here is a continent secured," says Mr. Rusden, "as never was continent secured by the genius of one man, for his countrymen to occupy." The one man is Mr. Pitt, to whose policy and firmness in opposing the attempts which were being made at the same time and with the same object by the French government, Mr. Rusden attributes the final acquisition by England of Australia. "On the soil of Victoria there stand between *seven and eight hundred* thousand persons where twenty *years ago there stood* some seventy thousand. Thus

fresh from their native land, are they not bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh to all living Englishmen as fully as if they still stood on English soil? Must it not be the shabbiest of statesmanship either in England or in the colony which would fret away the ties that bind the one to the other?"

Of course it is matter of pride to us Englishmen that there should be so many of our people in Victoria,—and matter of higher pride that there should be some forty millions speaking our language, and living almost entirely by our laws, and in accordance with our fashions, on the continent of North America. We may probably take the language spoken as the truest indication of the influence of nationality and the justest source of national pride. From our little island we have sent forth a people speaking English who are spreading themselves over all the world. It is a much greater boast than that of ruling dependencies on which the sun never sets. Though none of the English-speaking nations on the farther side of the globe should any longer acknowledge themselves to be dependent on England, it would matter nothing to the happiness of the race, and nothing to the true glory of the nationality,—so long as the numbers increased, and the material prosperity of those numbers. We are very proud of Victoria,—very proud of having colonized a country rich in gold and rich in flocks, and fitted by nature not only to support but to maintain and to increase the energy which is the gift of our race. We hope that the seven or eight hundred thousand may, as years run on, be quickly raised to millions. That they should have increased so rapidly, and been so *prosperous in their* increase, is to all of us a matter of *self-congratulation.* Though individually we at home *may be less conversant* than we ought with the details

of Australian affairs, we keep a sufficiently accurate record in our minds of her rising condition among the communities of the world. We know that the Australians are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, as fully as though they still stood on English soil. And we know the same of the Americans of the United States,—in spite of the "Alabama" and indirect claims; in spite of rows about the "Trent;" in spite of existing political differences; in spite of hostilities, should there be hostilities; and in spite even of war, should there be war. The grandchildren of our grandfathers are living there in prosperity and freedom, worshipping the God whom we worship, speaking the language which we speak, obeying the laws which we obey, and animated by that resolve to rule themselves, and to be free from the rule of individuals, which they took from our shores, and which is as strong with us as it is with them.

I deny, therefore, altogether the shabbiness of the statesmanship, whether in England or in the colonies, which would,—not fret away,—but gradually dissolve the ties which bind the one to the other. Such statesmanship,—when it exists, for as yet I am not aware that it has existed,—may be wrong, may be premature, may be one-sided, may indeed possibly be shabby. Of what matter open to statesmanship may not the same be said? But to declare that the statesmanship must be shabby that shall have the object of allowing the colonies to start themselves as a separate people at some future time, is to pronounce an opinion,—that indeed may be excused by the warm love of country which it indicates,—but which can never stand an argument.

I am not aware that any British statesman has as yet entertained the idea of dividing the mother country from her Australian colonies,—has ever thought that the

time has now come in which he himself might go to work and arrange the terms of separation. But I imagine that no British statesman ever employs himself in the affairs of these colonies without a conviction that, in all that he does, he should have before his eyes the fact that separation will come at some future day. It is impossible that any statesman, or any speculator, that any philosopher should foresee the time. It must depend on the increasing wealth and the increasing population of the country. Any invention,—if such invention be within the bounds of natural possibility,—which should save the wheat crops of the South Australian colonies from the disease called Red Rust, would greatly accelerate separation, because it would at once increase the population and the wealth of the colonies. Iron has been found, but iron mines have never yet been properly worked. If this could be done to any great extent, it would accelerate separation. Increased supplies of copper and gold will do so;—the finding of tin will do so;—success in making sugar will do so;—and the exportation of fresh uncooked meat to Europe, when such exportation becomes practicable, will do so very materially. Does anybody believe that a population of twenty millions in Australia would remain subject to a population of forty millions in the British Isles? And the former numbers may be reached as quickly as the latter.

There is very much to be done before the question of separation can be regarded as one that is imminent, or fit for the immediate manipulations of statesmanship. Australia must be one whole before she can settle herself and take a place among the nations. There must be some federation of the different colonies before separation can be considered. The states must bind themselves together with the united object of making them-

selves a nation, and the men who now pride themselves on being Victorians, or South Australians, or Queenslanders, must learn to pride themselves on being Australians. At present they are very far from entertaining any such pride. The inhabitant of Melbourne thinks himself to be very much higher than the inhabitant of Sydney, and looks down from a great eminence upon the Tasmanian. In New South Wales there is a desire to maintain the distance between itself and Victoria,—as though a gulf between the two, which could not be passed, would be for its good. Queensland, the youngest daughter of New South Wales, has but little respect for her parent. South Australia thinks herself better than her neighbours because she has never received a convict. There is, no doubt, something of similar jealousy between different groups of states in the American Union;—but there they have learned the strength of union and have preserved it. As Australia becomes older, and as the number of her leading children who are Australian-born becomes greater, as the tendency to lean upon the mother country becomes slighter, the feeling for the newer patriotism will grow up; and with the feeling of Australian pride will grow the conviction that Australia, to be great and strong, should be one.

The first step towards federation will be the union of the colonies for purposes of general taxation. At present the two great sources of public revenue are the customs duties and the sale and lease of public lands. Let the union be as close as it may, the use of the public lands will probably remain in each colony,—to be applied as may best suit its own wants,—but the customs duties from which by far the greater proportion of the public revenue is derived, may, and no doubt will, be collected under one tariff, by one arrangement,

for the joint purposes of the whole group. At present these colonies all stand towards each other as though they were various nations, with varied interests, and endeavour each to rise on the commercial injuries inflicted on the others by hostile tariffs. They charge duties on each other's produce, and are towards each other as were England and France before Mr. Cobden had made his treaty. I do not purpose here to fight the battle of the border duties,—but here, and again hereafter, I must repeat my opinion that at the present moment the creation of a customs union between the colonies should be the first duty of any statesman to whom the interests and well-being of the colonies may be entrusted.

I look first to a customs union, then to federation, and then after some interval,—the duration of which I will not attempt to indicate,—to Separation and Self-control. In this idea as to the future of the colonies I cannot think that I am guilty of any shabbiness as an Englishman. And yet the expression of the accusation in Australia is by no means confined to the gentleman whose words I have quoted. Had it been so,—had I not found it general among those whom I describe as possessing the best minds in the colonies,—I should probably have contented myself in endeavouring to defend myself from the charge with the eager arguments to which private intercourse is open. But I have heard on all sides accusations of the littleness of England,—and worse than littleness, of the weakness and infanticide of which England is guilty, in her desire to repudiate and put away from her her own children. I have heard it in details and in generals. England will *not pay* for this statue, or subscribe for that building; *she will not give* cannons and cannon-balls gratis; she *has not left* the vestige of a company of soldiers in any

one of the colonies; she charges a price for whatever she supplies and does not always supply the best articles; when asked for selected emigrants she selects the dregs of the workhouses. There are these and a hundred other details which show the heart of a step-mother rather than of a parent. But the great general accusation is stronger still. Her statesmen,—or at least some of the chief among them,—have declared their opinion that the links should be broken which bind Australia to the mother country. In regard to the details the answer is easy enough. The daughter has had her dowry given to her,—and should now pay her own way, and is able to do so. It often seems to be forgotten in the colonies, that British statesmen cannot give away English articles out of their own munificence. The colonies have agreed, with willingness, to certain terms, which certainly for them have not been unprofitable, and should not now ask for further small gifts. When our boys and girls are young we expect them to assail us for half-crowns, and rather like putting our hands in our pockets, even when we affect to rebuke the frequency of the solicitation; but when our girls are married and have had their fortunes, or when our sons have been set up in business by considerable self-sacrifice on the part of us their fathers, we do not like then to be told that we ought to pay for new carpets or cases of champagne. As to that general accusation I think it is founded not on any words spoken or acts done tending to immediate Separation, but on words and acts preparatory to Separation when it shall come.

The mistake I think is in this,—that the colonists allow themselves to believe that the mother country is repudiating *them because* the statesmen want to save *themselves trouble and* because her people desire to

avoid expense;—whereas at home we feel, not a wish to repudiate the colonies, but a conviction that after a while they will repudiate us, and that we are bound by our duty to them and to ourselves to be ready for the time when that repudiation shall come. We are called upon to rule them,—as far as we do rule them,—not for our glory, but for their happiness. If we keep them, we should keep them,—not because they add prestige to the name of Great Britain, not because they are gems in our diadem, not in order that we may boast that the sun never sets on our dependencies, but because by keeping them we may best assist them in developing their own resources. And when we part with them, as part with them we shall, let us do so with neither smothered jealousy nor open hostility, but with a proud feeling that we are sending a son out into the world able to take his place among men. That is the halcyon view which I entertain of the closing days of the connection between England and Australia; and I think that it is one which is tainted with no shabbiness, and which should make me subject to no reproof from any colonist.

CHAPTER II.

Early History of Port Phillip.

"THE Discovery, Survey, and Settlement of Port Phillip," is the name of the pamphlet to which I have alluded, and to which I shall mainly trust for the facts to be stated in this chapter. In the lines which I shall quote between inverted commas in the early part of this chapter, the reader will understand that I am quoting the words of the author, Mr. Rusden.

In the year 1802, fourteen years after the first actual occupation by the English of New South Wales, the in-

land sea which we now know as Port Phillip was first discovered by Lieutenant Murray, who had come out from England under Captain Grant in "The Nelson" with the special object of prosecuting Australian discoveries. The name was given by Colonel King, the then governor of New South Wales, in honour of Colonel Phillip, the first governor. Captain Flinders, who, in regard to this period of Australian discovery, is Mr. Rusden's great hero, followed Lieutenant Murray after an interval of ten weeks. The French, in their exploration of the southern coast of New Holland, conducted by Captain Baudin, had sailed past the narrow entrance of Port Phillip without noticing it, and had called the whole region in those parts Terre Napoleon. Indeed they afterwards gave an appellation of their own to the harbour, but did not subsequently attempt to establish it. Captain Flinders, whose name is now perhaps better known from the street in Melbourne which bears it, than from the deeds which he did and the sufferings which he bore in these discoveries, is the first who has left us any record of his having landed on the country which we now call Victoria. "At day dawn,"—says Captain Flinders, as reported by Mr. Rusden,—"I set off with three of the boat's crew for the highest part of the back hills, called Station Peak. Our way was over a low plain where the water appeared frequently to lodge; it was covered with small-bladed grass, but almost destitute of wood, and the soil was clayey and shallow. I left the ship's name on a scroll of paper deposited on a small pile of stones upon the top of the peak; and at three in the afternoon,—1st May (1802),—reached the tent much fatigued, having walked more than twenty miles without finding a drop of water. *No rivers of fresh* water were seen in my *excursion; but Mr. Charles* Grimes, surveyor-general of

New South Wales, afterwards found several, and in particular a small river falling into the northern head of the port." This small river was the Yarra Yarra, on which the city of Melbourne is now built,—and such was, in truth, the first discovery of Victoria.

In 1803 Colonel Collins landed at Port Phillip to form a penal settlement, intended as a supplemental offshoot to that then fully established at Port Jackson, on the eastern shore of the continent; but he seems to have chosen his site badly, and to have kept his men close down upon the sea-shore where there was no fresh water. "Collins committed a serious error in his selection of a site; an error which appears inexcusable when we know that the careful survey of Port Phillip by Mr. Grimes, by direction of Governor King, had shown where the Yarra Yarra, and the other fresh waters near the Bay, were to be found." This attempt at a settlement was made at Point Nepean, the eastern headland at the mouth of Port Phillip, and was soon abandoned. The depôt was removed thence to the mouth of the Derwent, on the opposite island, and was the commencement of the great penal depôt which afterwards flourished in Van Diemen's Land,—if an establishment for the custody of convicts may under any circumstances be said to flourish. From the settlement at Point Nepean some of the convicts escaped, and one of them was neither retaken, nor did he return, nor did he perish. This man, named Buckley, lived thirty-two years among the blacks, forgot his own language, and became as one of them. In 1835 he reappeared, and was found among a party of white men who then landed at Port Phillip from Van Diemen's Land.

"*No* effort was made to colonize Port Phillip for *many years* after 1803." But during all those years ex-

plorations from Sydney as a centre were being made into the continent. "In 1817 Oxley, the surveyor-general of New South Wales, had traced the Lachlan River nearly to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, and had therefore nearly approached the present boundary of Victoria, being within 240 miles of the site of Melbourne." In 1824 an expedition was formed under the auspices of Sir Thomas Brisbane, the governor, the object of which was to penetrate through from the known parts of New South Wales, across the rivers and over the mountains, to the southern coast. This expedition was entrusted to Mr. Hamilton Hume, who was joined by Mr. Hovell, two men whose names are well known among those of Australian discoverers. Both these gentlemen are still alive, and I will not take upon myself to give to either of them the greater credit in the matter, but will content myself with stating that Mr. Rusden is a strong advocate of Mr. Hume's claims. The great Australian river which we know as the Murray was crossed, and was called the Hume, which name it still bears in its upper waters. After many sufferings and great dangers,—which I must not allow myself the space to record here at length,—Hume and Hovell reached Port Phillip overland. I make this statement because I think Mr. Rusden clearly does show that they struck the southern coast at that point;—although at the time and for many years afterwards there was a disputed point, Mr. Hume having thought that they had come down on Port Phillip, Mr. Hovell on the other hand believing that they had reached the sea farther west, at Western Port. It will be understood that hitherto this land had only been touched from the sea-board, and that the very scanty knowledge possessed by Hume and Hovell as *to Port Phillip and* Western Port was simply *that which had resulted from* the maritime discoveries of

Murray and Flinders. At any rate they had reached the southern coast of that "Terre Napoleon," of which as yet no real possession had been taken on behalf of the British government. Another expedition was then made by sea to Western Port, under Governor Darling's instructions, apparently with the double object of opening a subsidiary convict establishment, and of confirming the claim made by Great Britain to the possession of the country. This was commanded by Captain Wright, accompanied by Mr. Hovell,—and was made in 1826,—at which time also another convict offshoot of the centre establishment at Port Jackson was sent under Major Lockyer to King George's Sound,—the southern part of that colony which we now call Western Australia. This seems also to have been made with the double object of disposing of convicts, and taking possession of the land as against French claims. Major Lockyer had some success, but Captain Wright had none. "The fears of French colonization evaporated, and Western Port was abandoned, its shores being described as 'scrubby.'"

"At this period," says Mr. Rusden, "John Batman must be introduced upon the scene." Now Mr. John Batman is a very interesting person, and was certainly the first colonizer of the ground on which Melbourne stands. On the 11th of January, 1827, he, conjointly with another energetic settler, addressed the following letter to Governor Darling, from Launceston, in Van Diemen's Land, to which place he had betaken himself from Paramatta, near Sydney, where he was born:—

"SIR,—Understanding that it is your Excellency's intention to establish a permanent settlement at Western Port, and to afford encouragement to respectable *persons to settle there*, we beg leave most respectfully to solicit at the hands of *your Excellency* a grant of land at that place proportionable to the property which *we intend to* embark. We are in possession of some flocks of sheep highly improved, some of the Merino breed, and some of the pure South Devon; of some *pure South Devon* cattle imported from England; and also of a fine breed of

horses. We propose to ship from this place 1,500 to 2,000 sheep; 30 head of superior cows, oxen, horses, &c., &c., to the value of from £4,000 to £5,000, the whole to be under the personal direction of Mr. Batman, who is a native of New South Wales, who will constantly reside there for the protection of the establishment. Under these circumstances, we are inclined to hope your Excellency will be pleased to grant us a tract of landproportionable to the sum of money we propose to expend, and also to afford us every encouragement in carrying the proposed object into effect.

"T. J. GELLIBRAND.
"JOHN BATMAN."

This letter is a clear indication of the manner in which it was then presumed that grants of land in the Australian colonies would be made to those who brought with them the means of occupying the land, and that the grants should be made in some proportion to the capital invested. On this application Governor Darling wrote the following curt memorandum, and we may presume that the answer was in accordance with it:—

"Acknowledge: and inform them that no determination having been come to with respect to the settlement of Western Port, it is not in my power to comply with their request. March 17 (1827). R. D."

Mr. Batman was rebuffed, and for a time silenced, but his idea of embarking all his fortunes for Port Phillip was never abandoned. Mr. Rusden goes on to describe how South Australia was founded in 1834, owing its birth to the enterprise of Captain Sturt. Of South Australia I shall speak hereafter. But it may be well to notice here that although the discovery of Port Phillip was very much antecedent to that of the land on which Adelaide now stands, though Victoria had been crossed from north to south before any attempt at exploration had been made in the sister colony farther west, South Australia was an established province, with a company to regulate her proceedings, with a governor and recognised officers of her own, when the first real attempt was being made by any man to earn his bread

or to push his fortunes in Victoria. Mr. Batman had meditated the attempt in 1827, but, as we have seen had been rebuffed. In 1834, however, Mr. Henty, als a settler in the neighbourhood of Launceston, on th opposite island, determined to make a venture, an this he did,—no doubt having heard of John Batman failure,—without any reference to the government. "M Henty," says Mr. Rusden, "shipped off building materia agricultural implements, and live stock. On 19th November, 1834, having lost fifteen head of stock during the voyage, the adventurers reached Portland Bay, an on the 6th of December ploughing was commenced and thus the first unbroken colonization of Victoria soil dates from the enterprise of Mr. Henty. In a ve short time his few head of stock increased to son 7,000 sheep, 247 cattle, and 25 horses, and continue intercourse was kept up with Launceston." As it ha pened, Mr. Henty had made good his footing, guide as we must suppose, only by chance, on the happie point on all the southern shore. Portland, and Warnam bool, to the east of Portland, are the harbours of th western district of Australia, which was once calle Australia Felix, and which is in many respects the faire region of the whole continent. There Mr. Henty live and prospered,—and there he still lives and, as I believ still prospers; but no great town sprang up on the si which he had chosen, and therefore his name has n become conspicuous, as perhaps it ought to have don among the founders of his country.

We will now return to Mr. Batman, who did becon conspicuous. His mind was still full of that opposi shore, respecting which he had, with a wide ambitio but humble language, made his unavailing petition the Governor of New South Wales. "Provoked bey

endurance, Batman would no longer be debarred from the downs of Iramoo, so temptingly described by Hume and mapped by Sturt. He determined to carve out his own way. South Australia was being occupied, and the occupation was called laudable in the preamble of an Act of Parliament. Henty had gone to Portland Bay, and no man had stayed him. Batman would go to Port Phillip, and as the New South Wales governor had not recognised his right to go there, Batman would make a convention with the rightful and natural 'lords of the soil.'"

Batman did go over, and did make a convention with the natives. He landed on Indented Head, on the western side of the harbour, and tracked out a large district of country, including the site on which the town of Geelong now stands, including the Iramoo Downs and the country called Dutigalla by the natives, and on a spot a mile or two north of the present city of Melbourne, he made a treaty with them, by which he pledged himself to protect them and to pay them some annual tribute, and by which they undertook to surrender to him the country which he proposed thus to purchase. Batman had with him the chart of the country, as drawn by Captain Flinders, and published by the subsequent explorer, Captain Sturt, and did not himself profess, as Mr. Rusden points out, to discover, but simply to occupy the country. But he prepared or had prepared for him, a chart of his proposed purchase, which he sent to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, from whom he first endeavoured to obtain government sanction for what he had done. "The limits of the land purchased by me," he said, "are defined in the chart, *which I have the honour of* transmitting, taken from *personal inquiry.*" In this chart, of which Mr. Rusden

has published a copy, the land,—not on which Melbourne proper now stands, but which is occupied by Emerald Hill, Sandridge, and other suburbs of the city—is marked as "reserved for the township, and other public purposes." The site of the city itself is a part of the tract intended to be used by Batman for pastoral purposes.

The treaty itself is a marvellous document,—as being intended to make good a purchase of land from the aboriginal savages, in a country as to which Batman had already shown, by his petition to the Governor of New South Wales, that he was well aware that the British Crown claimed the ownership of it. He must have known that it could not have been operative either on his side or that of the aborigines. It seems that he landed with the treaty in his pocket,—with the places for the names and distances left blank, to be filled by him. When so completed it stipulated that we, "Jaga, Jaga, and others,"—the black chiefs of the tribes,—"do, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, give, grant, enfeoff, and confirm unto the said John Batman, his heirs and assigns, all that tract of country situate and being in Port Phillip running from the branch of the river at the top of the Port, about seven miles from the mouth of the river forty miles N.E., and from thence west fifty miles across Iramoo Downs, and from thence S.S.W. across Viluma-nata to Geelong harbour at the head of the same, and containing about 500,000 acres, more or less." So that Mr. Batman was determined to obtain a goodly estate if in this way it might be obtained. It would probably be difficult to ascertain how many millions of pounds *the land so* defined is now worth. This treaty was *made in June, 1835.* Batman probably never thought *that he should* be allowed to take possession of the

land, but did think, and with just ground, that he would not be expelled from it without compensation, and that by his occupation of it he would obtain some recognised position. By asking much he would get something, especially when he adopted a mode of asking so much more likely to obtain serious attention than that which he adopted when he wrote to Governor Darling. Batman, having so far carried out his scheme, returned to Van Diemen's Land, and applied to the governor there for his sanction, sending a chart of his new estate. But the Governor of Van Diemen's Land had no sanction to give. Port Phillip was not within his jurisdiction,—but was within the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of New South Wales. And the Governor of Van Diemen's Land also remarked, that the recognition of Batman's treaty "would appear to me a departure from the principle upon which a parliamentary sanction, without reference to the aborigines, has been given to the settlement of South Australia, as part of the possessions of the Crown." There could be no doubt about it. The British Crown had decided that it owned all Australia, that consequently the aborigines had nothing to sell, and that, consequently again, Mr. Batman could purchase nothing from them. Had Mr. Batman's claim to purchase from the blacks been allowed, very many such purchases would have been made, —and some of the purchasers would have been even less scrupulous in their dimensions than was Mr. Batman. But Mr. Batman did not stop here. He also applied to the authorities at home, and expressed a hope that the Crown would "relinquish any legal point of constructive right to the land in question." But the Crown, or rather Lord Glenelg, who was then Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, informed him "that the

territory was part of the colony of New South Wales, and that no title to lands could be acquired there, except upon the terms presented in Sir R. Bourke's commission and instruction from the Queen." At this time Sir R. Bourke was Governor of New South Wales, and was also Governor-in-Chief over the Governor of Tasmania.

Mr. Batman, though he was the moving spirit in the whole matter, was only one of an association in regard to the capital invested. This association at last wound itself up by selling whatever interests it had to two of its own members; and the government allowed to these two gentlemen a sum of £7,000, in liquidation of so much money expended on a legal purchase of lands; and this was done, as is expressed, in consideration "of expenses incurred by them in the first formation of the settlement."

I cannot complete this short record of Mr. Batman's adventures without alluding to Mr. Fawkner, on whose behalf many have claimed the honour of having founded Melbourne;—and who, I believe, was declared to claim it for himself. Mr. Batman had been busy with Jaga Jaga, the native chief, in June, 1835. In October, 1835, Mr. Fawkner landed at Port Phillip,—also from Van Diemen's Land, whence came all the early settlers of Victoria, so that the leading Australian colony may be said to be an offshoot from that island, rather than from New South Wales;—but the party with which he was connected seem to have made their way across in July. They encountered some of Batman's followers, and after trying various places for a settlement, made their way up Port Phillip, and at last pitched on the present site of Melbourne, and seem to have settled there, not quite in unity with the Batman party, but without direct

hostility. Their feuds, such as they were, will hardly interest the reader;—but it is interesting to learn that the situation of the city, and consequently the origin of the colony, was due to the enterprise of these two men, Batman and Fawkner, and of the associations with which their names are connected. In 1836 there arrived H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," bringing with her, as the official head of the new settlement, Captain Lonsdale,—after whom one of the main streets of Melbourne is now named. This seems to have been the first official recognition of the place; and at that time the town,—or rather settlement,—had been called by the inhabitants Glenelg, after the Colonial Secretary, whom we, who are old, remember as Charles Grant. It was not till the next year that it was named Melbourne, after the then Prime Minister in England.

This was the beginning of Port Phillip; but Victoria did not even then exist. From its very earliest commencement Port Phillip was a success. It must be remembered that in those days there was no gold, and that this new settlement was not bolstered up by money from home, as was the case with the convict establishments at Sydney, in Van Diemen's Land, and at Moreton Bay. It seems that from the first agriculture, joined with the growth of wool,—not the growth of wool only,—had been the purpose of those who migrated from Launceston to Port Phillip. We are told as regards the first comers that after so many days,—within five days or within six days of their arrival,—the plough had passed through the soil, and that the seed was sown. Australian colonists had become discontented with themselves in that they had not as yet produced wheat for their *own use. In New South* Wales the effort to do so *had failed. In South Australia* it was already succeeding.

In Victoria the attempt was at once made, and it has progressed with moderate success. The colony has not as yet been able to feed itself. In 1838 the young settlement had all the healthy roughness of youth. Melbourne consisted of a few wooden huts, and, as we are told, looked like an Indian village. There was a wooden church with a bell suspended from a tree. There were two little wooden public-houses. Kangaroos were eaten because mutton was still scarce. Mr. Fawkner, of whom I have spoken, established a newspaper, but it was a newspaper in manuscript, of which I will speak further in a future chapter. In one of these papers there is an advertisement for a ferry between Melbourne and Williamstown, which is now the port of Melbourne. "Parties from Melbourne are requested to raise a smoke and the boat will be at their service as soon as practicable." The stumps of trees still stood in the one or two streets which were already in course of formation. That such should have been the condition of a young town is by no means remarkable; but that it should so lately have been the condition of a city so great as Melbourne now is, I regard as very remarkable. This was in 1838,—a period which to some of us does not seem to be very remote; and now Melbourne is one of the most successful cities on the face of the earth.

"The Port Phillip settlement was not five years old when its inhabitants began to call for separation from New South Wales, and for its establishment as a distinct colony, with equal privileges to those conferred upon Van Diemen's Land in the south and South Australia in the west. A partial answer to their demand was made by the political reform of 1842, which gave a larger area and political institution to the district, and allowed it to send six delegates of its own to the Legis-

lative Council at Sydney."* But such representation as this by no means satisfied the aspiring political idea of the new settlers. It did not suit them to send delegates to Sydney, which they regarded as a place subject altogether to government authority,—slow, conservative, and down-trodden. Such has ever been and still is the idea held in Melbourne and Victoria generally of Sydney and its surroundings. It seems that from the very beginning of its life Melbourne resolved that she would not be subject to Sydney. The agitation was continued down to 1850, taking at last the form of a demand for absolute separation. In those days,—though they are but the other day,—such requests were not granted easily, as they are now. It was thought wise then to grant slowly and with seeming reluctance. But in 1850 the request was granted, and an Act of Parliament was passed making Port Phillip a separate colony. The arrangement commenced on 1st July, 1851, and its present name, Victoria, is said to have been selected by the Queen herself. On that date Victoria became a separate colony, the fifth in chronological order of those which we know together as Australia. New South Wales had been the first, Van Diemen's Land,—now Tasmania,—the second, Western Australia the third, South Australia the fourth, and now Victoria, soon to become by far the most important, was the youngest.

But its importance did not come from that wealth of pasture and wealth of corn-bearing soil to which the Hentys, Batmans, and Fawkners had looked when they passed over into the land from Tasmania. What might have been the future of Victoria had her success depended on those simple products of the soil, it is useless now to speculate. In *growing* wheat she could not have

* "*The Story of Our Colonies*," by Fox Bourne.

competed with South Australia, as her climate is less favourable for the product. In producing wool she could not have competed with New South Wales, as her borders are narrower and her limits confined. In regard to fruits and vegetables she is infinitely inferior to her despised mother, Tasmania. She has no special gi ts of fine harbours, an advantage bestowed by nature which will sometimes compensate evil qualities in other directions. Port Jackson, Hobart Town, and King George's Sound are infinitely better ports than Hobson's Bay, the roadstead at the top of Port Phillip, into which the Yarra River runs, and which forms the port of Williamstown and the harbour of Melbourne;—for in reaching this haven vessels have to pass the Rip, which bubbles and eddies between the heads which guard the entrance forty miles down from Melbourne. Luckily for the new settlement, they who had founded it had been men of energy, fit for the work in hand, not expecting too much, anxious of course to thrive, but not looking for instant fortunes, prone to work themselves and capable of making others work, by no means gentlemen in the ordinary sense of the word, but as good a set of colonists as ever were landed on the shores of a new country. Within fifteen years from their start, if we count from the foundation of Melbourne,—or within sixteen from the date of Mr. Henty's arrival at Portland,—they had already caused themselves to be classed as a separate colony, with a governor of their own,—and a parliament of their own, though not a parliament so thoroughly radical in its construction as that which they now possess. There can be but little doubt that without other chances in its favour a colony so founded would not have been the *last in the race*. But other fortune did attend it, so rich, *so attractive*, and so magnificent that it has become the

very first on the list. No single British colony has ever enjoyed prosperity so great and so rapid as has fallen to the lot of Victoria.

In 1851 gold was struck at Ballaarat or the neighbourhood. As I shall devote a chapter in this portion of my work to the fortunes of Ballaarat, and others to other gold-fields, I will not here tell any of the tale, which were I now to do so I should be driven to repeat. But it is necessary to point out that the entire condition of the colony was changed by the success of the gold-finders, and that Victoria, as she is now and has been since we first began to talk about Melbourne at home as one of the great cities of the earth, was made out of gold. Gold made Melbourne. Gold made the other cities of Victoria. Gold made her railways; gold brought to her the population which demanded and obtained that democratic form of government which is her pride. Gold gave its special value to her soil,—not only or chiefly from its own intrinsic value, not only or chiefly to that soil which contains it,—but to surrounding districts, far and wide, by the increased demand for its product and the increasing population which required it for their homes.

But this success was achieved by no means without a struggle, nor did the good things come without bringing for awhile many ill things in their train. There is this peculiarity in gold, as an object of industry, that the quest of it disturbs all other adjacent industries. It is natural of course that men should seek that work in which they can earn the best wages, and that any new calling offering high pay will to a certain degree derange the supply of labour ordinarily forthcoming for ordinary occupations. But *in all other* trades than that of gold-*seeking, the customary* working of commerce soon brings

matters to a level. Wages rise a little on one side and fall a little on the other. Skill, and power, and intelligence hold their own, and the disruptions that occur are those of a passing storm. But gold upheaves everything, and its disruptions are those of an earthquake. The workman rushes away from his old allotted task, not to higher wages, not to 3*s.* a day instead of 2*s.*, or 6*s.* instead of 5*s.*,—but to untold wealth and unlimited splendour,—to an unknown, fabulous, but not the less credited realm of riches. All that he has seen of worldly grandeur, hitherto removed high as the heavens above his head, may with success be his. All that he has dreamed of the luxurious happiness of those whom he has envied seems to be brought within his reach. It seems to him that the affairs of the world generally are to be turned over and reversed, and that thus at last justice is to be done to him who has hitherto been kept cruelly too near the bottom of the wheel. His imagination is on fire, and he is unable any longer to listen to reason. He is no longer capable of doing a plain day's work for a plain day's wages. There is gold to be had by lifting it from the earth, and he will be one of the happy ones to lift it. The presence of gold is a fact. All the corollaries of the fact might be plain to him also, if he would open his ears to them,—but, in regard to himself, he is deaf as an adder to them. In regard to other men he does open his ears, and does believe in them. That all the world around him is rushing to the diggings, he can see;—and he knows that there are not princely fortunes for them all. In some rough way he knows that were there fortunes for them all, the fortunes would cease to be princely. But "something tells him," —*as he explains* to the friend of his bosom,—"*something tells him*" that he is to be the lucky man. There

is a something telling the same lie to every man in that toil-worn crowd, as with sore feet and heavy burden on his shoulders he hurries on to the diggings. In truth he has become a gambler,—and from this time forth a gambler he will live; though his true industry, the sweat of his brow, which will be really productive for the world's good, will save him from those worst curses which attend a gambler's career.

Thus it was that men from all this colony and all the colonies, and that men in crowds from the old mother country and from other countries, hurried off to Victoria. The effect upon South Australia, to the west, was so great that for a time it was feared that the young settlement would be depopulated. Farms were abandoned, and sold for a trifle. Tradesmen shut up their shops. When their customers had gone to the diggings, what could they do but follow? Shepherds from the recently stocked pastures of the Riverina and the Darling rushed down over the Murray. And worse still, the shearers who should have shorn the flocks were gone when the fleeces were ready for the shears. All these were welcomed by the young colony. There was no jealousy of new comers as long as those who came bore characters as honest men,—or had at least had no brands upon the forehead. But the convicts from Tasmania broke loose and swelled the crowd. Barriers which had sufficed to retain the unexcited felon availed nothing when the imagination of the wretch had been inflamed by tidings of gold. They also swarmed over from the island and joined the crowd, to the loudly expressed disgust of a colony which was perhaps somewhat Pharisaical by reason of her own comparative purity.

Then there arose such a turmoil of circumstances,

such a hurly-burly of social and material wants, as men were sure not to have anticipated, though in looking back upon the facts every one now can see well that they were unavoidable. How was the crowd to feed itself, to shelter itself, and to clothe itself? With such business as that on which they were engaged, deficiences in respect of house accommodation could be endured. The smallest and the roughest tents sufficed. Boots, trousers, and a flannel shirt completed the wardrobe of many a high-born digger, and as long as the articles would hold together men working for gold would be content. But there must be food; and the feeding of 20,000 men, brought together as though by magic, requires almost miraculous energy. All things in the neighbourhood of the diggings became extravagantly dear,—so dear that the absolute value of the article seemed hardly to bear at all on the price fixed. And in response to this, or rather as an encouragement to it, the diggers themselves, with newly found gold in their hands, indifferent as they were to comforts, seemed hardly to care what they paid for those luxuries of which they had dreamed. To such a one it was nothing to give an ounce of gold for a bottle of so-called champagne, though the champagne had cost in Melbourne perhaps 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the gold was worth certainly more than £3 10*s.*

But who was to supply the wants of diggers when every one was himself a digger? Or, if there were some steady enough to resist the temptation and to cling to haunts which were comparatively old, how were they to obtain that assistance in their work of living, which in this complex world we all render one to another? Who was *to cook* his dinner for the unfortunate lawyer who had *lately settled* in the rising town of Melbourne, when *every young* woman had rushed off to the diggings, to

get whatever wages she chose to ask, even if she could not do better for herself by getting a digger as a husband? Or, whoever was to sell him a mutton chop to be cooked, when the half-dozen butchers of the rising metropolis had gone away to the diggings, either themselves to dig or else to follow the much more profitable occupation of supplying the diggers? For it was soon found that this first El Dorado had brought a second with it. There was already a double set of gold-seekers. It was a grand thing to drink champagne at an ounce of gold the bottle; but it was a much better thing, if not a grander, to sell the champagne at that price. It was fine to get a nugget;—only that nuggets were so uncertain. But there were nuggets found daily by some happy diggers, and those who found were always ready to buy everything that was offered to them. That second El Dorado was more certain though less glorious than the first.

There was, indeed, an earthquake which at first it seemed impossible that the community as a whole should withstand. Everything was disordered and out of place. All that had been at the bottom was at the top. That which had been at the top was at the bottom. How were these men to be governed, who by the very nature of their calling want much of that protection which we call government. Something of the same kind occurred in the early days of California,—but not to the same extent; and there Lynch law had prevailed. They who saw those times in California declare that society there was preserved by Lynch law;—that, bad as it must necessarily be, unjust, tyrannical, cruel, conducive as it must be to a reign of terror and unlimited power in the hands of some *few utterly unfit* to use it, it was infinitely *better than the no-law which* would otherwise have

prevailed. But California had then been very distant from any recognised seat of power, whereas Ballaarat was no more than 100 miles from Melbourne. The government was bound to govern,—to send magistrates, commissioners, inspectors, constables, and the like. But you cannot make a man be a constable, nor yet even a magistrate, against his will. When the men to be watched were finding nuggets of gold before noon, and nuggets in the afternoon, and nuggets at night, at what rate per annum and per week were you to pay your magistrates and your constables?

The reader will not, I think, fail to understand that there was much of what we call rough work in the colony at that time. There arose one turmoil so loud that soldiers were called on to fight the miners, and that miners entrenched themselves within palisades, intending to fight the soldiers. This, too, occurred at Ballaarat, and I shall say perhaps a word of that affair when speaking of Victoria's mining capital. My present object is to show the conditions through which the colony has passed, and the causes which have made it what it is. Gradually things settled themselves into the old grooves, and the earthquake died out. Its rumblings were still heard,—but at last it rumbled only, and did not frighten. And when it had passed away the causes which had created it had filled the land with wealth. Many had been ruined. Many a youth, who in his own country had enjoyed all that love and education could do for him, had come out to perish miserably in the mud of an Australian gully. There had been terrible suffering, crushing disappointment,—all the agonies of toil, at first hopeful, but at last utterly unremunerative, of which no *history can* ever be written. There had been broken *hopes, wasted* energies, the ague-fit after the fever. But

a people had been established, and a land had been enriched. This, I take it, is all that need be said of the early history of Victoria.

CHAPTER III.

Melbourne.

MELBOURNE, when it was founded, was intended to be the capital of the new settlement, as it has undoubtedly become; but in the early days of Port Phillip, before gold had been found, and at the time at which it was found, there was a second town in the colony, which almost entertained an ambition that it might outrun the capital, and become the big city of the South. This was Geelong. It stands on a harbour of its own inside Port Phillip, and very much nearer to the mouth of the great inland sea,—where the Rip runs,—than are Williamstown and Melbourne. At first it succeeded well, but its success soon fell away. It is exceedingly well built, with handsome banks, pleasant gardens, broad streets, and a claim to city well-being which we hardly see in towns of similar population at home. They who planned Geelong, and carried out much of their plan, certainly had a strong faith in her future fate. But Geelong now is not a place of much prosperity. They tell a story,—how the people of Geelong planned and caused to be made a railway to Melbourne, thinking that by so doing all the wool shipped at Melbourne, and all the goods sent to Melbourne, would certainly seek and leave the sea at the infinitely more convenient port of Geelong, but that the effect was exactly the reverse of that which the unfortunate Geelongese *had anticipated.* Melbourne held *its own, and in addition to this,* by means of the Geelong

and Melbourne railway, drew to itself most of the trade which had hitherto settled itself at Geelong. That railway is now part of the line which runs from Melbourne to Ballaarat, and the very name of Geelong, which stood proudly first in its original denomination, is now lost in the fame of the big mining city which is thus joined to the metropolis. At the last census of Geelong the population was under 15,000, whereas that of four of the so-called suburbs of Melbourne exceeded that number. Nevertheless, Geelong is still respectable among towns, and has fine banks and pleasant gardens; and some little amount of wool is still shipped there. But if it ever really set itself up as a rival to Melbourne, those days are now gone.

Melbourne has made its place for itself, and is the undoubted capital, not only of Victoria but of all Australia. It contains, together with her suburbs, 206,000 souls, and of these so-called suburbs the most populous are as much a part of Melbourne as Southwark is of London;—or were I to say as Marylebone is of London, my description would be true, as there is no line of demarcation traceable by any eyes but those of town-councillors and the collectors of borough rates. There are very many cities in the world with larger populations, —so many that the number does not strike one with surprise. But I believe that no city has ever attained so great a size with such rapidity. Forty years ago from the present date (1873), the foot of no white man had trodden the ground on which Melbourne now stands, unless it was the foot of Buckley the escaped convict, who lived for thirty years with a tribe of native savages.

Melbourne is not a city beautiful to the eye from the *charms of the* landscape surrounding it, as are Edinburgh

and Bath with us, and as are Sydney and Hobart Town in Australia, and Dunedin in New Zealand. Though it stands on a river which has in itself many qualities of prettiness in streams,—a tortuous, rapid little river with varied banks,—the Yarra Yarra by name, it seems to have but little to do with the city. It furnishes the means of rowing to young men, and waters the Botanical Gardens. But it is not "a joy for ever" to the Melbournites, as the Seine is to the people of Paris, or the Inn to the people of Innsbruck. You might live in Melbourne all your life and hardly know that the Yarra Yarra was running by your door. Nor is Melbourne made graceful with neighbouring hills. It stands indeed itself on two hills, and on the valley which separates them; and these afford rising ground sufficient to cause considerable delay to the obese and middle-aged pedestrian when the hot winds are blowing,—as hot winds do blow at summer-time in Melbourne. But there are no hills to produce scenery, or scenic effect. Though you go up and down the streets, the country around is flat,—and for the most part uninteresting. I know no great town in the neighbourhood of which there is less to see in the way of landscape beauty.

Nevertheless the internal appearance of the city is certainly magnificent. The city proper,—that Melbourne itself which is subject to the municipal control of the mayor, and which in regard to all its municipal regulations is distinct from its suburbs,—is built on the Philadelphian, rectangular, parallelogrammic plan. Every street runs straight, and every other street runs either parallel to it or at right angles with it. The principal streets run east and west,—Great Flinders Street, then Collins Street,—which is the High Street of the city, and its *Regent Street and Bond Street*; then Bourke Street,

—which is its Oxford Street and Cheapside; and then beyond them Latrobe Street, Lansdowne Street, and others. Second-class streets, but streets which by no means admit themselves to be second-class, run at right angles to these; Russell Street, Swanston Street,—a street which by no means thinks itself second-class; Elizabeth Street,—also a proud street; Queen Street, William Street, and King Street. And then between all these streets,—which are busy streets,—there run little streets calling themselves lanes and assuming generally the name of their big brother. Thus there are Flinders Lane and Collins Lane, and so on. But they are all regular, all rectangular, and all parallelogrammic.

It is the width of the streets chiefly which gives to the city its appearance of magnificence;—that, and the devotion of very large spaces within the city to public gardens. These gardens are not in themselves well kept. They are not lovely, as are those of Sydney in a super-excellent degree. Some of them are profusely ornamented with bad statues. None of them, whatever may be their botanical value, are good gardens. But they are large and numerous, and give an air of wholesomeness and space to the whole city. They afford green walks to the citizens, and bring much of the health and some of the pleasures of the country home to them all.

One cannot walk about Melbourne without being struck by all that has been done for the welfare of the people generally. There is no squalor to be seen,—though there are quarters of the town in which the people no doubt are squalid. In every great congregation of men there will be a residuum of poverty and filth, let humanity do what she will to prevent it. In *Melbourne* there is an Irish quarter, and there is a *Chinese* quarter, as to both of which I was told that the

visitor who visited them aright might see much of the worse side of life. But he who would see such misery in Melbourne must search for it especially. It will not meet his eye by chance as it does in London, in Paris, and now also in New York. The time will come no doubt when it will do so also in Melbourne, but at present the city, in all the pride of youthful power, looks as though she were boasting to herself hourly that she is not as are other cities.

And she certainly does utter many such boasts. Her population is not given to hide its light under a bushel. I do not think that I said a pleasant word about the town to any inhabitant of it during my sojourn there, driven into silence on the subject by the calls which were made upon me for praise. "We like to be cracked up, sir," says the American. I never heard an American say so, but such are the words which we put into his mouth, and they are true as to his character. They are equally true as to the Australian generally, as to the Victorian specially, and as to the citizen of Melbourne in a more especial degree. He likes to be "cracked up," and he does not hesitate to ask you to "crack him up." He does not proceed to gouging or bowie knives if you decline, and therefore I never did crack him up.

I suppose that a young people falls naturally into the fault of self-adulation. I must say somewhere, and may as well say here as elsewhere, that the wonders performed in the way of riding, driving, fighting, walking, working, drinking, love-making, and speech-making, which men and women in Australia told me of themselves, would have been worth recording in a separate volume had they been related by any but the heroes and heroines themselves. But reaching *one* as they do always in the first *person, these stories* are soon received as works of

a fine art much cultivated in the colonies, for which the colonial phrase of "blowing" has been created. When a gentleman sounds his own trumpet he "blows." The art is perfectly understood and appreciated among the people who practise it. Such a gentleman or such a lady was only "blowing!" You hear it and hear of it every day. They blow a good deal in Queensland;—a good deal in South Australia. They blow even in poor Tasmania. They blow loudly in New South Wales, and very loudly in New Zealand. But the blast of the trumpet as heard in Victoria is louder than all the blasts,—and the Melbourne blast beats all the other blowing of that proud colony. My first, my constant, my parting advice to my Australian cousins is contained in two words—"Don't blow."

But if a man must blow it is well that he should have something to blow about beyond his own prowess, and I do not know that a man can have a more rational source of pride than the well-being of the city in which he lives. It is impossible for a man to walk the length of Collins Street up by the churches and the club to the Treasury Chambers, and then round by the Houses of Parliament away into Victoria Parade, without being struck by the grandeur of the dimensions of the town. It is the work of half a morning for an old man to walk the length of some of the streets, and to a man who cannot walk well the distances of Melbourne soon become very great indeed. There seems to be this drawback upon noble streets, and large spaces, and houses with comfortable dimensions, that as the city grows the distances become immense. They are now far longer in Melbourne with its 200,000 inhabitants clustered together than in *Glasgow with* 500,000; and as the population increases *and houses* are added to houses, it will become impos-

sible for pedestrians to communicate unless they devote the entire day to travelling. There will, no doubt, be railways about the town, as there are about London, but it seems strange that half a million of people should not be able to live together within reach of each other. It must be remembered also that when the hot winds are blowing in Melbourne from the north in December, January, and February, a very little walking is equal to a great deal of exercise.

The city, I have said, is magnificent,—and yet no street in it is finished. Even in Collins Street the houses stand in gaps. Here and there are grand edifices,—in the first place banks, as to which it seems that in these days grandeur pays as in old days did that quiet, almost funereal, deportment which was the characteristic of Lombard Street, and is still maintained by one or two highly respectable London firms. The banks in Melbourne are pre-eminent, and next to them the warehouses of ambitious retail dealers. And there are some very handsome churches,—not always built with close attention to the proprieties of church architecture as recognised by us, but nevertheless handsome. Here and there is a grand public building,—the Post Office and the Town Hall being very grand. There are institutions of various kinds, all having domiciles more or less magnificent. A few private houses have been built with architectural pretensions, and in this way there is enough of detailed splendour to give a character to the streets. But no street is as yet splendid throughout. Between the palaces there are mean little houses; some of them poor enough to remind the observer of the days in which the man from Melbourne who wished to get to Williamstown was called upon to light a fire to attract the ferryman.

In *speaking of the outward* appearance of Melbourne,

I must not forget the gutters, which in rainy weather run down each side of the street like little rivers. These are now bridged over so constantly and so well that they offer practically but little impediment to the walker. In hot weather they often flow with water from the reservoir, and help to cool the town. But in the old days,—when the bridges were few and far between, or when there were no bridges at all,—it used to be a work of danger to get about. It was then no uncommon thing to hear that "another child" had been drowned in Melbourne that morning.

Though the suburbs of Melbourne,—such specially as Collingwood, Fitzroy, and Richmond,—are in fact parts of the town, they seem to have been built on separate plans, and each to have had a ceremonial act of founding or settlement on its own part,—being in this respect unlike suburbs, which are usually excrescences upon a town, arising at haphazard as houses are wanted. But these subsidiary towns are all rectangular and parallelogrammic on their own bottom, though not rectangular and parallelogrammic in regard to Melbourne. If the streets of the one run from north to south, and from east to west, the streets of the other run from north-east to south-west, and from south-east to north-west. This seems to have been of importance,—and equally so that they should have separate mayors, separate town-councils, and above all separate town-halls. Collingwood has over 18,000 inhabitants; Emerald Hill over 17,000; Richmond over 16,000; and Fitzroy over 15,000 inhabitants; but to the world at large these places are parts of Melbourne.

But the magnificence of Melbourne is not only external. The city is very proud of its institutions, and is

justified in its pride. First among these, as being very excellent in the mode of its administration, is the public Library. In the first place it is open gratuitously to all the world six days a week, from ten in the morning till ten in the evening. In the second place, whatever the library possesses can be got by any reader without trouble. It contained indeed, in 1870, no more than 60,000 volumes, which to those who are accustomed to wander among the shelves of the British Museum, or of the Oxford and Cambridge libraries, does not seem to be a large number. But the books have been selected for the uses of the people, and in such a library multiplied editions are hardly necessary. And the too vast multiplication of volumes leads to infinite difficulty in the manipulation of them. Here at Melbourne any man who is decent in his dress and behaviour can have books, shelter, warmth, chair, table, and light up to ten at night, day after day, night after night, year after year,—and all for nothing. For women, who choose to be alone,—and in the colonies as in the United States it is always presumed that women will choose to be alone,—a separate room is provided. This is only beaten at Boston, Massachusetts, where the inhabitants of the city are allowed to take the books home with them.

Melbourne also has its University,—which has hardly as yet been as successful as its Library; though for it, as for that at Sydney, I do not doubt that success will be forthcoming. It is at present richer in the possession of council, of senate, of doctors of law and medicine, and in masters of arts, than it is in students. In 1870 seven gentlemen took degrees as bachelors of arts, the average of ten years having been five in each year. In 1870, 122 students, in all, attended lectures,—a number which is *poor for a university with* a chancellor, a vice-

chancellor, a senate, four professors, and nine other lecturers. In 1870 the government paid £9,000 towards the expenses of the University, the college fees amounting to no more than £2,793;—a pecuniary result which must be acknowledged to be poor in so rich a community. But in considering all this the nature of the community must be borne in mind, and the fact, that though education generally is more desired by such a people than it is in an old country such as ours, education of a high order is by no means equally in demand. People even who are rich are unwilling to pay the expenses of procuring it for their children,—an expense which is not at all in proportion with their previous experience of the cost of education. It will probably be acknowledged that a government, in such circumstances, is right to support a university among its people till the time shall come in which a class shall have grown up willing to support it for themselves.

The University itself is a modest, pretty quadrangular building, of which three sides are completed, containing simply the lecture-rooms and library, and the residences of the professors. The fourth side will be added as funds are found. The University itself does not profess to provide accommodation for the residence of scholars. Attached to it, however, is an affiliated institution called Trinity College,—got up in the interests of the Church of England, and I believe I shall be correct in saying, chiefly by the energy of that most excellent of men, the present bishop. No salary is here provided by government for a fainéant Head of the House, as I found to be the case at Sydney. When I visited the Melbourne University in 1872, there was Trinity College, but as yet *there were no collegians.* The building had been erected *and furnished,* and was ready to take in twenty students,

at 30*s.* a week for board and lodging. Here, it was hoped, might the future young pastors of the Church of England in the colony receive their learning. Seeing how much had been done by how good a man, I give the new college all my best wishes. Behind the University, and in the grounds belonging to it, stands the Museum, which is open to the public gratuitously. I am not, myself, qualified to speak of the value of museums, but this one seems to have the special and somewhat unusual merit of being so arranged that its contents are intelligible to ordinary capacities.

I have spoken of the gardens of Melbourne generally as contributing largely to the spacious dimensions of the town; but I must not omit to make special mention of the Botanical Gardens, and of their learned curator, Dr. von Mueller. Dr. von Mueller, who is also a baron, a fellow of half the learned societies in Europe, and a Commander of the Order of St. Jago, has made these gardens a perfect paradise of science for those who are given to botany rather than to beauty. I am told that the gardens and the gardener, the botany and the baron, rank very highly indeed in the estimation of those who have devoted themselves to the study of trees, and that Melbourne should consider herself to be rich in having such a man. But the gardens though spacious are not charming, and the lessons which they teach are out of the reach of ninety-nine in every hundred. The baron has sacrificed beauty to science, and the charm of flowers to the production of scarce shrubs, till the higher authorities have interfered. When I was at Melbourne there had arisen a question whether there should not be some second and, alas, rival head-gardener, so that the people of Melbourne *might get some* gratification for their *money. The quarrel was running* high when I was there.

I can only hope that the flowers may carry the day against the shrubs.

There are no poor-laws in the colonies, and consequently no poor-rates. Destitute men and women are not entitled by law to be fed and housed at the public expense, as they are in England. As far as the law is concerned any man who cannot feed himself may lie down and die. But such is not the result of things as they exist. Poor and destitute there are, though they are very few in number as compared with those among us at home. Work is more plentiful. Wages are higher. Food is cheaper. In his personal condition the working man does not stand always near to the edge of the precipice of destitution, as he too frequently does in Europe. But there are poor,—both men and women,—and for them shelter and food are found, and very many of the comforts of life. These are provided in buildings called Benevolent Asylums, of which there are five in Victoria, —the largest establishment being in Melbourne. Here, in Melbourne, about 12,000 poor are relieved in the course of the year, some using it as a temporary refuge and some living in it altogether. No one is ever turned out; nor does there seem to be any great difficulty in getting in if the applicant be really destitute. It is worthy of remark that a very small proportion of those who apply for relief are colonial born. The growth of the colony, and the fact that most of the aged in the country have been immigrants, will account for this in some degree. But though Victoria is still growing the colonies are old enough to have produced destitution of their own. In 1870 there were 11,739 persons in the Victorian Benevolent Asylums, of which but little more *than a tenth* were born in the colony. This I attribute *to the fact that* the generation born in the colonies

drinks less and is more careful of its means than they who go thither from Europe. The theory of these asylums is that they should be supported by voluntary contribution with aid from government. The fact is that they are supported by government with some little aid from voluntary contribution,—and with something made by the work of the inmates. In 1870 the asylum at Melbourne cost £18,856, of which £15,000 were paid by the government, and but £2,000 by private contributions. In Victoria government pays for everything; and why should the benevolent contribute when the thing is provided in a different way? I have said that there were no poor-rates;—but perhaps it may be thought that the same thing is effected when the parliament makes a grant out of the general taxes of the country. Could a pauper be suddenly removed out of an English union workhouse into the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum, he might probably think that he had migrated to Buckingham Palace.

When giving a catalogue of the peculiar institutions of Melbourne, I must not omit "The Verandah." Not that there is anything beautiful or grand about the Verandah, or that it is an institution of which Melbourne is inclined to boast. It is one, however, which she uses perhaps with more thorough devotion than all the others put together. The opportunities offered by it are never neglected; and they who have once tasted its charms, seldom fail to return to them. "The Verandah" is a morsel of pavement in Collins Street, on which men congregate under a balcony, and there buy and sell gold shares. It is a small Bourse or "Capel Court," held out of doors, the operations of which are conducted with all the broad daylight of the public street upon them,—but not on that account conducted with any peculiar forma-

lity or reticence. I shall, however, be under the necessity of speaking of "The Verandah" again when describing the gold-fields of the colony and the operations which they have produced.

I visited the Lunatic Asylum at Yarra Bend,—or rather the two lunatic asylums, for there is an old and a new establishment on opposite sides of the river Yarra, —and other hospitals, and the penal establishment at Penbridge and other gaols. Indeed I marvel when I look back at the diligence with which I walked through institutions of every kind in each of the colonies that I visited. I could tell how many inmates there were in each, and how much each inmate cost,—no doubt with all that inaccuracy which a confidence in statistics customarily produces. But I doubt whether I should serve or interest any one by doing so. But it may be well to express the general conviction left on my mind by all these visitings,—not only in reference to Melbourne and Victoria, but as regards the colonies generally,—that a care for public things predominates in them all. However greedy individuals may be after the wealth of each other, whatever fallings off there may be in individual morality and honesty, whatever lapses in individual honour, the care of public things is maintained throughout with an unsparing expenditure. In nothing is this more conspicuous than in the protection given to the afflicted by the State. Let the cost be what it may the poor are to be taught, the needy sheltered and fed, and the afflicted, whether in mind or body, relieved as far as outward appliances may relieve them.

Melbourne is the centre of a series of railways of which I shall speak in another chapter, as they belong *to the colony* generally rather than to the town; but the *city has* the advantage of a local line,—belonging to a

private company and not worked by the government as are the colonial lines generally,—which passes from St. Kilda and Emerald Hill on one side, through Melbourne to Richmond, Prahran, Brighton, and other suburbs on the other side, which is so generally used that Melbourne itself is nearly as hollow as London. I may almost say that no one lives in Melbourne. Of this, one consequence is disagreeable. When you dine out you are generally under the necessity of returning by railway,—which is an abomination. But in other respects the railway is a great blessing. People even of moderate means live in the country air and have gardens and pleasant houses. On two sides, south and east, Melbourne is surrounded for miles by villa residences.

There is now being built, very close to the town, a new Government House, which is intended to be very magnificent. The governors, who occupy it will probably find it by far too much so. The present house, which is four miles out of town, is very much abused as being inadequate to its purpose. It certainly is much less grand than those at Sydney, at Hobart Town,—which is first among government houses,—or even at Perth in poor Western Australia. Nevertheless I was present there at a public ball, at which all Melbourne was entertained with true vice-royal munificence. Were I appointed governor of a colony I should deprecate very much a too palatial residence. I think it may be admitted as a rule that governors find it hard to live upon the salaries allotted to them, and generally do not do so. Men used to accept bishopricks and governorships with a view to making fortunes. It is beginning to be admitted now that men with private means are wanted for both.

There are excellent clubs at Melbourne, having all

the comforts of London clubs, with the additional accommodation of a large number of bedrooms for their members. At all the Australian clubs great hospitality is shown to strangers,—an hospitality which unfortunately the London clubs cannot reciprocate with equal profusion. Were they to do so the strangers admitted would outnumber the members, and destroy the clubs,—so great is the continued influx of visitors into London. Nevertheless it is impossible for a London man not to feel half ashamed of himself when he accepts with freedom a generous hospitality which he knows that he cannot return with the same full hand. I have bitterly experienced the same regret in reference to Americans in London, who in their own country are very liberal in conferring on Englishmen the use of their clubs, and who find a difficulty in obtaining similar entertainment among us. We are the greatest travellers on the earth, and I am disposed to think that something might be done by a not injudicious relaxation of our own rules.

When in Melbourne,—which, as I travelled backwards and forwards I visited half-a-dozen times,—I generally stayed at Menzies' hotel, of which I am bound to say that I never put myself up at a better inn in any part of the world. Scott's hotel is the rival house, and the Scottites declare that to be as good—a thorough Scottite will perhaps say better. As I was never in Scott's hotel I am unable to form a comparison,—but from prejudice, I am prepared to fight for Menzies. But at Melbourne, as elsewhere, good hotel accommodation is accompanied by a good price.

Were I to finish my account of Melbourne as a city without speaking of the Yan Yean water, I should be thought to have omitted the greatest glory of the glorious town. Melbourne is supplied from a distance of about

ty miles with millions of gallons of water,—with so y millions that every one says that the supply cannot xhausted. It is laid on to every house in the town suburbs, and is supposed to be the most perfect r supply ever produced for the use of man. Ancient e and modern New York have been less blessed in respect than is Melbourne with its Yan Yean. I do ve that the supply is almost as inexhaustible as it is ribed to be. But the method of bringing it into the is not as yet by any means perfect. During the very t of the summer of 1871, when the hot winds were ing as they blow only in Melbourne, I moved from use in the town to a friend's residence in the country; neither at the one nor the other could a bath be l. The Yan Yean was not "running." In those days Water Commissioners must, I think, have had a bad . I will also add that the Yan Yean water is not sant to drink;—a matter of comparatively small con- ration in a town in which brandy is so plentiful.

There is perhaps no town in the world in which an nary working man can do better for himself and for family with his work than he can at Melbourne. There be places at which wages are higher, but then at e places the necessaries of life are dearer and the forts of life less easily attainable. There are others oubtedly at which living is cheaper;—but there also wages lower, and the means of living less salutary commodious. When I left Melbourne in July, 1872, was cheaper than in England. The price of wheat then 6*s.* 8*d.* a bushel in the Melbourne markets. t had risen greatly during the last twelvemonths in sequence of the increased exportation and the rise in price of wool, and then ranged in the city from 4*d.* 6*d. the pound.* *Butter* varied from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* the

d; potatoes from £3 to £4 the ton; eggs from 10*d.*
s. the dozen; tea from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the pound;
ee from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* a pound; coals from 28*s.* to
. a ton. The price of clothes, taken all round, is l
ak about 20 per cent. dearer than in London. A
rking man in Melbourne no doubt pays more for his
use or for his lodgings than he would in London; but
en in Melbourne the labourer or artisan enjoys a home
f a better sort than would be within the reach of his
brother in London doing work of the same nature, an
in regard to house-rent gets more for his money than h
would do at home. In Melbourne the wages of artisa
and mechanics generally are 10*s.* a day. Such is stat
by the registrar of the colony to have been the custom
payment to blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and br
layers in 1870, and I am assured that there has beer
reduction since that date. Gardeners receive from
to 60*s.* a week, and common labourers about 36*s.* a
These men, so paid, are supposed to be employed
out diet,—or rations, as is the colonial phrase. A
will earn from £35 to £45 a year; laundresses fro
to £40; other maid-servants from £20 to £30. Th
nary wages of a housemaid, who of course live
house, are 10*s.* a week. Men-servants, in the ho
from £40 to £55 per annum.

There can I think be little doubt that the ar
£3 a week, paying 4*d.* a pound for his meat a
a 4-lb. loaf may live very plentifully. He pro
about 1*s.* a week for the schooling of each of h
but such is the comfort of his condition that
this without difficulty. I would not say to e
in London that he should save his money,
all that he has, and come out to Melbourne
he cannot save any money. Frequently

emigrate. It is too, generally, the case that the man who thus seeks new fortunes has to undergo some hardship before he can find his feet in the country of his adoption. I would not have any one believe that he can enter in upon the good things of the new world without trouble, without doubt, and without delay. Many a poor fellow burdened with wife and family, the best of whose strength has gone from him amidst the hardships of labour at home, has been tempted to go out, and when there has been unable to bear the roughness of beginning and has fallen in the struggle. But when the first struggle is over, and when the first battle has been won, the life of the artisan there is certainly a better life than he can find at home. He not only lives better, with more comfortable appurtenances around him, but he fills a higher position in reference to those around him, and has greater consideration paid to him than would have fallen to his lot at home. He gets a better education for his children than he can in England, and may have a more assured hope of seeing them rise above himself, and has less cause to fear that they shall fall infinitely lower. Therefore I would say to any young man whose courage is high and whose intelligence is not below par, that he should not be satisfied to remain at home; but should come out,—to Melbourne, if that destination will in other respects suit him; and try to win a higher lot and a better fortune than the old country can afford to give him.

But if he take my advice and then turn recreant,—if he become idle or self-indulgent, or take to drink and vicious courses of pleasure,—then will woe betide him. For the fate of such a one in the colonies is worse even than it is at home.

CHAPTER IV.

Ballaarat.

BALLARAT, the gold-field city,—or Ballaarat as the conscientious orthographists of the district insist on spelling it,—deserves a separate chapter to itself. No that the two towns of that name,—Ballaarat and Ballaara East,—with their vicinities comprise now,—A. D. 1873— —the most productive gold-fields of Australia, as they are beaten by those of Sandhurst; but that the place has been more noticeable than any other in the history of Australian gold, and more productive, taking its history back to the time when gold was first discovered ther in 1851.

That was the great year of the discovery of Au tralian gold. I am not going into the deeply discuss question of the merits of this or that discoverer,—as which jealousy is still rife both in New South Wa and Victoria. Taking the belief which I now find to the most common in the colonies, I may say that Roderick Murchison and Count Strzelecki both fore the finding of Australian gold, basing their opinion the geographical condition of the country; that greaves, acting with others, first struck gold at Oph New South Wales; and that gold was first discover Victoria, at Clunes, some few miles from the p city of Ballaarat. I will not venture to say who w first discoverer, but a miner named Esmond w warded for the discovery. In New South Wale was declared to be found in April, 1851, and at in July, 1851, so that the interval between t *colonies* was very small.

But, in regard to the discovery at Clunes, I

is not to be doubted that gold was in fact found there eighteen months before it was declared. The date usually given as that of Esmond's discovery is July, 1851,—that being the very month in which the government of the new colony of Victoria commenced.

Both Hargreaves and Esmond had been gold-seekers in California, and were led to their discoveries by observation rather than by chance. There is, I believe, no doubt that gold had been found by chance previous to the discoveries of Hargreaves and Esmond,—but the finding of it had not led to great public results. Both Hargreaves and Esmond were rewarded.

Clunes is about 16 miles from Ballaarat, but the richness of the Ballaarat gold-fields soon followed the first discovery at Clunes. I am aware that I shall tread on very dangerous ground indeed if I assign either names or dates to the first movement of the soil at Golden Point, which is now built over by the present town,—Ballaarat East. But before the end of 1851 the rush to Ballaarat was an established thing, and whole streets of canvas tents were covering crowds of miners. We are told that men flocked to the place at the rate of 500 a day,—for whom no preparation had been made, no shelter built, no food brought together, no local laws enacted, no powers to enforce the laws existing. Its too great prosperity, its prospect of immediate and apparently unlimited wealth, was for a time more than the colony could bear. The minds of men were so disturbed that no man would remain at any old employment. Servants were out of the question. Shearers would not shear sheep unless they could earn their £6 or £7 a day. Gold commissioners with their clerks, police magistrates and policemen, were indispensable; but who would be a clerk, *or a policeman,*—who even a magistrate or a

commissioner,—when gold could be washed out of the dirt at the rate of ten ounces a day to each happy miner? Food rose to incredible prices,—but then it was almost matter of indifference to a man whether he gave a shilling or a sovereign for his meal. The young government was almost beside itself,—and letters full of frantic questions, eager fears, ambitious hopes, and almost despair, must have reached our Colonial Office at home by every mail. To whom did the gold belong? If to the Crown, how should the Crown use and how protect its rights? In what way might this new wealth be turned to account, so that the colony at large might enjoy the prosperity? Might any man dig where he pleased,—and if so, how should he be protected in his digging? What should be his rights, and what his limits, and how should he be made to pay for the now to him inestimable blessing of protection?

It was at first decreed that a miner should pay a fee of 30*s.* a month for a licence to dig. This was very shortly raised to £3 a month, though that amount was in truth never collected. The idea of charging a miner £36 a year for the privilege of digging arose from the desire to prevent all the labour of the colony from throwing itself into the one employment. But the outcry was so great that it was again fixed at 30*s.* In October, 1854, the charge for a miner's licence was £2 for three months. In the colony of Victoria the licence now costs 5*s.* a year. But the system of licensing,—of charging diggers even £18 per annum for the privilege of mining,—was not received with ready submission, and the money was collected with infinite difficulty. Recusant diggers were hunted down by armed police; *men refused to* pay; indignation meetings were held;—*and at length* something like war broke out at Ballaarat.

This was in December, 1854,—when Sir Charles Hotham was governor, and about twelve months before his death. The diggers entrenched themselves on the gold-fields in a place that was called the Eureka Stockade. Here they were attacked by night, and thirty of them were killed. The ringleaders were afterwards tried and acquitted,—and so the war was brought to an end. But in those days there was certainly much difficulty in governing the colony, and in bringing into order a new state of things. It seemed for a time as though the very wealth of the soil would prove the ruin of the country.

Now it might be difficult to find a more quiet town than Ballaarat, as it certainly would be to find one of the same age better built and more lavishly provided with all those appurtenances which municipalities require. There is a history of Ballaarat, written by Mr. William Bramwell Withers, which commences as follows:—"Ballaarat is one of the wonders of this century. Young in years, its mutations have been many and rapid, and its marvellous progress has given to it a seeming antiquity beyond its urban years. Our task is to trace an outline of the rise and progress of this golden city." The language is of the kind which is common with writers of young countries and young cities, and it is perhaps magnificent rather than impressive; but the fact of the "marvellous progress" is certainly there. The same historian tells us that the distance in the town from east to west is four miles, being "as great if not greater than that in London from Hyde Park Corner to the Bank;" from north to south it is four miles and a quarter, which "in London is represented by the distance from Hyde Park Corner past the Bank and Whitechapel to the Mile End Road;" that it has 40,000 inhabitants;—*I find by the census of 1871* that the population of

Ballaarat, East Ballaarat, and Sebastopol, which form in truth but one town, was 48,156;—that it has 56 churches, 3 town-halls;—for the Ballaaratters in their municipal arrangements by no means pull together;—477 hotels, 10,000 dwellings, 84 miles of streets, 164 miles of foot pavement,—there ought to be 168, if every mile of street were fairly dealt by;—with a municipal revenue of £50,000 gathered from rateable property valued at £250,000; a revenue of £15,000 collected for the supply of water; an area of 9,400 acres, 60 miles of water-mains, 50 miles of gas-mains, "long-reaching lines of stately buildings, and elegant shops, and large manufactories, including 11 banks, 8 iron-foundries, 13 breweries and distilleries, 3 flour-mills, and other manufactories all within the town boundaries." Such is the account of the present city, as given by its historian, Mr. Withers; and although it partakes largely of that quality of "blowing" which is one of the most marked characteristics of the colonies, I believe the statements made to be generally true.

Ballaarat is certainly a most remarkable town. It struck me with more surprise than any other city in Australia. It is not only its youth, for Melbourne also is very young; nor is it the population of Ballaarat which amazes, for it does not exceed a quarter of that of Melbourne; but that a town so well built, so well ordered, endowed with present advantages so great in the way of schools, hospitals, libraries, hotels, public gardens, and the like, should have sprung up so quickly with no internal advantages of its own other than that of gold. The town is very pleasant to the sight, which is, perhaps, more than can be said for any other "provincial" town *in the Australian* colonies. When the year 1851 commenced, Ballaarat was an unknown name except perhaps

here and there to a few shepherds. These words are written in the house of Messrs. Learmonth,—younger men than I, and therefore not old men to me,—who were the first pioneers in the country, and who ran the sheep which they brought with them from Van Diemen's Land over the hills adjacent to Ballaarat. They have given way to the gold-seekers, and establishing themselves far enough from mines for rural serenity and pastoral comfort, are regarded as the territorial aristocrats of the district. Breathing their air and listening to their ideas, one feels as one does in the almost feudal establishment of some great English squire, who watches with a regret he cannot quite repress the daily encroachments made upon his life by the approaching hordes of some large neighbouring town.

The phase of life which is present to us at home in England, and which there has come from centuries of slow progress, the changes not only in action but in thought which are going on around us, and which we regard,—according to our various political creeds,—as tending to national ruin or to a millennium of national happiness, are already in action here in Victoria. The vitality of city life with its somewhat vulgar form of expressions, its occasionally dishonest ambition, its quick-witted but sometimes short-sighted policy, its majorities, popular instincts, and general rowdiness, is already in full force at Ballaarat, and is already odious to those who eschew cities. And, in the country districts around, the feudal conservative instinct is already equally prevalent. And yet Ballaarat as a city dates only from 1852, and has had nothing but gold to produce it. Nature had done for it little or nothing.

It has no *navigable river*. It is seventy or eighty *miles from any possibility* of sea-carriage. The land

immediately around it is not fertile. It is high above the river, and runs in gentle hills which twenty years since were thinly covered with gum-trees; and here wandered the flocks of a few patriarch pioneers. Then came first one or two rough seekers after gold, then half-a-dozen, then a score, then a rush,—and Ballaarat was established as one among the few great golden cities of the young world. I do not think that there is any city equal to it that has sprung from gold alone.

I myself believe in cities,—even though there should be dishonest ambition, short-sighted policy, and rowdiness. The dishonesty, the folly, and the rowdiness are but the overboiling of the pot without which cannot be had the hot water which is so necessary to our well-being. I heard much abuse of Ballaarat from Ballaaratters. There are three towns conjoined, Ballaarat, Ballaarat East, and Sebastopol, with three town-halls, three municipalities, and the like. The smaller towns will not consent to merge themselves. There are in them men of obstruction, and things cannot be done as they should be done. Money is wasted; municipal funds are expended foolishly,—perhaps fraudulently on an occasion. If this class would only see with the eyes of that class, what a paradise it might be! But they see with quite other eyes,—and what a pandemonium it is becoming. So say the men of Ballaarat. Trade is going to the dogs, because there is not sufficient protection;—or else because a tariff of 20 per cent. on all imported goods, levied in accordance with the wisdom of Messrs. Duffy, Berry, & Co.,* is destroying all trade by raising the price of bad goods and driving serviceable goods out of the market. No words which can here be used are

* *Mr. Gavan Duffy was at that time prime minister, and Mr. Berry treasurer for the colony.*

strong enough to describe the iniquity which some Mac Evoy attributes to some O'Brien, or some Murphy to some Jones or Smith. Population is falling off, so that shortly Ballaarat will be as a city of the dead. Such are the accounts a stranger hears either from this side or from that. One gentleman, who certainly was very much in the dark as to the statistics of his town, assured me that 20,000 people had gone out of Ballaarat in two years. Another was angry with me because I hesitated to believe that the place was ruined. I was assured that I might hire 1,500 vacant houses at an hour's notice if I wanted them. As for gold at Ballaarat, everybody knew that that game had been played out!

Such were the records of some men. As far as the eye went, I saw nothing but prosperity. Here I found that most of the mines were worked by companies at wages paid to the men,—and that a miner's wages averaged from 40*s.* to 48*s.* a week,—the man working eight hours a day, and thus reaching that acme of the workman's bliss—

> "Eight hours for work, and eight for play,
> Eight for sleep, and eight shillings a day."

And the necessaries of life, and the comforts, are at any rate as cheap at Ballaarat as they are in England, in spite of protective duties. Meat was about 2½*d.* a pound, and for nothing did the workmen of Ballaarat pay more than his brother in England, unless it be for clothes, for house-rent,—and strong drinks, if he be that way given. Wages for all work are high in proportion. In rural labour in the neighbourhood the farmer pays 20*s.* a week and rations, and at harvest-time must pay double that amount. Female servants in houses get 12*s.* a week,—or above £30 per annum.

Houses no doubt have been built too quickly,—as is

always found to be the case when some check comes to the rising population of young towns. Such check had reached Ballaarat when I was there,—the rush for the time being to the gold-fields of Sandhurst; and newly built houses were to be seen empty. "There's a 'spec' that won't answer," said a gentleman to me, pointing to a row of houses just finished, but which from end to end showed no sign of habitation. In two years' time some great quartz-crushing operation will probably have been commenced; and the then owner of the row,—for the unfortunate first speculator will no doubt have been sold out by his assignees,—will be making 30 per cent. on his money.

There may be rowdiness, dishonesty, and all other civic sins in the manipulation of the municipal power of Ballaarat and other Australian cities;—but as a rule the things which a city requires are there. At Ballaarat this is conspicuously the case. The hospital has more wards than it uses, and more funds than it needs. As regards internal cleanliness and sweetness, and external prettiness, it is perfect. The Benevolent Institution which does the work that a poorhouse does with us gives either out-door relief or in-door shelter and sustenance in Ballaarat,—as indeed at all such institutions in Victoria,—includes a thoroughly good dinner of meat and vegetables every day, with tea for breakfast and tea for "tea." It includes a bed perfectly to itself, a sitting-room, books, newspapers, comfortable clothes, a garden to walk in infinitely superior to that enjoyed by many comfortable folk at home. Ballaarat has a free library, free to all the city,—and a mechanics' institute with newspapers and privileges, at £1 a head. In short, indeed every municipal luxury that can be nam

cluding a public garden full of shrubs and flowers, and a lake of its own,—Lake Wendouree,—with a steamer and row-boats and regattas. It has a cricket-ground, and athletic games; and it has omnibuses and cabs, which by their cleanliness and general excellence make a Londoner blush. For the privilege of seeing all these things with ease and comfort, and for much steady information, without exaggeration either on one side or the other, I have to thank that best of all mayors, Mr. R. Lewes, who reigned at Ballaarat at the time of my visit.

But as yet I have said nothing of the gold-mines which have made Ballaarat what it is. Among Victorian gold-fields it is famous for alluvial dirt to be washed,—not for quartz to be crushed, as is the case with its rival town of Sandhurst, of which I shall speak in the next chapter. But the reader must not therefore suppose that Ballaarat is a place of mere surface scratching, an agglomeration of gullies from which the mud is shovelled into cradles, a congregation of "fossickers,"—men who search about, picking and washing a bit of earth here and a bit there, or upper-air miners who know nothing of large operations. The alluvial dirt which produces the greater portion of the wealth of Ballaarat has not only to be brought up many hundred feet from under the surface, but it has to be sought for through underground passages thousands of feet in length, and has to be followed up by geological deductions which too often fail in their promises.

I went down one such mine called "Winter's Freehold," descending 450 feet in an iron cage. I was then taken 4,000 feet along an underground tramway in a truck drawn by a horse. At the end of that journey I was called upon to mount a perpendicular ladder about 20 feet high, and was then led along another tramway

running apparently at right angles to the first. From this opened out the cross passages in which the miners were at work. Here we saw the loose alluvial grit, so loose that a penknife would remove it, lying on the solid rock,—on it and under it,—to the breadth I was told of some four feet; for though I saw the bottom of the grit, where it lay on its bed, I could not see the top where it was covered. Here and there among the grit, with candle held up, and some experienced miner directing my eye, I could see the minute specks of gold, in search of which these vast subterranean tunnels had been made. It seemed to be but a speck here and there,—so inconsiderable as to be altogether unworth the search. But the mining men who were with us, the manager, deputy-manager, or shareholders, —for on such occasions one hardly knows who are the friends who accompany one,—expressed themselves highly satisfied.

I was told that £150,000 had been expended on this single mine up to the present time, and that the machinery was the finest in the colony. Perhaps the finest machinery in the colony may be seen at more than one mine in the colony. But I was informed that hitherto the results had not been magnificent. There was, however, a good time coming, and all the money expended would certainly come back with copious interest. I hope that it may be so. We were two hours in seeing the mine,—and I must say that as regards immediate enjoyment the two hours were not well spent. The place was wet and dirty and dark, the progress was tedious, and the result to the eye very poor. But such is the result to all amateur inspectors of mines. When *we had extricated* ourselves from the bowels of the earth *we ascended* to a platform on the top of the machinery

to which the wash-dirt is carried that it may there be puddled and the gold extracted. The height enables the water and mud to run off. The dirt is placed in a round flat receptacle or trough, into which water runs, and an instrument somewhat like a harrow is worked through it. The water and mud are amalgamated, and the height enables them to run off together. The gold by its own weight falls to the bottom mixed with stones or shingle. This is afterwards sent down to an open spout below, through which water runs, a man the while working it with a fork prepared for the purpose. Again the stones and mud pass off with the water, and again the gold remains behind sinking to the bottom by its own weight. When all has escaped that will escape, and the stones that will not fall have been thrown out, then the specks of gold are seen lying thick, collected in the little furrows which are marked on the bottom of the spout. To the uninitiated eye the product of all this costly labour still seems to be small.

After all this the gold is smelted into bars and sold to the merchants or bankers. We went to the offices of another company,—the Band of Hope and Albion Consols,—to see the smelting. In this operation there is nothing wonderful. The small gold,—for it is all small in comparison with the nuggets of which we have heard so much and which are now very rare in Australia,—is poured into an earthen pot, is melted, is poured out into moulds, is then washed so that it may have a clean face, and is straightway sent to the bank. At present the greater part of the gold found at Ballaarat when thus prepared is worth something over £4 an ounce. At this Band of Hope mine they raise about 3,000 ounces of gold a month, at an expense of about half its value. *The other half is divided* among the shareholders, and

gives an average interest of £12 15*s.* per cent. on the capital expended on the work. This, in a business subject to great risk, with bank interest at 8 and 9 per cent., does not seem to be a very rich result.

We also saw a quartz-crushing machine at work,—for quartz is raised at Ballaarat, though in much less quantity than the wash-dirt. The nature of a quartz-crusher I have before described in speaking of Gympie, the great Queensland gold-field. In Victoria, as I have said, Sandhurst is the great quartz district;—but there are sanguine people who predict a vast wealth of quartz reefs at Ballaarat after the wash-dirt has been all extracted.

Before I leave Ballaarat, I must acknowledge that as it has a philanthropic and humane aspect, so also has it one that is thoroughly vicious and inhuman. When I asked as to the wickednesses of the town the excellent mayor bespoke the services of the sergeant of police, and the three of us together inspected the Chinese quarter at night. A more degraded life it is hardly possible to imagine. Gambling, opium-smoking, and horrid dissipation seemed to prevail among them constantly. They have no women of their own, and the lowest creatures of the streets congregate with them in their hovels. But this is far from being the worst of it. Boys and girls are enticed among them, and dwell with them, and become foul, abominable, and inhuman. And yet, so said my friend the policeman, the law can rarely touch them. Their gambling-tables are open. I went into half-a-dozen of these rooms. The sergeant scattered the Chinese, but could do nothing further;—and then in a minute they congregated again and laughed. Though *their counters* were on all the tables, he could not, he *said, prove* that they were gambling. It would, however,

matter comparatively little what injury they might do to each other by gambling. When a Chinese is thoroughly ruined he destroys himself,—and there is one less about the place. But when I was told that nothing could be done, though children from twelve to fourteen years of age were found in the quarters of these foreigners,—nothing but to take them back to their parents, from whom they would again run away,—I felt surprised that a single "heathen Chinee" was left alive in the place. "The parents are as bad as themselves," said the sergeant, "and do not care to go after them."

Ballaarat is something less than 100 miles by railway N.N.W. of Melbourne, and the journey is made in four hours. The line runs by Geelong, taking a devious course down to that port on Hobson's Bay. There was a time in the history of the colony in which Geelong was competing with Melbourne for the honours of the capital. Geelong had Ballaarat at its back, and beyond Ballaarat all the richest corn-growing ground of Australia Felix. But in its efforts at grandeur, in an evil hour, it made the Geelong and Melbourne railway. Consequently Geelong is now no more than a great town on the line from Melbourne to Ballaarat. It is, however, a pleasant, well-built, smiling town, with institutions of its own, with public gardens and a harbour. But the Geelongese no longer aspire to be metropolitans.

CHAPTER V.

Bendigo or Sandhurst.

HAVING thus described Ballaarat, which in point of architectural excellence and general civilised city comfort is at present *certainly the* metropolis of the Australian *gold-fields, I should lay* myself open to charges of

gross partiality if I omitted to give some account of Sandhurst,—which intends to surpass Ballaarat, and to become mightier and more world-famous than that very mighty and world-famous place. I do not pretend to say what may be the result of the race.

My readers have, no doubt, heard of the Bendigo gold-fields. I think it by no means improbable that some of them,—in England,—may never have heard the name of Sandhurst as connected with gold. I had not done so when I first landed in Australia, though I had been often told of Bendigo, having some hazy idea that the place had called itself after a prize-fighter, and therefore must be a very rowdy place indeed. I imagine that some such feeling must have been predominant with the people of the place when Bendigo, as a name, was dropped, and Sandhurst,—which is not only euphonious, but which carries with it also a certain mixed idea of youthful energy and military discipline,—was chosen in its stead. Sandhurst means to go ahead, and become a great city. In regard to the production of gold it has gone very much ahead. As a city, when I was there, it was neither handsome nor commodious. It had the appearance, which is common to all new mining towns, of having been scratched up violently out of the body of the earth by the rake of some great infernal deity, who had left everything behind him dirty, uncouth, barren, and disorderly! Any one who has seen the mining towns as they rose in Cornwall and Glamorganshire must have observed the same ugliness. At Sandhurst you see heaps of upturned dry soil here and there, dislocated whins, rows of humble houses built just as they were wanted, shops with gewgaw fronts put up at a moment's notice, drinking-bars in abundance, here and there an attempt at architecture, made almost invariably by some

banking company eager to push itself into large operations;—but with it all a look of eager, keen energy which would redeem to the mind the hideous objects which meet the eye, were it not that the mind becomes conscious of the too speculative nature of the work done,—of the gambling propensities of the people around,—and is driven to feel that the buying and selling of mining shares cannot be done by yea, yea, and nay, nay.

In Melbourne there is the "verandah;"—in Sandhurst there is a "verandah;" in Ballaarat there is a "verandah." The verandah is a kind of open exchange,—some place on the street pavement apparently selected by chance, on which the dealers in mining shares do congregate. What they do, or how they carry on their business when there, I am unable to explain. But to the stranger, or the passer by, they do not look lovely. He almost trembles lest his eyes should be picked out of his head as he goes. He has no business there, and soon learns to walk on the other side of the road. And he hears strange tales which make him feel that the innocence of the dove would not befriend him at all were he to attempt to trade in those parts. I think there is a racing phrase as to "getting a tip." The happy man who gets a tip learns something special as to the competence or incompetence of a horse. There are a great many tips in gold mines which fall into the fortunate hands of those who attend most closely, and perhaps with most unscrupulous fidelity, to the business of the verandahs. The knowing ones know that a certain claim is going to give gold. The man who has the tip sells out at a low price,—sells out a certain number of shares, probably to a friend who holds the tip with him. The price is quoted on the share list, and the unfortunate non-tipped sell out also, *and the fortunate tipped* one buys up all. A claim

is not going to give gold,—and the reverse happens. Or a claim is salted;—gold is surreptitiously introduced, is then taken out, and made the base of a fictitious prosperity. The tipped ones sell and the untipped buy. It is easy to see that the game is very pretty; but then it is dangerous. It has certainly become very popular. One is told at Melbourne that all are playing at it,—clergymen, judges, ladies, old ladies and young, married ladies and single,—old men and boys, fathers unknown to their sons, and sons unknown to their fathers, mothers unknown to their daughters, daughters unknown to their mothers,—masters and servants, tradesmen and their apprentices. "You shall go from one end of Collins Street to another," a man said to me, "and you will hardly meet one who has not owned a share or a part of a share." Gold-mining in Victoria is as was to us the railway mania some twenty-four years ago. Melbourne no doubt is the centre of the trade in shares, but low beneath the surface in the mines of Sandhurst lie the hearts of the gold gamblers.

At Ballaarat the chief produce of gold is still obtained from alluvial dirt,—from dirt which is indeed extracted by deep working out of the bowels of the earth, and not, as at first, from the channels of rivers and the crevices of mountain gullies;—but still from alluvial dirt, which, when extracted, is washed. The gold remains after the washing and then the operation is at an end. At Sandhurst the gold is got by quartz-crushing. The gold-bearing rock is brought up in great masses,—thousands and thousands of tons of stone, which is called quartz. This is crushed by huge machinery, and the gold is separated from the dirt by the use of quicksilver *and water.* The washing of alluvial soil is the readier *way of getting* gold, but the quartz-crushing is the more

important. Of the alluvial dirt there must, or at any rate there may, soon be an end. The geologists say that the crushers of quartz may eat up whole mountains, and still go on finding stone that will give gold. Looking at a table now before me as to quartz crushed at Sandhurst in 1871, I find that 2 oz. 14 dwt. to the ton of quartz was the highest amount extracted, and that 4 dwt. to the ton is the lowest quantity there quoted. The proportion that will pay depends of course on the amount of outlay. Some of the gold-bearing stone is brought up 800 feet, and some only 100. In some mines the levels and cross-cuts and underground passages are worked for long distances, perhaps for a mile, without gold. In others the gold is struck at once. It is impossible, therefore, to say what proportion will pay; but it is certain that in many mines half an ounce, or two sovereigns, to a ton of rock will pay well. It is on record that 250 oz. of gold were extracted on the Bendigo gold-fields from one ton of stone,—fifteen years ago. But the great glory of Sandhurst was reached, when an average of 9 oz. per ton was extracted from 264 tons of quartz, taken from "The Great Extended Hustler's mine."

I venture to extract a quotation from a published "Digest of the Dividend-Paying Companies of the Bendigo Gold-fields," which is now before me,—given in the shape of a note,—because it purports to be a record of the greatest event of the year 1871.

"NOTE.—On October 18th, the greatest event of the year's quartz-mining occurred. For some days previously the gathering of the Extended Hustler's Tribute amalgam created much interest in mining circles; 6,400 oz. aggregate of amalgam was reached when the company proceeded to retort, and betting, except with those intimately acquainted with the nature of the stone, was in favour of over 3,000 oz. of gold. A little after 7 p.m. of the 18th the Oriental Bank solved all doubts by exhibiting the Tribute Company's cake of 2,564 oz., and shortly afterwards the Great Extended *Hustler's Tribute* declared the largest dividend ever paid on *Sandhurst,—6s. 6d. per share*, equal to £9,100. The yield was obtained *from 264 tons, reef 18 feet thick, average 9 oz. per ton.*"

I saw this interesting cake at the Oriental Bank, in Melbourne, on which occasion the manager kindly offered to give it to me on condition that I should carry it away.

All prosperous trades have a slang of their own,—certain terms used to keep outsiders at a distance, and to create that feeling of esoteric privilege which we all like to have in regard to matters which we think we understand. A man who only uses horses can never talk in professional language to a man who breeds them and deals in them and lives with them. A layman in politics, let him be ever so anxious for his country, is all abroad when conversing with a member of parliament about bills and acts, about notices of motion and "the previous question." It is very much so with mining. Everything is told to the visiting stranger, but I don't think he is intended to understand anything. What with tributes and claims, with leads and lodes, with shafts and levels and cross-cuts and veins, with reefs and gullies, with quartz, amalgam, tailings, and mullock,—I am by no means sure of the spelling of that last word,—he is made to feel that he is an outsider, and that he cannot learn mining in a day. At Sandhurst I felt this very strongly;—and my reader will probably feel as I did. He will simply acknowledge to himself the fact that a cake of gold containing 2,564 oz.,—and worth about £10,000,—is a very large cake indeed.

The names selected by various companies at the Sandhurst gold-fields deserve attention. Sandhurst, which now aspires to be the leading Australian gold-field, and which certainly turns out more gold than any other, boasts at present no less than 1,200 different companies. I should say that there were 1,200 in the early part of 1872. The number will probably be very greatly

increased before these words are published. The names chosen for these companies are certainly very quaint. There are not less than fourteen "New Chum" Companies, and there are three or four "Old Chum" Companies. There are the Peg Leg, the Perfect Cure, the Who can Tell, the Great Extended Who can Tell, the Sons of Freedom, the Sir Walter Scott, the Sailor Prince, the Royal Louisa, the Lord Byron, the Little Chum, the Jonadab, the Hand and Band, the Happy Day, the Happy-go Lucky, the Great Extended South Golden Pyke, the Go by Gold, the Charles Gavan Duffy, the Gladstone,—indeed there are five or six Gladstone Companies;—and, to be fair, I must add that there is a Disraeli Company; I do not, however, find it quoted among those that are paying dividends. But among all names at Sandhurst, the greatest name, the most thriving, the best known, and the name in highest repute, is—"Hustler." Whence came the appellation I do not distinctly know, but I believe that there once was,—perhaps still is,—a happy Hustler. If so, even the Marquis of Granby among publicans has not been a more prolific godfather than has Mr. Hustler among Sandhurst miners. What with original Hustler Companies and Tribute Hustler Companies, with simple Hustlers, and Extended Hustlers, and Great Extended Hustlers, with North Hustlers, and South Hustlers, and with Extended North and South Hustlers, the companies who claim the happy name are difficult to count. There are at any rate two dozen of them, and all, or nearly all, are doing well.

Of these 1,200 different companies, about one-third are, so called, Tribute Companies. The parent company,—for instance, the parent Great Extended Hustlers,—lets off a piece of land, or a claim, to a set of men, generally *working miners*, having performed a certain

portion of the preliminary work,—having opened the shaft and put up machinery, and probably shown that gold is to be had for the labour. The claim is let on a certain tribute,—the tributers or sub-company agreeing to pay a fixed proportion of the gold extracted to the original company. The miners are very fond of going into this kind of speculation, as it opens up to them the chance of making a fortune. But on the other hand it opens up to them also the chance,—and very often the reality,—of working for nothing. The expenses of the mine and the tribute which is exacted will not unfrequently consume all the gold produced; or,—worse than that,—the expense of the mine will go on, and there will be no produce. The tributer will not only be working for nothing, but will also be called on to pay towards the continuance of the enterprise. He must live the while,—and would thus seem to be debarred from such speculation unless he be possessed of capital. But in fact such is not the case. A miner at Sandhurst, when I was there, could earn from £2 10*s.* to £3 a week, and could live well on 20*s.* Two men, or more, would form a partnership, of which the one half would work for wages, and the other half on a tribute claim. The wages would suffice to support the whole, and even to pay up a certain amount of "calls." Should the speculation turn out well, the profits would be divided among the lot. The speculation often does turn out well, and men become suddenly enriched. It often turns out badly,—and in such cases the miners have worked barely for a subsistence. At such places as Sandhurst it is said that in this way a grand spirit of commercial enterprise is created and fostered. Men without capital are enabled *to enter in* upon the joys of commercial speculation. *There is,* however, another way of looking at it; and

many no doubt will think that the commercial speculation is simple gambling on a great scale. I have no doubt myself that the miners who work simply for wages are in the long run more prosperous than they who work on tribute. A man's wages represent to him with clear and well-defined reality the very sweat of his brow. If there be enough for him to save something, and if he be given to saving, he will save the surplus of money so earned. But that which comes to him in a lump, from some happy chance, from some pocket of gold found in the bowels of the earth, from some rich crushing of quartz with which it has been his lot to become connected, exalts him suddenly, upsets his head,—and is apt to disappear as rapidly as it came. All this of course is old-world teaching and grandmother's tales. I feel as I write it that it is too trite to be written. But I feel at the same time that it is impossible to write of gold-mining in Australia without repeating the old lesson. No doubt instances may be adduced of men who have made and have kept splendid fortunes by gold-mining, —of men who have done so without capital, by small speculations at first, and by extended operations as the means have come to them. I have heard of men so blessed,—and could name one or two. But I have heard of no case in which the man so blessed was represented to me as living after a blessed fashion. I have, however, heard of cases by the score in which the questionable blessing has never been achieved,—as to which I have been told, frequently by the speculators themselves, that had they stopped here or had they stopped there, they would have made two, four, six, ten, or twenty thousand pounds as the case may have been. There has been a shake of the head, and a soft regret; and I have *always felt that I liked* the man the better in that

he had lost it all, than I should have done had he become permanently successful.

As regards the working miners, including all those who manage the works and overlook the machinery, I am bound to say that they are a fine body of able and industrious men. This is so on all the large gold-fields, and nowhere more noticeably than at Sandhurst. They are intelligent, manly, and independent,—altogether free from that subservience which the domination of capital too often produces in most fields of labour. I have spoken, perhaps as strongly as I know how to speak, of the gambling propensities of the population of a gold-mining town. I should be wrong if I did not speak as strongly of the efforts which are made by such communities,—which in Australia are always made when the communities become large and apparently fixed,—to ameliorate the condition of the people. The hospitals are excellent, the provision for the indigent is so good as almost to promote indigence, the schools are well conducted and well filled, the churches are sufficient, and the clergymen are supported. The money comes freely and is freely expended. And in no community are the manners of the people more courteous or their conduct more decent. Of course there is drinking. The idle men drink,—would-be gentlemen, who are trying to speculate, without apparent means of livelihood, drink, —miners who are not mining, having what they call a spell, or holiday, will drink. But the working miner is a sober man, with a sober family; and of such the bulk of the mining population is made up. In England working men drink;—work by day, and drink by night; then half work by day and double drink by night,—till the *thing comes* soon to an end. In Australia, as a rule, *the working* man does not drink while he works. The

shearer does not drink; the shepherd and boundary-rider do not drink; the reaper and ploughman do not drink; —nor does the miner drink. Let them be idle for a while; let them take their wages and go away for a "spell;"—then they will drink as no Englishman ever drinks, drink down in a fortnight the earnings of a year. But there is less of this with miners, than with shearers or ploughmen. The miner gambles,—and is so saved from the worse vice of drinking.

And the gambling of the miner has about it a certain redeeming manliness which is altogether wanting to the denizen of the race-course or of the roulette table. Though he gambles, he works and produces. The gambling is but an excrescence on his genuine industry. The Sandhurst regular miner works in shifts, of eight hours each shift, throughout the day and night. The gold is being sought and found, dug out and dragged up, and crushed out of its matrix, the quartz, for four-and-twenty hours a day, during six days of the week. And the skilled miner, by eight hours' work a day, may earn at least 9*s*. a day, in a country in which he and his wife and children may live comfortably,—and as regards food with absolute plenty,—for 4*s*. a day. The gold-miner at Sandhurst who keeps himself simply to his work, and takes no part in New Extended Great Chum Tributes, has, as work goes in the world, by no means an unhappy lot.

I went down the shaft of one mine,—the Great Extended Hustler, I think it was called,—600 feet below the surface, and was received with the greatest courtesy. I am bound to say that I saw nothing that was worth seeing, and that I understood nothing of all that was told to me. This is an almost disgraceful declaration to *make, after one has* pretended to understand all that

was said. But it was so with me, and is so I take it with all travellers. The experienced and good-natured professional miners who conduct the strangers are anxious that everything should be made plain. To them everything is plain. But the very A B C of their necessary knowledge is probably Hebrew to the listener, who is too grateful for the attention paid to him to tell the kind teacher how utterly unintelligible to him is the whole matter in question. It was so with me;—but this I saw, and could have seen as well above the earth as by going below,—that tons of grey stone were dragged up, that the grey stone was all stamped and crushed into powder by machinery, and that out of the powder gold was got in certain proportions,—so many ounces, or more probably so many pennyweights, to the ton of stone,—and that, as the result was good or bad, dividends were divided or were not divided among the speculators.

As a gold-field Sandhurst is now pre-eminent in Victoria. As a town it is not to be compared with Ballaarat. As a town Ballaarat is peculiarly attractive. Sandhurst, as I saw it, was equally repulsive. Everything was crowded, unfinished, and uncomfortable. At the inn, where we only breakfasted and dined, everything was done which civility could do to make our party comfortable,—and we dined and breakfasted well. But even the inn had that crowded air and brandy-scented atmosphere which are inseparable from hotel-keeping for many people with unfinished appliances. I was shown a bedroom in which beds stood thick as hops in a hop-garden,—not a bed here and another there against a wall, so as to make that very objectionable inn chamber, a double-bedded room,—but beds everywhere, as close as they could cluster, so that eight or ten might chum

together. Men in search of gold are apt to dispense with many of the comforts of life, and will disregard the number of their chamber companions. I myself, luckily, was not called upon to stay a night at Sandhurst. An evening train took our party back to Melbourne.

There can be little doubt but that before long Sandhurst will become a handsome city, with fine streets, imposing banks, public gardens, and well-built public edifices. As a gold-field it has probably not even yet seen its richest days.

CHAPTER VI.

Gipps Land, Walhalla, and Woods Point.

I WENT by coach from Melbourne to Gipps Land with a friend, partly with a view of visiting that district generally, and partly that I might see the eastern gold-fields of the colony. I had indeed become very tired of gold,—which to a traveller who enjoys none of the excitement arising from the hope of acquiring it, is but a wearisome object. I did not desire to go down more mines, and yet I felt that I should not be strong-minded enough to save myself from further descents. I think I should have taken the Gipps Land gold-fields on credit, had I not been told that the scenery around them was peculiarly beautiful. I was specially desired not to miss Woods Point,—which indeed is not in Gipps Land, but which could be visited from Gipps Land by any one who would trust himself among the mountains on horseback. From Woods Point I could return to Melbourne by a direct road, so as to avoid the disagreeable task of retracing my steps over the same path. As far as scenery was concerned, I was certainly repaid for the labour of a somewhat laborious journey.

The name of Gipps Land will be familiar to the ears of English readers, chiefly because that great hero of romance the Tichborne claimant for a while carried on there his trade as a journeyman butcher. I may here remark that throughout the colonies generally I found that the opinions of men and women ran very much in favour of the claimant;—not in any way because he was an Australian, for no colonist was fond of him, but apparently because there was a pleasurable excitement in the idea that such a man should return home from the wild, reckless life of the Australian bush and turn out to be an English baronet. I discussed the question with an Australian judge, who is perhaps second in reputation as a lawyer to no English lawyer out of England, inferior to very few if any at home,—and I found him to be strongly in favour of the butcher. The evidence, in his mind, was in the butcher's favour. Had he heard the case with his wig on, I do not doubt but that he would have thought differently. As it was the romance touched even him. The world is pleased that King Cophetua should marry a beggar-girl, and is delighted when a shoeblack becomes the Duke of Middlesex. Gipps Land is the south-eastern district of Victoria. It has I believe lately been divided into counties,—or rather, a portion of it has been so far civilised. It is separated from the Murray district of Victoria by spurs of the so-called Australian Alps, among which lie the eastern gold-fields.

We started by one of Cobb's coaches at one o'clock in the day, and reached the little town of Rosedale in Gipps Land at ten the next morning. Cobb's coaches have the name of being very rough,—and more than *once I have* been warned against travelling by them. *They were* not fit, I was told, for an effeminate English-

man of my time of life. The idea that Englishmen,—that is, new-chums, or Englishmen just come from home,—are made of paste, whereas the Australian, native or thoroughly acclimatized, is steel all through, I found to be universal. On hearing such an opinion as to his own person, a man is bound to sacrifice himself, and to act contrary to the advice given, even though he perish in doing so. This journey I made and did not perish at all;—and on arriving at Rosedale had made up my mind that twenty hours on a Cobb's coach through the bush in Australia does not inflict so severe a martyrdom as did in the old days a journey of equal duration on one of the time-famous, much-regretted old English mails. More space is allowed you for stretching your legs on the seat, and more time for stretching your legs at the stages. The road of course is rough,—generally altogether unmade,—but the roughness lends an interest to the occasion, and when the coach is stuck in a swamp,—as happens daily,—it is pleasant to remember that the horses do finally succeed, every day, in pulling it out again. On this road there is a place called the Glue Pot, extending perhaps for a furlong, as to which the gratified traveller feels that now, at any rate, the real perils of travel have been attained. But the horses, rolling up to their bellies in the mud, do pull the coach through. This happens in the darkness of night, in the thick forest,—and the English traveller in his enthusiasm tells the coachman that no English whip would have looked at such a place even by daylight. The man is gratified, lights his pipe, and rushes headlong into the next gully.

The land between Melbourne and Gipps Land, through the county of Mornington, is very poor; as it is also for some distance in Gipps Land itself. Then the

timber becomes less thick and the grasses rich. When first taken up the country was used for sheep;—but it was not found to be good for wool, and the sheep have now given place to cattle. A large proportion of the beef with which Melbourne is fed is fattened on the Gipps Land runs. Here, as throughout Victoria, all the best of the soil has been already purchased, and is for the most part in the hand of large owners,—of men whose successors will be lords of vast territorial properties, and not of small free-selecters or farmers. Throughout the colony it is impossible not to see how futile have been the efforts of legislation to prevent the accumulation of large domains in the hands of successful men. It has been thought by one ministry after another to be wise,—or, at any rate, to be expedient,—to break up the holdings of the great squatters, so that there should be no territorial magnates. The law has done all that it could be made to do, compatibly with justice,—sometimes perhaps more than it could do with that condition,—to make the colony a paradise for small landowners, and a purgatory for wealthy men who should attempt to accumulate acres. Politicians ambitious of being statesmen, who can reach power only by the aid of universal suffrage, are prone to look for popularity, and popularity in Victoria has much depended on adherence to the interests of the free-selecter. As I have said elsewhere, the interests of the small buyer of land are entitled to warmer sympathy than those of the would-be territorial magnates. One still dreams of a happy land in which every man with his wife and children shall live happily and honestly on his own acres,—owing neither rent nor submission to any lord. It may be that *this feeling has* been stronger with Victorian politicians *than the love* of political power. It is at any rate the

feeling by which they claim to have been actuated, and they have worked hard to carry out their theory. But the wages of commerce and the enterprise of the intelligent have been stronger than any bonds which statesmen or legislators could forge. Wealth has been accumulated by a few, and wealth has procured the land in spite of the laws. Though cabinet ministers and land commissioners have had the land in their hands to sell under such laws as they have pleased to pass, though they have had a power entrusted to them as managers and agents greater than any confided by us to our ministers at home, though it has been declared by politicians that there should be no land magnates in Victoria, the rich have bought the land; and now vast territories are possessed by individuals which more than rival in area,—and in course of time will rival in value,—the possessions of great families at home. This is hardly so in the United States,—is not so certainly to the same extent. There men seek to build up wealth in the cities rather than in the country, and prefer shares and scrip and commercial speculation to land. Why there should be this difference in the same race, when settled away from home in different regions, some one some day no doubt will tell us.

To fatten cattle is the present business of the Gipps Land squire. Cattle, no doubt, are bred there, but it seemed to be more usual to buy them young from some other district, and have them driven up over long distances to the Gipps Land pastures. I do not pride myself on having a good eye for a bullock,—but those I saw seemed to be very big and very fat, very tame and very stupid. Why a bullock who has a paddock of seven or eight thousand acres in which to roam should make *so little of himself* as these beasts do in Australia I

cannot understand. At home I think they are more troublesome and have higher hearts. I went out one morning at four A.M. to see a lot drafted out of a herd for sale. "Cutting out" is the proper name for this operation. Two or three men on horseback, of whom I considered myself to be by far the most active, drove some hundreds of them into a selected corner of the paddock called a "camp." There was no enclosure, no hurdles, no gates, no flogging, very little hallooing, and very little work. This camp happened to be in a corner; but camps for cattle generally are in the centre of the field, a bare spot,—made bare by its repeated use for this purpose,—to which the bullocks go when they are told, and on which they stand quietly till the operation of cutting out is over. On the occasion on which I was assisting, the owner himself was the "cutter out." He rode in among the herd, and selecting with his eye some animal sufficiently obese for market purposes, signified to the doomed one that he should leave the herd. There was a stock-rider to assist him, and the stock-rider also signified his intention. It seemed to be done altogether by the eye. The beast went out and stood apart, till he was joined by a second selected one and then by a third. On this occasion some thirty or forty were selected,—either as many as were fit or as the owner desired to sell. These were at once driven off on the way to Melbourne, and the others were allowed to go back to their grazing. I had looked for racing, and cracking of stock-whips, and horses falling, and some wild work among the forest trees. I would not knowingly have left my bed at four o'clock to see so tame a performance. At least for half its distance the road up to Melbourne is *not fenced off* from the timber, and consists of devious *forest tracts;* but these tame brutes never make their

way out into the woods on the journey, as they might do.

Sale, the capital of Gipps Land, is a pleasant little town, with about 2,000 inhabitants, with three banks, and innumerable hotels. Australia is certainly the country for bankers. The buildings are generally magnificent, and so also are the profits. I do not wish to be understood to say that the architecture at Sale was gorgeous;—but the establishments were on such a scale as might perhaps suit a town with 20,000 inhabitants at home. I am afraid that the success of banks does not always afford proof of the stability of their customers. Banks lend money, but in Australia I am told they usually require security. On these they foreclose, and one knows all about the country that this or that station belongs to the Great Eastern, or Great Western, or Great Northern Bank. Of course it is well that money should be set afloat through the country; but, nevertheless, one learns to dread the banks as great ogres which very quickly eat up little men. Besides the banks and hotels there was nothing specially of notice in the town of Sale.

My friend and I bought two horses and two saddles, and started from Rosedale on our journey to the mines. We had met some influential gentlemen of the district—a judge, a resident magistrate, and an inspector of police—who were united in their assurance that if we went without a guide we should certainly be lost in the bush. Now my friend was a man of mark, whose loss would have been severely felt by the colony, and for his security we were furnished with a mounted trooper, or policeman, to show us our way, and generally take care of us on our *expedition. We certainly* needed him, and, as I be-

lieve, would have been sleeping now in some Gipps Land gully but for his assistance. Our first day's march was to Walhalla, a mining town of great wealth to which there is literally no road. Our journey was one of about forty miles;—for the latter half of it, continuously through forests, and as continuously up and down mountains. These were so steep that it was often impossible to sit on horseback. As the weather was very hot our toil was great, and I shall never forget the welcome with which I greeted the beer-shop on the Thompson River. The scenery through these mountains is magnificent,—when it can be seen. But such is the continuity and contiguity of the trees, that it becomes impossible for miles together to see either the hilltops or the depths of the valleys. Going down to the Thompson River, and again down into Walhalla, we found it to be impossible to ride; and yet we knew that immense masses of machinery had been taken down by bullocks for the use of the miners. We were told that very many bullocks had been destroyed at the work. I could not have believed that there had been such a traffic across the mountains and through the forests, had I not afterwards seen the things at Walhalla.

At last we got to the place, very tired and very footsore, and had bedrooms allocated to us in the hotel close to the quartz-crushing machine, which goes on day and night eating up the rock which is dragged forth from the bowels of the earth. The noisy monster continued his voracious meal without cessation for a moment, so that sleep was out of the question. To the residents of the inn the effect was simply somniferous. Their complaint was that from twelve o'clock on Saturday night when the monster begins to keep his Sabbath, *to twelve o'clock* on Sunday night when his religious

observances are over, the air is so burdened by silence that they can neither talk by day nor sleep by night.

The mining town which has been dignified by the name of Walhalla lies at the bottom of a gully from which the wooded sides rise steeply. Through it meanders a stream which is now, of course, contaminated by the diggings, and pumpings, and gold-washing, and quartz-crushing, which have befallen the locality. Nevertheless it has a peculiar beauty of its own, and a picturesque interest arising in part from the wooded hills which so closely overhang it,—but partly also from the quaintness of a town so placed. The buildings, consisting of banks, churches, schools, hotels, managers' houses, and miners' cottages, lie along the stream, or are perched up on low altitudes among the trees. There is something like a winding street through it, which is nearly a mile long, —though indeed it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between the river and the street; but there is no road to it from any place in the world;—and even the tracks by which it is to be left are not easy of discovery. We went down to it by the "Little Joe," the Little Joe being a hill-side, and I hope I may never have to go down the Little Joe again with a tired horse behind me. We left it by a path as steep, and so hidden that we should never have found it without a guide. As it was the mayor conducted us out of Walhalla with some solemnity.

And yet in this singular place there are, or seem to be, congregated all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life. There was a pianoforte in the hotel sitting-room, and framed pictures hanging on the wall,—just as there might be in Birmingham. And there was a billiard-table, — at which unwashed earth-soiled diggers were playing, and playing, too, very well. At what cost must the *pianoforte and the billiard*-table have been brought

down the mountain track! Nevertheless the charge for billiards was no more than sixpence a game; and no charge whatever was made for the piano!

The great mine at Walhalla when I was there was the Long Tunnel. Shares in the Long Tunnel were hardly to be had for money; but, bought even at most exaggerated prices, gave almost endless interest. I went down the Long Tunnel,—and came up again. As usual I found below a dirty grubbing world. Men were earning between £2 and £3 a week, living hardly,—though always plenteously; and speculating in gold with their savings. But here, as elsewhere, they were courteous and kind. Their children are all educated, and if churches and meeting-houses may be taken as a proof of religion they are religious. I was told that the place contained about 1,500 inhabitants. I cannot repeat too often that I have never met more courteous men than the gold-miners of Australia.

We stayed but one night, and then proceeded on our journey, still taking our mounted guide, and for the first ten miles were under the special guardianship of the mayor,—who was to be looked upon, I was told, as a deputation from the town in honour of my friend. A very pleasant fellow we found the Mayor of Walhalla, and we parted from him in great kindness, even though he did lose the way in the forest, and take us, all for nothing, up and down one mountain side. When he parted from us our trusty trooper was a safer guide. This man was, I believe, no more than an ordinary policeman. The rural policemen of the colonies, who have to pass over wide districts, are all mounted. But they carry themselves higher, and stand much higher *among their* fellow-citizens, than do the men of the same *class with* us. We are apt to separate men into two

lasses,—and define each man by saying that he is or hat he is not a gentleman. This man was a private oliceman. Had I not known the fact I should have aken him for a gentleman. Even as it is I rather think hat I regard him in that light. He was a fine, power- ul fellow, well mannered, able to talk on all subjects, xtremely courteous,—and he amused us greatly by ex- laining to us why it was that a policeman must be lways more than a match for at any rate two rogues. He was an Irishman,—of course. In the colonies those who make money are generally Scotchmen, and those who do not are mostly Irishmen. He had probably ome out because his family could do nothing for him t home. I hope that he may live to be General-in- Chief of the Victorian police. He took us through the nountains to an old and apparently worn-out diggings alled Edwards' Reef,—a miserable, melancholy place, urrounded by interminable forests, in which unhappy iggers had sunk holes here and there, so that one vondered that the children did not all perish by falling nto them. But even at Edwards' Reef there was an otel, though I was at a loss to imagine by whom it ould be supported. It was a large wooden building, ow nearly falling to the ground; though doubtless it ad once been alive with the sound of miners' voices in he days when there was gold in those quarters.

From Edwards' Reef we went on to Woods Point, aving changed our policeman. It seemed that the nagistrates had ordered that we should be taken in afety as far as the latter place. We passed another lay in traversing endless forests, and in ascending and lescending ravines. We crossed the top of Mount Use- ul, of which, however, I make no boast as a mountain, cknowledging that it only claims to be 5,300 feet high.

Had it been double the height the mist on the top of it could not have been thicker. Here and there, in the densest parts of the forests, we came on the old tracks of miners, finding the holes which they had dug in search of gold. How many a heart must have been broken,—how many a back nearly broken, among these mountains! The ascents and descents here were very steep, and on one occasion we submitted to be pulled up, hanging on to our horses' tails,—an operation which I had not seen since I hunted, many years ago, in Carmarthenshire. On this journey we had an adventure. At an inn among the mountains,—for here and there one comes upon an inn, though there are no roads,—we found two girls who were desirous of going to a wedding which was to be held in a neighbouring gully. Luckily, or perhaps unluckily, the mounted mailman came up, driving two spare horses before him. So the girls at once borrowed the horses, and the inn afforded one side-saddle. The girl who mounted without the side-saddle rode well, and might have reached the wedding triumphantly; but the other was somewhat at fault, even with the side-saddle. She was bold enough, but had probably never been on horseback before. We had gone on during the trouble of the saddle, as there appeared to be some bashfulness in completing the arrangement; but before long the poor maiden's steed was after us. He had run away with her, and for a moment or two I thought she must have perished among the trees,—but as the beast passed us he shied, and deposited his burden close at the feet of the horse I was riding. She was shaken, for awhile speechless, soiled, and wretched; but before long she proclaimed her intention of walking to the wedding. The distance was not *above six* miles through the woods. The other girl like

friend dismounted, that she might walk with her
nion, and the mailman with his spare horses pro-
on with us to Jericho.
icho was another digging town, down in a gully,
ch men were grubbing for gold, scooping out
oles in and near the bed of the river. The great
rose steep on each side, and the place was
picturesque. We were told that Jericho not
nce had been a prosperous place for gold-seekers.
we ascended a hill to Matlock, another gold-
town, very high up, very bleak, and the most
ed place I ever saw. Some one there declared
atlock was the highest inhabited spot in Victoria.
as in February, a summer month;—but even then
d was intense. There is no gold now at Matlock,
could not understand what induced the few un-
te inhabitants to remain there. Though it is a
t thing to establish a town or village, it is still
lifficult to disestablish it. But Matlock will soon
blish itself under the effect of the winds of heaven.
Matlock we descended four miles into Woods

oods Point is a gold-field of great importance,—
great importance indeed in the estimation of
oods-Pointers. It has been very rich, and is still
ing gold in remunerating quantities. But I met
e gold-seekers so wedded to gold as were the
of Woods Point. I was allowed the privilege of
with some of the great men of the place, and I
t that I should hardly have been permitted to
he room alive, because I expressed an opinion
ool was of more importance to the colonies gener-
an the *precious metal*, which I found to be so
ed at this place. Oh, men of Woods Point, if

ever these words should meet your ears, know how utterly unconvinced I was by your oratory, though in arguments I was unable to stand up against the fervour of your eloquence! At Woods Point I inspected a mine, but contented myself with inspecting it from the surface. Every opportunity, however, was given me to go below, had I chosen to avail myself of the courtesy of my conductors.

Woods Point, like Walhalla, is a gully or ravine,—though less singular than Walhalla, because there is a coach-road running through it. The scenery around it is very lovely,—so much so as to inspire a feeling of sorrow that so much beauty should be desecrated by miners. Altogether the beauty of the country through which we had passed, and through which we did pass on our way back to Melbourne, contradicted the too general assertion that Australia is destitute of lovely scenery.

Three days more, with a pleasant rest at a friend's house on the road, — as to which I have spoken in another chapter, referring to the Yering wine,—brought us back to Melbourne. On the way down we passed through a country now well known for its enormous trees,—all gum-trees of various sorts, or Eucalypti as they are called by the learned. At the land office in Melbourne I heard tidings of one enormous tree which had lately been discovered in this region, prostrate over a river-bed, and of which the remaining portion,—for the head had been broken off in the fall,—measured 435 ft. in length. The gentleman by whom this monster was found had been sent out by the commissioners of lands to inspect the timber in the ranges of the watershed of the Watts River, and a copy of his report was published in one of the Melbourne newspapers. It is, I

believe, now admitted that the gum-trees of this district are the highest trees yet found in the world, surpassing altogether those world-famed productions of California, which have for a while been regarded as the kings of the forest. I believe I am right in asserting that no other measured trunk has been found equal in length to that above recorded. I reprint, in Appendix, Vol. II. No. 2, a copy of the official report made on the subject.

At Melbourne I sold my horse and saddle for £3 10*s*. less than I had given for them, and I thought that I had made my journey with sufficient economy.

CHAPTER VII.

Land.

I HAVE spoken of the disposition of waste or crown lands in regard to Queensland and New South Wales, and will continue the narration in reference to the other Australasian colonies. In doing so it will be my chief object to explain the terms on which land can at present be bought, or hired, from the local authorities who represent the Crown in the different colonies. The still unalienated lands of Australia,—by which term is included the great bulk of the Australian continent,—did belong to the British Crown till the period at which the colonies commenced the task of self-government. Then each colony took possession of its own land, relieving the Crown,—or in other words the taxpayers of Great Britain,—of the expense of colonial government in return for that concession. From that time the existing governments of the day have administered the land as trustees for the people of the colonies in conformity,—or, as

some allege, not always in conformity,—with the land laws as passed by the different colonial parliaments.

That is, I think, after a rough fashion a correct statement of the manner in which the question of the disposition of Australian lands has been treated. But the subject is one full of complications, and for its thorough understanding demands the close study of some British Acts of Parliament, and of very many colonial land laws. I am aware of no general British Act of Parliament regulating the sale of waste lands in Australia, prior to that passed on June 22nd, 1842. By that Act the power of the Crown to alienate the lands was limited,—or I might almost say abrogated. With certain exceptions made on behalf of the public service, "the Crown shall not alienate these lands, unless by way of sale, nor unless such sales be conducted in the manner and according to the regulations hereinafter prescribed." Previously to that date, grants had been made at the discretion of the Crown or of the governor, and sales had been made either by auction, or at fixed price,—generally 20*s.* an acre,—in accordance with the same discretion. But long before 1842, a great interest had grown up in Australia, which though certainly dependent on the land, did not require its alienation;—which was indeed in its effects altogether opposed to its alienation. In 1803, Captain Macarthur, who had been employed as a soldier in New South Wales, first proposed to the government the importation of sheep and the growth of wool. If the government would grant the land, then absolutely useless, he would, at his own risk, import the sheep. Grants of land were made to Macarthur, and his scheme was pre-eminently successful. There may be a doubt whom we should regard as the first discoverer of gold in Australia, but there is no

doubt that we are indebted to Captain Macarthur for the great staple of that country,—for that which was its staple before men had dreamed of Australian gold,—and for that which probably will be its chief staple again, when gold shall have either been worked out, or, as is more probable, shall have become less valuable than wool. Captain Macarthur at first asked, not for possession of land, but for "permission to occupy a sufficient tract of unoccupied lands to feed his flocks."

Mr. William Campbell, of the Legislative Council of Victoria, in an indignant protest published by him against the legislation of his colony in regard of land, thus describes the commencement of those pastoral leases by which squatters first held their somewhat precarious property:

"Others," he says, "followed his,"—Captain Macarthur's,—"example; the lands were lying waste; the government very wisely encouraged their occupation, and licensed any free and respectable person who desired to occupy them. Commissioners were appointed to manage these waste lands, and the occupants voluntarily paid an assessment to defray the commissioners' expenses, and that of the police under their direction;—so that their occupation might not cost the government anything. But in the course of time, when nearly all the lands within a penetrable distance were occupied, great evils were experienced from the arbitrary acts of these functionaries, who assumed great power in defining the extent of runs by lessening one run in order to enlarge another. They were accused of receiving bribes, and of acting very unfairly between man and man. The occupants were powerless against the government, as they had only an annual licence. They could not be otherwise than dissatisfied. They required a better tenure to secure them against the irresponsible acts of an arbitrary governor and his needy subordinates. They agitated their grievances, and ultimately obtained an equitable title to a lease upon definite terms,—with a preferable right to purchase at a fair value. They obtained that title through an Act of Parliament,"—an act, that is, of the Imperial Parliament,—"and an Order of her Majesty in Council. They were grateful for that boon granted to them, and were encouraged to improve their property under the fullest confidence that the promise of the Queen under the sanction of the Imperial Parliament would be held sacred. In this, however, they have been much disappointed; as her Majesty's representative in Victoria violated that promise, by refusing to give the occupant of crown lands the stipulated pre-emptive right, and otherwise illegally disposed of such lands to their prejudice."

The work from *which I* quote was published as long

ago as 1855, at which time Mr. Campbell represented very accurately the state of the Australian squatter's mind. That mind has been in no degree altered since. As Mr. Campbell and the squatters felt then, Mr. Campbell and the squatters feel now. In the above passage Mr. Campbell speaks of the squatting interest of the Australian continent generally. When the Order in Council above referred to was made, both Victoria and Queensland,—under the names of Port Phillip and Moreton Bay,—were parts of the great colony of New South Wales, and the order, therefore, was supposed to govern the pastoral interest of the whole territory now comprised in these three colonies. But the edge of Mr. Campbell's sword is specially sharpened against Mr. La Trobe, the first governor of Victoria, who was thought by him to have violated that Order in Council on behalf of the small farmers or free-selecters; and the swords of the Victorian squatters generally have been sharpened against the Victorian legislatures since Mr. La Trobe's days on the same ground,—under a biting, burning, overwhelming conviction, not only that their interests, but also that their rights, have been sacrificed to a thirst for popularity. As Mr. La Trobe was supposed, by the squatters, to have been unjust in order that he might propitiate the growing numbers of the agricultural interest as opposed to the pastoral interest, so succeeding legislators and succeeding cabinets have been supposed to be unjust in order that they might obtain the votes of the people. Indignation is the general tone of the Australian squatter's mind, and especially of the Victorian squatter's mind;—indignation such as glowed in the bosom of the old Duke of Newcastle when he asked *whether he might* not do as he liked with his own; that *indignation* which the aristocrat feels all the world over

when he dreads that his heels will be wounded by the clouted toe of the aggressive peasant. In the old country men are reticent, and the indignation is expressed only among peers in fortune and in misfortune. When doors are closed, and the claret circulates, and all are azure blue, men lapped in luxury, and so secure in their possessions that they are content to hold them though giving but two per cent. for their capital, mourn together painfully and with feigned horrors speculate on the coming of an imaginary chaos. Among the squatters of Australia the spirit of the men is the same, but the lamentations are loud and public. In both countries they who lament are the rich ones of the earth. In both countries real wealth has made itself secure, having the power which wealth always possesses of fortifying itself against aggression; and in both cases the basis of that wealth is the possession of land.

Mr. Campbell, I think, makes out his case,—as I intend to endeavour to explain. He and the other squatters were unjustly used;—were, I would say, illegally deprived of their rights, were it not the deprivation was effected by law. I conceive it to be impossible to examine the matter without coming to the conclusion that the squatters, at any rate in Victoria, were barred by the colonial government and colonial legislature from entering in upon certain privileges promised to them by a British Order in Council founded on an Act of the British Parliament,—in full confidence upon which promises they had expended their energies and their money. But a man may be defrauded of a portion of his gains and still have so much left to him as to induce an outside observer to think that the country in which he has been able to accumulate so much so quickly, and to conserve so vast a proportion of what

he has accumulated, has been a blessed country to him. Such I conceive to be the condition of the Victorian squatter,—of the man who was a squatter but is now a huge territorial landowner. He has been injured. But he has been too great to be much affected by such injury; and in spite of governors, in spite of laws, in spite of would-be-popular cabinet ministers, and tribes of voters, he rides triumphant on the top of the tide.

I have alluded to the law of 1842, passed by the British Parliament in reference to Australian lands, as barring the power of the Crown to give away the crown lands at its pleasure, or to sell them except in accordance with certain fixed rules. I have also alluded to a further Act of the Imperial Parliament and to an Order in Council founded upon it, as being the basis on which the Australian squatters generally, and especially those of Victoria, rested for that security which they think has been denied to them. This Act bears date 28th August, 1846, the Order in Council 9th March, 1847,—and they provide especially for the lease of lands in New South Wales. They state the terms on which squatters will be allowed to run their flocks on the public unalienated lands in that colony, which then included both the Victoria and the Queensland of the present day.

This Order, which had and has all the strength of an Act of Parliament, having been issued in conformity with the express injunctions of an Act of Parliament, divides the public lands into three classes,—a settled district, an intermediate district, and an unsettled district, and it describes, as accurately as it can do, by the names of towns, counties, and rivers, the boundaries of *each.* Our concern at present is with the unsettled *districts,* over which, more extensively from year to year,

the Australian wool-growers run their flocks of sheep. The settled districts consisted chiefly of lands lying contiguous to towns or townships, and did not much concern the squatter. The intermediate districts were wider and did concern the squatter,—but as to them he makes no complaint. The Order in Council enacted that in using such land he should practically have no more than one year's tenure. If he chose to occupy such land with his sheep,—and these lands were so occupied almost exclusively,—he did so with the knowledge that any portion of them might be thrown open to sale at a year's notice. They were thrown open for sale, and have been purchased chiefly by the squatters themselves. In regard to the unsettled districts it stipulates that the squatters shall have a lease of fourteen years, that they shall pay a rental calculated at the rate of £2 10*s.* per thousand sheep for such a number as the run may by survey be computed to be able to carry, that during their leases and at the end of their leases they shall have a "pre-emptive" right of purchase at some price not less than 20*s.* an acre, and that "during the continuance of any lease of lands occupied as a run, the same shall not be open to purchase by any other person or persons except the lessee thereof." The governor, however, has reserved to him the power of selling or otherwise disposing of any special portion of land, the sale or alienation of which by other means may be required for the public good. It can be sold, for instance, if wanted for a village, for a railway, for a church or school, for a mine, "or for any other purpose of public defence, safety, utility, convenience, or enjoyment, or for otherwise facilitating the improvement and settlement of the colony." *"Hinc illæ lachrymæ."* These words are *very wide,—and from* the extreme latitude given to

them, or rather imposed on them, by governors, colonial cabinet ministers, and legislators, have come the wailings and moanings of which Mr. Campbell eighteen years since was the eloquent expositor, and which are still heard at large through the colony.

I think that no man of common sense who understands the ordinary meaning of words, can doubt that the Order in Council intended to defend the lands leased to the squatters from all sale except when special plots were required for special purposes. It was not intended that the land should be thrown open to sale generally, in order that the improvement and settlement of the colony might be facilitated by such proceeding. If so, why all these words? If so, why defend the squatters at all from the aggression of purchasers by a special Act of Parliament, and a special Order in Council? The Act of 1846, and the Order in Council founded on it, may have been injudicious in conferring privileges with too open a hand upon the squatters. I think myself that such was the case. But the favours were conferred;—and in any further operations either of the imperial or colonial parliaments the rights so given should have been regarded as far as the vested interests of the existing holders were concerned. It was surely a quibble to say that any governor,—as long as the governors were the responsible agents,—or any land minister when ministers were responsible,—could sell these lands without doing violence to the Order in Council, because they were empowered to do so by the clause in reference to the improvement and settlement of the colony.

But this was done. The lands were put up to sale, *because,* as was asserted, townships would be beneficial

and it was expedient that there should be land to be had for agricultural purposes in the neighbourhood of townships. My sympathies are all on behalf of the townships and the agricultural lands. But a bargain is a bargain, and a law is a law; and one's sense of justice is offended by any escape from a bargain or from a law by a verbal quibble. The nature of the quibble and the ease with which an Act of Parliament may be thrown open to a coach and horses, is made ludicrously apparent by a legal opinion which the squatters got from our side of the water. They were much enraged, and determined to defend themselves, if there could be any defence, in the courts of law. So they sent home for an opinion to no less a person and no less a lawyer than our present Lord Chancellor, who was then Mr. Roundell Palmer. Probably the opinion of no English lawyer on such a subject would carry more confidence than his. Mr. Palmer's opinion was as follows:—

"I am of opinion that Mr. Forlonge"—Mr. Forlonge's case having been that which was chosen for reference—"has a clear and indisputable right to the leases; but inasmuch as they are to be granted by the authority of the governor, who represents the Crown, and no form of judicial proceeding against the governor is provided by the Act of Parliament, or by the regulations, I do not think he has a specific remedy to compel the execution of such leases. At present, however, he has a complete equitable title, which the courts of justice in the colony would, I conceive, be bound and authorised to recognise, and to protest against any illegal encroachments, whether by the executive government or by private persons.

"I am clearly of opinion that neither of the sections referred to gives the governor power to withdraw any part of the runs in question—assuming, as I do, that no forfeiture has taken place—for the purposes of sale to private persons.

"I think Mr. Forlonge will be entitled to the right of pre-emption under sixth section.

"There is no course open for Mr. Forlonge, that I am aware of, except to appeal to the courts of justice in case of any illegal disturbance of his possessions.

" ROUNDELL PALMER.

"*Lincoln's Inn, 26th July*, 1853."

From this I think it will be manifest that, though Mr. Palmer *held a strong opinion* on Mr. Forlonge's *rights, he was very far from* being assured of Mr. For-

longe's power to enforce those rights. There can be no doubt of Mr. Forlonge's rights, and as little that he was not able to enforce them.

Mr. Campbell quotes with evident glee another opinion equally in his favour, and that from an enemy,—and, as it happens, from a person almost as great in the world as our present Lord Chancellor, namely, from our present Chancellor of the Exchequer. But he appeals to Mr. Lowe as to an enemy, and shows what evidence he can adduce to support his own views even from a foe. Mr. Lowe, when a colonist, was supposed to be inimical to the views of the squatters, and disapproved of the passing of the Act of 1846 and the Order in Council founded upon it. From an address which he made in 1847, Mr. Campbell quotes the following passage:—"Once grant these leases, and beyond the settled districts there will be no land to be sold. The lessees will have a right to hold these lands till some one will give £1 an acre for them. These leases cannot be sold, mortgaged, or sublet. Be the capabilities of these lands what they may, they are to be sheep-walks for ever." It was clearly Mr. Lowe's opinion, when he spoke those words, that the squatters would be protected by the Order in Council against disturbance from purchasers, and that they would enjoy the right of pre-emption themselves if that Order were made. But the opinions held by Mr. Lowe as a politician, and expressed by Mr. Roundell Palmer as a lawyer, have been of no avail. The Order in Council was disregarded, and the free-selecters were let in upon the lands of the squatters.

I doubt much whether it will now be worth the while of any ordinary English reader to trouble himself *with these matters*. The chief of the lands of Victoria *have settled* themselves down into the hands of an-

doubted owners,—and as to what remains, the present law, though it may be arbitrary, is clear. Mr. Campbell and his associate squatters cannot now gain anything,—and are as little likely to lose anything,—by the future doings of the colonial legislature. Lord Selborne's opinion and Mr. Lowe's oratory are equally inefficacious. The thing is a thing completed. But it is impossible to understand the completion without looking back to the manner in which it was accomplished. In the Australian colonies there is growing up a rich landed aristocracy, already surrounding itself with all the feelings which attach to land in the old country. Captain Macarthur, with his first importation of sheep, might be said to be the creator of this condition of things, were it not that it is a condition peculiarly conformable to the English mind in general, so that it was in truth created to hand before Captain Macarthur ever owned a sheep. It is clear that such feelings would be fostered and brought into prominence by a pastoral and therefore patriarchal life. Squatter added himself to squatter, often suffering much, sometimes going quite to the wall, struggling frequently with untoward circumstances,—with insufficient capital, with clever and greedy merchants, with insolent servants, with unforeseen causes of decay among his flocks,—sometimes with ill-conduct, idleness, profligacy, and extravagance on his own part; but his lot, on the whole, was a blessed lot, and he prospered marvellously. For a while it did seem as though the whole country would fall into his hands, and that the people of Australia would consist of squatters and their servants. Very much has been said, and is repeated from day to day, of what is due to the squatters as the pioneers of Australian civilisation. *I do not* think very much of the *claim. When a man encounters* danger manifestly for

the sake of others, — that knowledge may grow and science progress, and the world be opened to new comers, as did such men as Columbus and Cook, as many Australian explorers did, as Livingstone is now doing,—he is entitled to public recognition and honour. But he can hardly with justice put forward the same claim because he seeks fortune for himself in stormy paths. He probably counts his chances, and, seeing personal security with ten per cent. at home, with forty per cent. and not improbable annihilation at the hands of a savage at the Antipodes, chooses forty per cent. and the Antipodes with his eyes open. I admire his courage, and applaud his decision. But I cannot admit his claim as a great public benefactor, because he has thriven and others have followed him. He has his reward. It is the reward which honest, energetic men should seek. But I have heard the Australian squatter, when discussing these matters, continually assert that he and his interests should be especially regarded, because he has been the pioneer of the country. He has been the pioneer of his own fortune; and I have been rejoiced to find how often that fortune has been noble and even princely.

The Order in Council, of which I have spoken so often, was clearly made in the interests of the squatters, and was therefore, of course, objectionable to the anti-squatting interests. In my own opinion it was not judicious. If followed to the letter it would, as Mr. Lowe said, have barred the land against new comers, and have perpetuated wool-growing upon soil adapted for purposes more beneficial to mankind at large. I do not *think* that there was any just claim at the time on the *part of the* squatters to such favours as were conferred *upon them.* The first object of the mother country, as

f those to whose hands were confided for the time the uty of legislating for the colonies, was to prepare homes or the increasing hordes of colonists. The wool-growers ad spread themselves over lands which did not belong o them, and which they occupied,—no doubt with roper sanction,—as waste lands. Three acres to a heep, which sheep would produce annually about 5*s.* orth of wool, may be taken as a fair statement of the ondition of their affairs. As long as land could be onverted to no better purpose it was well that it should erve this purpose. As far as we can see at present, a ery large proportion of the lands of Australia can be ade to serve no better purpose. It is doubtless a fact hat Australia first grew to prosperity by means of wool. t the present moment, in the very midst of the pride hich she feels in her gold-fields, I put more confidence n her wool than I do in her gold. I look upon the ool-growers of Australia as her aristocracy, her gentry, er strong men, her back-bone. But in managing the ffairs of this world, I do not like the theory of giving o those who have got much, and taking away from hose who have got nothing. If in 1847 the general elfare of the colonists demanded that the lands of the olony should be thrown open to general sale, there was ertainly nothing specially due to the squatters which hould have interfered with such a policy.

It must be remembered that a system of leases to he squatters was quite compatible with a system of ree-selection and open sale, that such a combination is ow the law, with various modified circumstances, in the ifferent Australian colonies, and that under it the squat-ers have grown rich and thriven,—unless when shut out rom success *by other circumstances*, such as want of *apital. The free-selecter will* not select land service-

able only for pastoral purposes, or will ruin himself at once if he do so. He selects patches of land, and leaves the wild boundless prairies to the squatter. No doubt in Victoria the land has been bought up very much more extensively than in the other colonies; but the history of these sales proves two points, both of which militate against the squatter's plaintive view of the matter. It shows that very much of the land was fit for higher than pastoral purposes, and that therefore the adapting of it to such higher purposes was proper. And it shows also that the prosperity of the squatters had not been seriously damaged, as they themselves have been the great purchasers of land from one end of the colony to the other.

The Act of Parliament of 1846, and the Order in Council of the following year, were surely issued in a spirit of unnecessary tenderness for the squatter. The result of this tenderness was disobedience to their spirit. The colony of Victoria, whether by its governor, or subsequently by its own parliament, upset the Order in Council. Our great English lawyer declared very plainly the strength of Mr. Forlonge's undoubted legal rights. But Mr. Forlonge and his brethren did not get their legal rights. They only got what should have been their rights. That such a course has in the long run been greatly for the advantage of the squatters will hardly be doubted by a looker-on from a distance. No law can render permanent injustice endurable to a community. As it is the squatters hold their own, and can hold it with a tight hand. The public feeling that if they have had some favour shown them they have also *had some* disfavour, gives them strength. Nothing ruins *so surely* as uninterrupted and partial privileges. No*thing strengthens* so healthily as bearable wrongs. The

ctorian squatter has suffered no more than parental
urges.

But indeed the Victorian squatter has almost ceased exist,—for the squatter, properly so-called, is he who is his flocks upon crown lands. The Victorian wool-ower has generally purchased his run and owns it in ,—as does also the Victorian grazier, who is as great man as the wool-grower. Were I to attempt to scribe the manner in which the lands of the colony ve been purchased, I might devote a volume to the ject, and years to the study of it before I could write volume. It seems to have been the object of the islature to prevent the absorption of large tracts of d by great capitalists, and to create a yeomanry pos-sing freeholds. The result has been directly opposite the intended purpose. The yeomanry, such as it is, n hardly as yet be regarded as a prosperous people. eir lands pass frequently from hand to hand. But, the other hand, a strong race of territorial magnates s created itself, so wealthy and so extensive that the litical power of the country is inefficacious against m. Laws have been passed with the express inten-n of keeping the lands out of the squatters' hands. vertheless the squatters have bought the lands. There ve been subterfuges, chicanery, bribery, the driving of ny coaches through many Acts of Parliament. The natters no doubt have been subjected to cruel ill-usage a tribe of land-sharks. Men have lived and made tunes by threatening to bid for land against the squat-s, unless paid exorbitantly for bidding on their be-lf. The poor squatters have bled at all pores. But they ve had the blood to give, and now they own the land.

I have said that the lands of Victoria have been for *most part sold. This, no doubt,* is the case in regard

to the colony at large, and the traveller as he travels through the better known and better cultivated parts of it,—especially those western regions which were at one time called Australia Felix,—will find that he passes from one property to another, much in the same fashion as he will do at home. But Victoria is a large place, and there is still very much land open for purchase from the government. The existing law under which land can be bought is as follows:—

The intending purchaser, having selected his block of land, which must not exceed half a square mile, or 320 acres, applies for a licence to occupy it for three years as a tenant at a rent of 2*s.* an acre. The law states that this licence may be granted by the governor, but in fact the power rests with a member of the cabinet, who is called the Commissioner of Lands. One half-year's rent must be paid in advance, and for the three years he continues to pay at the rate of 2*s.* an acre. At the end of the three years, provided the selecter shall then have fenced his land and have cultivated one-tenth of it, he can become the freeholder by paying 14*s.* an acre down, or he can continue to pay a rental for seven years at the rate of 2*s.* an acre, at the end of which time the land will be his. He thus pays a rental of 2*s.* an acre for ten years, and then becomes the owner of the land without further purchase-money. The terms are very easy, and it is certain that there is still land to be bought in Victoria on those terms, which is worth much more than the money required for it. But there are two difficulties in the way of the free-selecter;—he may not know how to choose his land, and, when he has made his choice, his application may be unsuccessful.

That many men choose amiss in this colony and *others* is too true. They are in a hurry for possession.

They do not know the circumstances of the country or district which affect the land,—such as the prevalence of drought, the prevalence of rust in the wheat, the difficulty of finding a market, the cost of labour, and the like. They have no friend capable of giving counsel, or,—more probably,—they have a friend who has some interest of his own in the transaction. One's heart bleeds at hearing of the unfortunate purchases sometimes made by new comers, and one thinks of Cairo and Martin Chuzzlewit. As to that want of success in the application, I feel that I tread on somewhat delicate ground in alluding to it. One supposes naturally that if the applicant comply with all the required stipulations and have his money in his hands, he will be successful as a matter of course. Why not? And if he be not so, on what ground and in whose bosom shall rest the decision of granting this application and refusing that? I must say that if there be no other ground than that of fitness,—if nothing else than the character and means of the applicant be considered in granting and refusing these applications,—the minister of the day who happens to be commissioner of lands, is at the same time the best and the worst abused man in the colony. It is asserted everywhere that the sales of land are effected with direct reference to political support, and that it would be impossible for a land minister to carry on his work in the colony on any other basis. This system of political corruption, of using the patronage and discretion of the government to bolster up the power of the government, from which we are only now emerging at home, is in truth so rampant in Victoria that honest men,—in no wise concerned in the matter, but who have become used to it by daily observation,—have learned to *think* that it is a necessary part *of government*. *Remembering* how offices in England

were given away in my own time, how some are given still, solely on the score of political subserviency, I do not feel justified in expressing great indignation at this practice in the colonies. It will doubtless pass away. But the wrongful exercise of patronage in a young colony is a much smaller fault than an unjust political manipulation in the distribution of public lands.

It is especially stipulated by the Victorian land law that no one person, either in his own name or that of another, shall select and purchase above 320 acres,—the object being to prevent the accumulation of large landed estates. But the clause has been constantly set at nought. If I buy one section for myself, and nine other adjacent sections through the friendly assistance of nine "dummies," as they are called, how can a land commissioner, with a whole colony on his hands, discern the fraud? And if I be true to the party which have put him into office, why should he wish to discern it? Without a doubt the squatters themselves, who are loud against the lawlessness of Victorian legislation, have been the most constant in evading the laws. Their success makes it impossible for the stranger to condole with their wrongs. At the end of this volume (App. Nr. 1, Vol. II.) will be found a digest of the present land laws of Victoria, as far as they refer to free-selection. This digest is taken from MacPhaile's Australian Squatting Directory.

They who are still really squatters in Victoria,—who run their sheep on public lands, and not on their own,—now pay a pastoral rent of 8*d.* a sheep, or £33 6*s.* 8*d.* per thousand. The old rental as fixed by the Order in Council in 1847 was £2 10*s.* per thousand. The rental *at present* paid is four times higher than that collected *in either of* the other Australian colonies. But the bulk

f the Victorian wool is grown by men who own the nd which produces it.

I found that the system of landlord and tenant,—ith which we are so familiar at home as almost to have onceived the idea that land cannot be occupied on any ther system,—does prevail in certain parts of Victoria. visited a district in which large wheat farms were held y tenants, and I was told of rents varying from 5*s.* to 5*s.* an acre. But it did not appear that the tenant-rmers were a prosperous class, or that the letting of nd was popular among landowners. In some instances whole property is let with the stock upon it, and I have eard of as much as £10,000 a year being paid for a heep-run with the use of the sheep on it; but in speak-ng of the letting of land of course I do not allude to uch cases as this. The small tenant-farmer in the colo-ies is seldom a man of means. Did he possess capital e would buy his farm. Not possessing capital he cannot ay his rent when bad years come;—and it almost seemed hat, as far as the produce of wheat went, bad years were s common as good years in Victoria. The ground pro-uced enormously,—with most generous vigour, I must ay, considering how little is restored to it. But the cli-nate is uncertain, and the disease called the rust is per-icious. One gentleman, who owned a large tract of orn-bearing land, assured me that he much preferred elling portions of his property, even though the purchase-noney were left on mortgage, to accepting a promise of early rent for the use of his land.

I have said that the public lands are alienated in fee or a rental of 2*s.* an acre for ten years, and that tenant-armers pay rents varying from 5*s.* to 15*s.* an acre,—the ayment of which for *any number* of years gives, of course, *o title to possession.* It is presumed that the reader

will understand that the public, or crown, lands spoken of are uncultivated, unfenced, and probably covered with timber. The farm lands let for the higher rentals named have been brought into cultivation, have been farmed, and are supposed to be capable of bearing corn.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

A WRITER attempting to describe England, and capable of doing so, would fill those chapters with the strongest interest in which he painted the various forms of English country life. He would know, and he would teach his readers, that the English character with its faults and virtues, its prejudices and steadfastness, can be better studied in the mansions of noblemen, in country-houses, in parsonages, in farms and small meaningless towns, than in the great cities, devoted as is London to politics and gaiety, or as are Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, and others like them, to manufactures and commerce. I doubt whether this be so in any other country. France has many aspects, but the Parisian aspect is more French than any other. Italy is to be seen only in her cities. In the United States the towns altogether overrule and subdue the country, so that the traveller who visits America under the most favourable circumstances rarely sees aught of her corn-fields and pastures, except in passing from one great centre of population to another. But the visitors to England who have not sojourned at a country-house, whether it be squire's, parson's, or farmer's, have not seen the most English phase of the country.

The same form and fashion of life is repeating itself in the Australian colonies. The race of farmers, such as are our own well-to-do farmers at home, does not, indeed,

t. The clergy are scattered at long distances, and dly as yet form a distinctive social class,—probably er will do so, as they do in England, and in England y. But the country gentlemen, almost all of whom e originally squatters, have fixed their homes about colony, and have built their houses,—not exactly r the English fashion in regard to architecture, be- se the climate is of a different nature,—but with the glish appurtenances of substantial comfort, with many ns, with gardens, outhouses, and lawns, and with sweep- roads leading through timbered parks to the retired de of the rural magistrate who owns the property. visitor to Australia, who goes there under favour- auspices, will as surely find himself pressed to make home at such country houses, as will the stranger in United States be asked to enjoy the luxurious hos- lity of her rich citizens, either in city mansions or in urban villas. And such a one, if he have time on hands, and can dally with weeks in idleness, may pass n station to station,—from one gentleman's house to ther,—till he will hardly know who has sent him on, n what ground he bases his claim to the hospitality is new friends.

There is perhaps more of this in Victoria than in the r colonies, because the country gentlemen have more oughly established their fortunes there than elsewhere; the same feeling prevails throughout Australia, and same mode of life. They who rise to the top of the ,—or, in other words, the gentry, if I may use a phrase ch is somewhat invidious, but which will be better erstood than any other,—seek to establish country es for themselves; and homesteads of this class have ng up with *incredible rapidity*. Nothing, I think, so *ly declares the wealth* of the colony,—which is not

yet forty years old,—as the solidity of her country life. When the stranger asks whence came these country gentlemen, whom he sees occasionally at the clubs and dinner tables in Melbourne, exactly as he finds those of England up in London during the winter frosts or in the month of May, he is invariably told that they or their fathers made their own fortunes. This man and that and the other came over perhaps from Tasmania, in the early days, joint owners of a small flock of sheep. They generally claim to have suffered every adversity with which Providence and unjust legislators could inflict a wretched victim; and, as the result, each owns so many thousand horned cattle, so many tens of thousand sheep, so many square miles of country, and so many thousands a year. Most of them have, I think, originally come out of Scotland. When you hear an absent acquaintance spoken of as "Mac," you will not at all know who is meant, but you may safely conclude that it is some prosperous individual. Some were butchers, drovers, or shepherds themselves but a few years since. But they now form an established aristocracy, with very conservative feelings, and are quickly becoming as firm a country party as that which is formed by our squirearchy at home.

I was able to speak of country life in New South Wales without reserve, because the small establishment which I described belongs to my own son. In Victoria I visited many houses of infinitely greater pretension, but I fear to speak of any one in particular lest I should commit that great sin,—not always avoided as scrupulously as it should be by travelling authors,—of putting some kind host into a book, with his wife, family, kitchen and cellars. And yet, if it be possible, I would fain let *English* readers know what these houses are, and of what *nature is the* life contained in them. They are generally

less remote from towns than are the habitations of squatters in the other colonies,—the towns being more numerous and the roads more formed. The buildings themselves are generally of two stories,—always having the tropical addition of a verandah, but not erected in that straggling, many-roofed, one-storied fashion which is common to tropical and semi-tropical countries. I like those straggling many-roofed nests of cottages which are common in Queensland and New South Wales. They betoken a gradually increasing prosperity. The squatter builds first a wooden hut which ultimately becomes his kitchen, then a wooden sitting-room and bedroom near to it; then a bigger sitting-room with two small bedrooms, still of wood,—and so on. But when he has realised to himself the fact that he is a rich man he rushes into brick and mortar or stone, and erects a European country house, —with the addition of a wide verandah. This has been done now very generally by the landowners of Victoria. But still the place has rarely all the finished comfort, the easy grace, coming from long habit, which belong to our country seats at home. There is a roughness and a heaviness about it, a want of completion about the gardens, of neatness about the paths, and of close-shorn trimness about the plots and lawns, which strikes the beholder at once, and declares that though the likeness be there, it exists with a difference.

This difference is caused chiefly by the dearness of labour, a fact which influences not only the outside of the Victorian gentleman's house, but also every part of his establishment. Let his means be what they may, he never has the retinue of servants which is to be found in an ordinary English household. The high rate of wages and the difficulty *of getting* persons to accept these high *rates for any considerable* number of months together,

cause even the wealthy to dispense with much of that attendance which is often considered indispensable at home even among families that are not wealthy. On the other hand, certain luxuries are common among Australian families, which few among us can enjoy without stint. He who has a carriage and horses at home is supposed to be a rich man. If a gentleman have daughters fond of riding he will perhaps have one horse for two girls. Young men can hardly hunt unless their fathers be wealthy. But horses on an Australian station are as common as blackberries on English hedges, and the possession of a carriage and pair of horses is as much a matter of course as the possession of a pair of boots. But horses are cheap and servants are dear in Victoria.

I have spoken of sweeping roads through timbered parks. It must not, however, be conceived that I speak of parks such as those which are the glory of our English magnates. The Australian park is hitherto much as nature fashioned it. The trees are the gum-trees which the present resident or his father found there when he first drove his sheep on the pastures which had never yet known the foot of a white man. The grasses round his house he may gradually have changed, and have extirpated those indigenous to the soil by the use of English seeds. The road will probably be somewhat rough, and the fences which divide the paddocks still rougher. He is now a rich man, but he is rich because in all his expenditure he has thought more of a return for his capital than of the adornment of his place. He calls his park a paddock, and he has thought only of the welfare of his stock. But, nevertheless, there is that beauty *about* it which trees and grass, with the sky above them, *always produce*. And the territory is large and spacious, *and all the* magnificence of ownership is there. The man

drives for miles through his own land. He has fortified himself on all sides against free-selecters. All those who frequent the place are his servants or his guests, and of every stranger whom he may see within miles of his house he is entitled to ask why he is there. He exercises a wide hospitality to the poor and the rich, and he is an aristocrat.

I imagine that the life of the Victorian landowner is very much as was that of the English country gentleman a century or a century and a half ago. In those days roads in England were very bad, so that it was a work of trouble to get from one house to another, a distance of twenty miles. Country houses of pretension were not numerous as they are now, and they who owned the halls and granges scattered through the counties rarely moved from their homes. There was great plenty, but of that finished luxury which is now as common in the country as in the capital, there was but little. Roast beef,—or in winter powdered beef,—and October ale were the fare. The men were fond of sport, but they did not go far a-field for it as they do now, hunting in the shires, shooting on the moors, and fishing on all lakes and rivers. They shot over their own lands, and hunted over their own land and that of a few neighbours who would join them. The ladies stayed at home and looked after the house, and much that is now trusted to domestics and stewards was done by the mistress and her daughters, or by the master and his sons. The owners of these country houses were Tories, aristocrats, proud gentlemen;—but they were not fine gentlemen, nor, for the most part, were they gentlemen of fine tastes in art or literature. We know them very well from plays and novels,—and know *something* of them too from history, *as history has of late been written.* The ladies' dresses,

the books, the equipages, the wines, the kitchens, which are now found in English country houses, were in those days known only in the metropolis, or at the castle of some almost royal nobleman. As were country houses and country life then in England, plentiful, proud, prejudiced, given to hospitality, impatient of contradiction, not highly lettered, healthy, industrious, careful of the main chance, thoughtful of the future, and, above all, conscious,—perhaps a little too conscious,—of their own importance, so now is the house and so is the life of the country gentleman in Australia. And as Justice Shallow in times still farther distant was ever anxious as to the price of a good yoke of bullocks or a score of ewes, so does the Australian country gentleman never omit his solicitude concerning those things which have made him what he is. The value of beef in the Melbourne market, and of wool at London, are continually in his thoughts, and as continually on his tongue, even though he may have reached that stage of prosperity which cannot be much affected by the transient rise or fall of prices. He has not at any rate reached that condition,—be it good or bad,—which enables the English country gentleman to drop all outward show of solicitude for the trade in which he is embarked, the trade namely of living upon his land, and to pursue the unruffled tenor of his way as though all good things came to him and were sure to come to him like manna from heaven. The Victorian wool-grower or grazier will be sure to tell you, if you visit him in his own home, what has been his produce of wool, and what prices he has realised for it,—and will take you to his washpool, if he wash his sheep before shearing, and to his wool-shed; or he will *show you his* Durhams and his Herefords, and boast *how he has led* the markets. Out of the full heart the

mouth speaks. He has made himself what he is by his sheep and his oxen, and the sheep and the oxen are still dear to him. His grandson or great-grandson will probably be as outwardly indifferent as an English country gentleman, who is no more given to talk of his rents than a banker is of his profits, and who is concerned wholly, perhaps with his hounds, perhaps with his library, perhaps with his politics, or perhaps with his cook.

I propose to devote a chapter to Australian sports,—which belong quite as much to the towns as they do to the country, and therefore I will say but little of them here. They do not form so prominent a part of country life in the colonies as they do at home, partly because there are not so many idle men, and partly because there has not been as yet so great an expenditure of money with the view of creating sport. As years pass on both these causes will vanish. The idle men will be forthcoming, and game, brought from England, Scotland, and Ireland, will be naturalised in the country. Hares in Victoria will be, I hope, not quite so plentiful as rabbits. There are deer already in the country, and they will soon abound with that prolific increase which seems to attend all animals brought from the old country to these colonies. Duck-shooting is much practised, and ducks abound. Pheasants are already more common in parts of New Zealand than in England, though not so plentiful, and will probably become equally common in Tasmania and Victoria. I despair, however, of fox-hunting. I think it improbable that that most anomalous, most irrational, most exciting, most delightful, and most beneficent sport should thrive elsewhere on the world's surface than in the British Isles. None but the British and Irish farmer will bear the invasion of a troop of

horsemen. None but the British or Irish sportsman can have that tenderness in preserving and that stern perseverance in killing a little vermin, which fox-hunting requires. None but a British or an Irish gentleman can expend thousands in furnishing amusement for an entire county.

The fault of a country home in the Australian colonies is that it furnishes but little employment, and that its ordinary life seems to be antagonistic to industry, at any rate on the part of the visitor. The master of the house is or is not the working manager of his property. If he be so, his time is fully occupied. He is on horseback before breakfast, and seems never to slacken his labours till the evening dews have long fallen. The exclusive care of a large flock of sheep,—which includes breeding, feeding, doctoring, shearing, selling and buying, together with the hiring, feeding, inspection, and payment of a great number of by no means subservient workmen, taxes a man's energies to the utmost. Cattle probably impose less labour, but a man will have his hands fairly full who owns three or four thousand head of cattle, who breeds them by his own judgment, and himself selects them for market. But very many squatters and graziers really manage their properties by deputy. Serviceable men have grown up in their employment, and as years creep on the real work of the run is allowed to fall from their own hands into those of superintendents and overseers. Then the country gentleman, though he still talks of a "score of ewes" as did Justice Shallow, becomes an idle man. He comes down to breakfast at nine, and is impatient for his dinner before six, thinking that the clock must be losing time. The ladies no doubt look after their houses, order lunch and dinner, and superintend the servants. But they seem to be in-

ntly provided with occupations over and above
There is a piano in every house. There are
books,—enough for reading though not enough
rary luxury. There may be croquet out of doors.
are horses to ride; and there is the unlimited
with its magpies, its laughing jackasses, and its
rds, if you be good at walking. But there is no
on made for the passing of time. There is no
of the day at which books fall naturally into the
of men and women. Loitering is common, and
urs too often become foes instead of friends. This
ially the case during the long evenings. I fancy
e same fault might have been found with country
in England a hundred and fifty years ago.
ting and drinking occupy so many of our thoughts,
ontribute so much to the excitement and to the
ment of life, that I feel myself bound to say some-
of the Victorian country gentleman's taste. No
nore plentiful or more hospitable was ever spread.
ef distinctive feature is the similarity of the meals.
reakfast is nearly as substantial as the lunch and
, and between the lunch and dinner it was long
I could find out any difference. Two or three
nts of meat and four or five dishes of vegetables,
lecanters, and not uncommonly a teapot, are com-
both of them. As regarded the time allowed, or
petite, or that addition to appetite which greedi-
rnishes throughout the world, I could not ascertain
ere was any distinction between the two. With
ome the cook never exerts herself,—or himself,—
ch, and is not indeed expected to do so. The
an cook is equally awake all the day long. At
perceived *that at luncheon* there would never be
han two puddings. At dinner the number was

not limited. As a rule, gentlemen in the colonies do not sit long over their wine; and, as a rule, also,—and rules, of course, have their exceptions,—the wine is not worth a long sitting.

But these little details of which I have spoken do but form the outside skin of society, whereas the bones, the muscles, the blood, and the flesh consist of the people themselves. Whether men and women dine at five or at seven, whether they drive out regularly or irregularly, whether they hunt foxes or kangaroos, drink bad wine or good, matters little, in regard to social delights, in comparison with the character, the manners, and the gifts of the men and women themselves. In describing Victorians of the upper classes, and of the two sexes, I would say that both in their defects and their excellences they approach nearer to the American than to the British type. And in this respect the Victorian is distinct from the colonist of New South Wales, who retains more of the John-Bull attributes of the mother country than his younger and more energetic brother in the South. This is visible, I think, quite as much in the women as in the men. I am speaking now especially of those women whom on account of their education and position we should class as ladies; but the remark is equally true to all ranks of society. The maid-servant in Victoria has the pertness, the independence, the mode of asserting by her manner that though she brings you up your hot water, she is just as good as you,—and a good deal better if she be younger,—which is common to the American "helps." But in Victoria, as in the States, the offensiveness of this,—for to us who are old-fashioned it is in a certain degree offensive,—is *compensated* by a certain intelligence and instinctive *good-sense* which convinces the observer that however

much he may suffer, however heavily the young woman may tread upon his toes, she herself has a good time in the world. She is not degraded in her own estimation by her own employment, and has no idea of being humble because she brings you hot water. And when we consider that the young woman serves us for her own purposes, and not for ours, we cannot rationally condemn her. The spirit which has made this bearing so common in the United States,—where indeed it is hardly so universal now as it used to be,—has grown in Victoria and has permeated all classes. One has to look very closely before one can track it out and trace it to be the same in the elegantly equipped daughter of the millionaire who leads the fashion in Melbourne, and in the little housemaid;—but it is the same. The self-dependence, the early intelligence, the absence of reverence, the comtempt for all weakness,—even feminine weakness,—the indifference to the claims of age, the bold self-assertion, have sprung both in the one class and in the other from the rapidity with which success in life has been gained. The class of which I am now specially speaking is an aristocrat class; but it is an aristocracy of yesterday; and the creation of such an aristocracy does away with reverence and puts audacity in its place. The young housemaid does not shake in her shoes before you because you have £10,000 a year, and the young lady has no special respect for you because you are her father's old friend. Her father and her father's friends have had their time. It is her time now. It is for her to stand in the middle and for them to range themselves on one side. She will do her duty by her father and mother,—but she does it as a superior person attending on those who are inferior. To her grandfather and her grandmother she alludes as poor things of the

past, to whom much tenderness is due. But the attention is paid after a fashion which seems to imply that old folk, in the arrangements of life, should not interfere with their betters who are young. Luckily for fathers and grandfathers in Victoria the power of the purse remains with them, otherwise they would I fear be ciphers in the houses that were once their own. The Australian girls and young married women are not cruel, false, or avaricious, and I will not call them Gonerils and Regans; but I have seen old men who have put me in mind of Lear.

There is a manifest difference between women who have come out from England and those who are "colonial-born," which is not at all points in favour of the former. If we are to take personal appearance as the good thing most in request by the female sex, I think that the girls born in the colony have the pre-eminence. As a rule they are very pretty, having delicate sweet complexions, and fine forms. They grow quickly, and are women two years earlier in life than are our girls,—and consequently are old women some five years sooner. They are bright and quick, hardly as yet thoroughly educated, as the means of thorough education for women do not grow up in a new country very readily; but they have all achieved a certain amount of information which they have at their fingers' ends. They never appear to be stupid or ignorant,—because they are never bashful or diffident. We do not criticise very accurately the law as laid down to us by a pretty woman,—being thankful for any law from bright eyes and ruby lips. Sometimes at home we can get no law, no opinion, no rapid outflow of sweet-sounding words,—because some modest sense of the weakness of feminine youth restrains the *speech.* It must be admitted, however, that even at *home this failing* is less general than it used to be.

Women, all the world over, are entitled to everything that chivalry can give them. They should sit while men stand. They should be served while men wait. Men should be silent while they speak. They should be praised,—even without desert. They should be courted, —even when having neither wit nor beauty. They should be worshipped,—even without love. They should be kept harmless while men suffer. They should be kept warm while men are cold. They should be kept safe while men are in danger. They should be enabled to live while men die in their defence. All this chivalry should do for women, and should do as a matter of course. But there is a reason for this deference. One human being does not render all these services to another,—who cannot be more than his equal before God, —without a cause. A man will serve a woman, will suffer for her,—if it come to that will die for her,—because she is weaker than he and needs protection. Let her show herself to be as strong, let her prove by her prowess and hardihood that the old idea of her comparative weakness has been an error from the beginning, and the very idea of chivalry, though it may live for awhile by the strength of custom, must perish and die out of men's hearts. I have often felt this in listening to the bold self-assertion of American women,—not without a doubt whether chivalry was needed for the protection of beings so excellent in their own gifts, so superabundant in their own strength. And the same thought has crept over me when I have been among the ladies of Victoria. No doubt they demand all that chivalry can give them. No ladies with whom I am acquainted are more determined to enforce their rights in that direction. But *they make* their claim with arms in *their hands,—at the very point* of the bodkin. Stand

aside that I may pass on. Be silent that I may speak. Lay your coat down upon the mud and perish in the cold, lest my silken slippers be soiled in the mire. Be wounded that I may be whole. Die, that I may live. And for the nonce they are obeyed. That strength of custom still prevails, and women in Victoria enjoy for a while all that weakness gives, and all that strength gives also. But this, I think, can only be for a day. They must choose between the two, not only in Victoria but elsewhere. As long as they will put up with that which is theirs on the score of feminine weakness, they are safe. There is no tendency on the part of men to lessen their privileges. Whether they can make good their position in the other direction may be doubtful. I feel sure that they cannot long have both, and I think it unfair that they should make such demand. For the sake of those who are to come after me,—both men and women,—I hope that there may be no change in the old-established fashion.

I write these words in fear and trembling, lest the ladies of Victoria should condemn my book, and set me down as one who had accepted and betrayed hospitality. Let them remember all that I have conceded to them. They are lovely, bright, quick-witted, and successful. If, having said so much on their behalf, I venture to add a few words of counsel, they should remember that unqualified praise is always egregious flattery.

In speaking of men I can venture to use my pen with greater courage, and to say what I have to say without bating my breath. To their censure I can be deaf, and callous to their displeasure. The Victorian old man hardly as yet exists. Among those who are *near the top of* the tree it is rare to find even those who *have been* born in the other colonies. The men who

have hitherto prospered best in Australia are they who came young from the old country, without much money, with great energy, and with a strong conviction that fortune was to be made by industry, sobriety, and patience. These men succeeded, and they or their descendants are now the landed gentry of the country. Some are dead, and their places are filled by their sons. Some are tottering in old age, and their work is carried on by their sons. But there are enough of them still left in hale strength to give a tone to the entire colony. They smack of England,—or of Scotland or Ireland, as the case may be,—and are very different in their manners from those younger than themselves, who have been born in Australia. There are of course many, still young, who have come out from England,—so many that they suffice to give a tone to the whole social life of the colony. But every year this becomes less so than it was the year before, and the time will soon come in which the colonial will be stronger than the home flavour. It is of interest to inquire whether the race will deteriorate or become stronger by the change.

Dividing the population into two classes,—which, in order that I may be understood, I will call the upper and the lower class,—I speak now of that which is by far the less important as being the less numerous. As regards the masses of the men who earn their bread by their manual labour I have no doubt whatever that the born colonist is superior to the emigrant colonist,—any more than I have that the emigrant is superior to his weaker brother whom he leaves behind him. The best of our workmen go from us, and produce a race superior to themselves. The labourer born in the colonies is better educated than the man who has come from the old country, and is very much more sober. He is better

fed than the labourer at home, better housed, better clothed, and is therefore more of a man. I think that any observer seeing the artisans in an Australian town, the miners on an Australian gold-field, or the shearers in an Australian wool-shed, would come to this conclusion,—and would feel that no workman should remain at home who can make himself master of a passage to the colonies. I cannot speak with the same confidence of those who are born to positions which we regard as higher than those of a daily workman. The young Australian-born "gentleman" has certain points in his favour. He who goes out from England belonging to that class has not uncommonly been sent there because he has not hitherto done very well at home. I have said that the best of our labourers emigrate; but we certainly do not send to the colonies the best of our youth from Oxford and Cambridge, our most learned young lawyers, our cleverest engineers, or the most promising sons of our merchants and tradespeople. The young colonial scion is not called on to compete with the élite of the youth of the mother country. But in the competition to which he is called, he hardly as yet holds his own. He rarely runs into bad vices. He does not drink, or gamble, or go utterly to the dogs. But he is too often listless, unenergetic, vain, and boastful. Up to a certain age, that of advanced boyhood, he is generally clever, quick at learning what he does learn, and very often superior in general information to a boy from Harrow or from Winchester. He has more to say for himself, is less addicted to mere boyish amusements, and comes out as a man at an earlier age. But he has that fault which belongs to all produce of field and garden which grows ripe too quickly. When Clara in "Philip van Arteveldt" boasted that she, being of the softer sex,

as privileged to grow ripe on the sunny side of the all, she had probably not yet learned that the fruit hich hangs through the autumn has the finer flavour, nd can be kept till the end of winter. The colonial oung man,—a young man while he still should be a oy,—hardly keeps the promise of his early years, and eems to lack something of that energy which grows up mong us during the protracted years of our juvenility.

It is common to hear this discussed in the colonies emselves,—where the old swans are by no means dis-osed to look upon their cygnets as goslings. It is cknowledged, at any rate, that the boy grows out of oyhood earlier than he does in the old country. It is ommon to attribute the change to the climate; and ere certainly is apparent ground for doing so, as we now that puberty is attained earlier in warm than in old countries. I do not, however, believe that the cli-ate is accountable for the great difference which exists, -especially as there is another cause in operation which ust, I think, have produced it without other cause. itherto the education of youths in the Australian colo-ies has been quick, perfunctory, and perhaps superficial. hat it should have been of this kind, is so natural,— at it should gradually cease to be open to such cen-ure as the modes of education are improved, is again natural,—that we may be justified in looking for the ecrease and gradual cessation of an evil so caused, hereas were it attributable to the climate, any remedy r it would be beyond the reach of our energy and isdom. We are apt, in the old country, to complain itterly of the years which are devoted to the pursuit of mited knowledge very imperfectly mastered. At eigh-en or nineteen our boys, though they have been at *chool for the last ten years*, do not speak Latin, do not

read Greek fluently, bungle in their French, and are novices at Mathematics. But during the whole time they have been learning much which cannot be put into any examination paper, and which they cannot reckon up in the list of their acquirements. They may be idle, but they are rarely listless. They may dislike study, but they do not love to sit still and whistle.

Gradually there is growing up in the colonies a desire for protracted education on the part of fathers who can afford to bestow such advantage on their sons. There are universities at Sydney and Melbourne, which indeed are as yet only in their infancy in regard to numbers, but which have the means of giving, and which are intended to give, the protracted education of which I speak. Gradually they will grow into favour, and the example which they set will be followed by schools throughout the colonies. What is chiefly required on behalf of the colonial-born youth is that he should be kept a little longer from the appurtenances of manhood. He should be taught to cease to think that the prime of life has been reached at nineteen.

CHAPTER IX.

Newspapers, Books, Railways, Roads, Towns, and Wines.

I DISLIKE the use of superlatives, especially when they are applied in eulogy; nevertheless, I feel myself bound to say that I doubt whether any country in the world has made quicker strides towards material comforts and well-being than have been effected by Victoria. She is not forty years old, all told,—going back even to the date at which Mr. Henty landed at Portland,—and she *has already* at her command most of the enjoyments of *civilised life*. Of her great city, Melbourne, I have spoken,

—and of her gold-fields and that wonderful gold-town, Ballaarat; also of the country life of her country gentlemen. But there are other matters in which she has advanced as quickly: and I must say a word of her newspapers, her general produce, her railways, her roads and coaches, her country towns, and her native wines. Of her schools and churches I will speak when alluding to the schools and churches of the Australian colonies generally.

With all the prejudice of a genuine Briton, I think that no country has ever yet produced newspapers equal to those of England. This fact,—if it be a fact,—I attribute partly to her wealth, partly to her general energy, partly to her love of fair play, but chiefly to her determination that the press shall be free. In France many of the writers of newspapers are at any rate equal in talent to their brethren among us, and, as a rule, they stand higher in public estimation. They are known by name, and they have a wider reputation. But they do not produce the same sort of article. The French newspaper is more confined than the English, and either more vapid in its obedience to authority, or more violent in its opposition. There is no catering for information at all approaching in extensiveness to that practised by our great metropolitan and provincial daily papers; and the means expended on the production of a newspaper is infinitely less. The article when produced is readable in regard to language and type, and has opinions of its own, perhaps very strongly developed, as to the central political subject of the day in France itself; but beyond that it is generally barren of information, and is often half filled with extraneous matter, which might be more conveniently *used in the form of* a volume. But if the *French newspapers dissatisfy* us, what are we to say of

those of the United States? With a fair experience of their journals, with a conviction favourable in general to American habits and American institutions, with strongest feelings of social friendship for Americans whom I know and of political friendship for Americans generally, I am bound to declare that I never had a newspaper of the United States in my hand without suffering during the whole time that I was reading it. The sensational headings, spread over an amount of column often greater than that afterwards devoted to the subject itself, disgust and irritate. There will be a dozen such headings in every paper, and not a scrap of news to create sensation afterwards. The language is bombastic, vulgar, and very frequently so faulty as to leave on the mind an impression that the persons employed cannot generally belong to the same class as do our writers for the daily press. Their type is bad. Their paper is bad,—and when you have read a journal through with the greatest diligence, you declare, as you throw it aside, that there is nothing in it whatever. An American can give a good lecture,—much better generally than any Englishman,—can make a good speech, can build a good house, can cook a good dinner, can bake good bread, can tell a good story, can write a good book, can do, as I think, anything on earth requiring intellect, energy, industry, and construction,—with this one exception. He cannot,—at any rate as yet he has not,—turned out a good newspaper.

But Victoria, with her 750,000 souls, has a good daily newspaper,—as has also New South Wales, with her 500,000 souls. Indeed, in this respect I intend to *give no* priority to the one over the other, having failed *to form* an opinion as to which was the best. But I *think that* the Melbourne "Argus" and the Sydney "Morn-

ing Herald" are the best daily papers I have seen out of England. Sydney is nearly a hundred years old, and is perhaps entitled to a good newspaper; but it is remarkable that there should be such a paper as the "Argus" in a town which was a wilderness forty years since. Melbourne also has a weekly paper, the "Australasian," which is as good in its way as the "Argus." Common report says that as pecuniary speculations these periodicals have been highly successful;—but then so also is the New York "Morning Herald!"

The want of a newspaper was very soon felt in the young community of Melbourne, and the article was supplied before there was a press with which to print it. Melbourne was founded in 1837. In giving my account of the early days of the colony, I have mentioned the name of Mr. John P. Fawkner, one of those on whose behalf the honour of founding the colony has since been claimed. In January, 1838, this Mr. Fawkner procured to be written and published a manuscript newspaper. The second copy appeared on January 8th of that year. I presume, therefore, that the first copy was brought out on January 1st. The second was lithographed some time since in the colony, and of this I annex a copy. It will be found as Appendix No. 3 to this volume. Great energy and patience must have been displayed in preparing this sheet, the remuneration for which no doubt was expected rather from the notoriety its advertisements would produce than from the sixpences which would be forthcoming from its sale.

This was the first effort made by Victoria for a newspaper, and it became a reality. The last,—or at least the last before I left the colony,—was of a different character. *The following is the* programme of a proposed *monthly periodical, which* was to have come out on the

8th of June, 1872, but which never, as I believe, saw the light.

ON SATURDAY THE EIGHTH OF JUNE

THE FIRST NUMBER OF

THE AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY

WILL BE PUBLISHED.

It will contain thirty-two 8vo pages of original, carefully selected, and closely printed Democratic reading matter, contributed by the ablest Australian writers, or culled from the purest Humanitarian authors:

Price 6d. for a Single Copy or 1s. 6d. per Quarter.

Its pages will be devoted to the broad assertion of the rights and to the social and intellectual elevation of

THE PRODUCER

Without regard to antiquated press conventionalities which compel existing journals to pander to the Monopolisers of Land and Wealth by publishing one-sided accounts of passing events, so as to keep the masses in ignorance of the facts in connection with the great social movements of the day.

THE AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY

WILL ADVOCATE—

That the Land is the People's. The Abolition of Pensions.
The Establishment of a National Bank.
The Reduction of State Salaries, commencing with that of

THE GOVERNOR.

The Perpetual Dissolution of the Upper House.
A Real Federation of the Australian Colonies with a view to bringing about "Separation" and an ultimate

GREAT SOUTHERN REPUBLIC.

It will also present to its Readers the views of advanced journals in Great Britain and Ireland, on the Continent, and in America, on all such subjects as "The Republican Movement in England," "The Land and Labour Agitation," "The Home Rule for Ireland Struggle," and "The Great International Attempt at Organization."

Intending Subscribers are requested to communicate with the Proprietors, at 175, Elizabeth-street, or with any respectable News-agent in their neighbourhood, in order that disappointment may be prevented.

PRINTED BY JONES AND VOGT, 175, ELIZABETH-STREET, MELBOURNE.

The programme of this great enterprise commences with an assertion that the Land is the People's, and it *then* proposes to advocate all those advanced political *doctrines* and measures which are consentaneous with *the first assertion*. Everything is to be taken from every-

body who has anything, and is of course to be divided among those who have nothing. The newspaper was intended to contain thirty-two pages of "original" Democratic reading matter, some of which was to be "culled from the purest Humanitarian authors;" it was to be devoted to the interests of the "Producer," whoever that may specially be in a country in which there is as yet no idle class; and it was to have no regard to "antiquated press conventionalities which compel existing journals..... to keep the masses in ignorance." As the Australian "International Monthly" has not become a reality, it would not be worth mentioning here, were it not to show that even in Victoria the advocacy of extreme democratical opinions is not received with favour. There is no numerous class foolish enough to suppose that the Land can be the People's unless the People buy it, or that a national bank can supply money to persons who themselves have neither money nor credit.

Between Mr. Fawkner's manuscript publication and the prospectus of the "Australian International Monthly" upwards of a hundred genuine newspapers have established themselves in Victoria.

General literature is perhaps the product which comes last from the energies of an established country. Men must eat before they can write, and all think of eating before they think of writing. Leisure, which is compatible only with fixed means of living, is necessary for the production of books. Books in these halcyon days do no doubt provide bread for the writers of them; but the man who with empty pockets attempts to begin the opening of his oyster by the production of a book, will too often have to endure almost starvation before his oyster is *reached.*

The production of books must follow the production

of other things, and the growth of literature will be slow. Victoria, however, and the Australian colonies generally, have produced many books. I cannot say that as yet their volumes are to be found crowding the shelves of European libraries. It would be odd indeed if it were so, as the country has not yet been open to European enterprise, or even to European footsteps, for a full century. I have been surprised to find not only how many books have been written in Australia, and sent home for publication,—books generally of colonial history, colonial experience, and colonial exploration, which have made their mark,—but also how vast a number of small volumes have issued in the colonies, from the presses of Melbourne and Sydney, which, alas, have as yet done but little either for the pockets or the fame of the writers. Very many of these little books,—the majority of the great number which reached my hands,—contained verse, verse that was heroic, verse that was elegiac, verse that was burlesque, verse that was amatory, and very often verse that was plaintive. I never had one of these unpretending products of ambitious souls in my hand without thinking of the hopes which were once high,—so soon to be dashed to the ground,—of the grand thoughts which heralded perhaps but a poor production, of the labour given without return, of the bitter disappointment, and, alas, too, of the money spent on the paper and printing which probably could be but ill spared. Taking each individual author, and regarding the agony which disappointed authorship entails, I could not but deplore the production of many a little book. Now and again the author *would tell* of all his trouble, and would complain of the *hardness* of the world which would not give him a *hearing*. But looking at the thing as a whole, I know it

to be good for the colonies that such efforts should be made. Success will always at last attend such struggles; not, I fear, success for each individual struggler, but success for the people collectively, whose total of energy is thus exhibited. The desire, and the ambition, and the purpose are there, and that which a people really desires it will achieve. I cannot thus allude to the literature of the colony at large without mentioning the name of Mr. Marcus Clarke, of Melbourne, whose Australian tales are not only known familiarly by all colonists, but are almost as familiar to English readers.

Victoria has made her railways after a system,—as we are sometimes told that France did, as England certainly did not do, nor, as far as I could judge, the other Australian colonies. In the first place she has, or very soon will have, a line perfected, as far as her territory is concerned, in the direct route to Sydney. The Melbourne and Sydney road crosses the Murray at Albury, and the Victorian railway was, when I was there, nearly finished up to the Victorian side of the river. I do not think that New South Wales is making any effort to fill up the gap. She has a line as far as Goulbourn, —130 miles from Sydney; but the intervening space is still so long,—about 300 miles,—that the general transit from one town to the other is still by water. The distance, and the poorness of the country to be traversed, will afford an excuse for New South Wales, the validity of which it is impossible altogether to deny; but it is, I think, notorious that Sydney is not desirous of the close intercourse which a continuous railway would create, and that she would dread the effect of the unrestricted rivalry which it would produce. The wool-growers of the *intervening districts* would buy in Melbourne and *would sell in Melbourne*, if they could reach Melbourne

as easily as Sydney;—and then there would be renewed difficulty as to border duties. If all the southern part of the colony, and much of the south-eastern part, as well as the Riverina, bought their groceries in Melbourne, how would New South Wales collect sufficient taxes?

This Victorian line, striking the Murray at Albury, is a branch from a main line, already perfected, striking the same river at Echuca, lower down. By this main route the intercourse between the Riverina and Melbourne is carried on, and from this point the people of the Riverina are anxious that a line should be made into the heart of their country, or at any rate to Deniliquin, which they call their capital. But of this they have but faint hopes while the Riverina remains a portion of New South Wales. The line from Melbourne to Echuca passes directly through the great Victorian gold-fields of which Bendigo, or Sandhurst as they now call it, is the centre. There is a station at Castlemaine and another at Sandhurst. The line to Ballaarat, the capital of the other great Victorian gold-field,—I am afraid to call it either the first or the second in regard to its gold, but in regard to its qualities as a town there can be no doubt that it is the first,—starts from the same station at Melbourne, but branches off a mile or two from the town. This line takes an indirect course, running down the north-western side of Port Phillip Bay to Geelong, and then turning north to Ballaarat. It is intended to continue this line into the rich farming districts of the west, towards Hexham, Hamilton, and Coleraine, but when I was in the colony there was a diversity of opinion as to the route which should be taken. There is apt to be a diversity of opinion as to the route to be taken by railways, when the money required for making them is to come from the colony at large.

Victoria, as she makes her railways, borrows the money on the credit of the entire colony, and pays the interest out of the general revenue, applying the earnings of the railways to the revenue also. In 1869 the total interest on the amount up to that date borrowed for the construction of railways, is stated to have been £505,676, and the expenses of working the railways to have been £250,657, making a total of £756,333 expended,—whereas the proceeds earned amounted to £544,414, leaving a deficit of £211,919 to be paid out of the general taxes of the country. I regard the result as highly satisfactory to the colony. The railways are still in course of construction, and in that condition must be less remunerative than they will be when perfected. I believe that comparatively a few years will make the Victorian railways self-supporting, and that an excellent discretion has been exercised in the manner in which the money has been borrowed and expended. But it may easily be imagined that money borrowed and expended on this system should give rise to conflicting claims. Why should one district be favoured above another when all pay? It will of course be urged that this district will support a railway, while that other cannot do so. But such an argument will find no favour with the rejected district, which may perhaps be able to assert itself loudly by political support or political opposition.

Another short branch striking off from the Geelong line down to Melbourne, goes to Williamstown, which is the port of the capital, and completes the set of government railways belonging to the colony. There is a suburban line, belonging to a private company, which runs to the south and *south-east*, and enables the citizens of *Melbourne of all degrees* to live out of the city. It was

a matter of wonder to me that a town of such a population as Melbourne should afford so very large a local traffic;—but I soon found how large a proportion of the population lived in the suburbs which it accommodated.

There are still large districts of Victoria not touched by railway, especially the entire eastern part of the colony, which is called Gipps Land, and the Wimera district which lies to the north-west. The Gippslanders talk eagerly of a railway, but as their pleasant little capital of Sale holds only 2,000 people, and is the centre of a thinly populated country, I cannot think that their hopes will be soon gratified. The Wimera district I did not visit. It is more remote and more sparsely populated even than Gipps Land, but had I gone there, I should probably have heard of the great projected Wimera line.

I cannot speak as highly of the coach roads as of the railways of Victoria. One effect of railways in a new country is to anticipate and supersede the creation of ordinary roads. A perfectly new country, hitherto known only to a few shepherds, is opened up by a railway,—which is not carried hither and thither for the service of towns and villages, but creates them as it goes along. Then, the one great need of a central road having been achieved, neither the government nor the inhabitants are for a time willing to go to the expense of macadamization. The badness of the roads is, however, remarkable throughout Australia,—and it is equally remarkable that though the roads are very bad, and in some places cannot be said to exist, nevertheless coaches run and goods are carried about the country. A Victorian coach, with six or perhaps seven or eight horses, in the darkness of the night, making its way through a thickly

timbered forest at the rate of nine miles an hour, with the horses frequently up to their bellies in mud, with the wheels running in and out of holes four or five feet deep, is a phenomenon which I should like to have shown to some of those very neat mail-coach drivers whom I used to know at home in the old days. I am sure that no description would make any one of them believe that such feats of driving were possible. I feel that nothing short of seeing it would have made me believe it. The coaches, which are very heavy, and carry nine passengers inside, are built on an American system, and hang on immense leathern springs. The passengers inside are shaken ruthlessly, and are horribly soiled by mud and dirt. Two sit upon the box outside, and undergo lesser evils. By the courtesy shown to strangers in the colonies I always got the box, and found myself fairly comfortable as soon as I overcame the idea that I must infallibly be dashed against the next gum-tree. I made many such journeys, and never suffered any serious misfortune. I feel myself bound, however, to say that Victoria has not advanced in road-making as she has in other matters.

There are three good towns in Victoria, towns which would receive such praise on the score of architecture and general arrangements in any country, whether new or old. These are Melbourne, Ballaarat, and Geelong. I have spoken of them already. In some respects, a growing town with a look of growing prosperity about it, but with still something of the roughness of the bush in its unfinished streets, is more interesting than a full-fledged city. There are many such in Victoria, in which the churches, the banks, the schools, and the hotels seem to bear a very undue *proportion* to the shops and private *residences. And in every* such a town that has had any

success there is a newspaper,—or perhaps two. For a mile or two on each side of such a town there will be made roads, and then, by gradual but quick decrease of road-making enterprise, the bush track will be reached. The population is very small, 3,000 being enough to justify corporate pride and a high position among boroughs, and even 500 sufficing for a mayor. In all these towns rough plenty prevails. In many of them I found that the rates of an artisan's wages were quite as high as in Melbourne, and in some higher. Large amounts of capital are occasionally expended on the erection of a store, or a huge inn,—which not unfrequently is lost to the speculator. But in a new country such losses do not frighten other speculators;—do not even frighten him who for the nonce has been ruined. The man who has lost his money "clears out," and some other speculator comes in. I visited various such towns as these, Beechworth, Hamilton, Sale, Woods Point, Wangaratta, and others, and was invariably struck by their uncouth prosperity. You see them expanding and growing, as you do the young colonial girl of ten years old, who buds forth so quickly that the increase of her physical power becomes almost visible to you. Too often these towns are altogether ugly to the eye. How should an unfinished congregation of houses be otherwise than ugly when it is constructed with rectangular streets on a level plain? The pretence of some two or three buildings,—of a church, a bank, or an inn,—adds to the ugliness of the houses generally, and gives to the stranger a feeling of mixed melancholy and of thankfulness that his lot has not been cast in so unsightly a place. When, however, he has learned on inquiry that *every man* there earns 4*s*., 5*s*., or 6*s*. a day, and that *meat is 2d.* a pound, and when he remembers that in

his own pretty villages at home men are earning 2*s.* a day and that meat is 1*s.* a pound, the melancholy by which he is pervaded takes another direction.

From this general charge of ugliness I must except the pretty town of Beechworth, which is the capital of a large district, and which is graced by a lunatic asylum. But its charm does not depend on the greatness of its corporate condition, or even on its asylum. It is backed by the Australian Alps, and has had bestowed upon it the gift of fine scenery. I doubt whether there be a man alive who would prefer 5*s.* a day and grand mountains, to 2*s.* and a flat country;—but when the matter does not come home so closely to the spectators, a pretty landscape has a great effect.

Australia makes a great deal of wine,—so much and so cheaply that the traveller is surprised at finding how very little of it is used by the labouring classes. Among them some do not drink at all, some few drink daily,—and many never drink when at work, but indulge in horrible orgies during the few weeks, or perhaps days, of idleness which they allow themselves. But the liquor which they swallow is almost always spirits — and always spirits of the most abominable kind. They pay sixpence a glass for their poison, which is served to them in a cheating false-bottomed tumbler so contrived as to look half-full when it contains but little. The dram is swallowed without water, and the dose is repeated till the man be drunk. The falseness of the glass seems to excuse itself, as the less the man has the better for him;—but the fraud serves no one but the publican, for though the "nobbler" be small,—a dram in Australia is always a nobbler,—there is no limit to the number of nobblers. The *concoction* which is prepared for these *poor fellows is, I think, even* worse than that produced

by the London publican. At home, however, beer is the wine of the country, and beer is the popular beverage at any rate with the workmen of this country. In all the Australian colonies, except Tasmania, wine is made plentifully,—and if it were the popular drink of the country, would be made so plentifully that it could suffice for the purpose. All fruits thrive there, but none with such fecundity as the grape. One Victorian wine-grower, who had gone into the business on a great scale, told me that if he could get *2s.* a gallon for all that he made, the business would pay him well. The wine of which he spoke was certainly superior both in flavour and body to the ordinary wine drank by Parisians. It is wholesome and nutritious, and is the pure juice of the grape.

Accustomed to French and Spanish wines,—or perhaps to wines passed off upon me as such,—I did not like the Australian "fine" wines. The best that I drank was in South Australia, but I did not much relish them. I thought them to be heady, having a taste of earth, and an after-flavour which was disagreeable. This may have been prejudice on my part. It may be that the requisite skill for wine-making has not yet been attained in the colonies. Undoubtedly age is still wanting to the wines, which are consumed too quickly after the vinting. It may possibly be the case that though Australia can grow an unlimited quantity of wine, she cannot produce wines capable of rivalling those of Europe. On these points I do not pretend to have an opinion. But I regard a wholesome drink for the country as being of more importance than fine wines, even though they should equal the produce of the vineyards of the South of Spain or the South of France. France and Italy are temperate because they produce a wine suitable to their climate.

Australia, with a similar climate, produces wine with equal ease, and certainly,—I speak in reference to the common wine,—as good a quality. There is now on sale in Melbourne, at the price of, I think, threepence a glass,—the glass containing about half a pint,—the best vin-ordinaire that I ever drank. It is a white wine made at Yering, a vineyard on the Upper Yarra, and is both wholesome and nutritive. Nevertheless the workmen of Melbourne, when they drink, prefer to swallow the most horrible poison which the skill of man ever concocted.

CHAPTER X.

Rama Yuck.

When in Gipps Land I visited an establishment called Rama Yuck, of a missionary character, maintained for the civilisation, christianization, and general improvement of the black races. Of these establishments there are many in various parts of Australia. In Western Australia much has been attempted under the auspices of Bishop Hale. In Southern Australia Bishop Short has established a settlement for these natives, at a place called Poonindee,—as to which I was assured that it was self-supporting. I did not see Poonindee, but, according to the accounts which reached me, it is a flourishing place. I did not think that Rama Yuck was flourishing, though I was convinced by what I saw that nothing was wanting to it which philanthropy and devotion could supply.

It has been only natural, only human, that efforts should be made by the invading race to ameliorate the condition of these people, and,—to use the word most common in our mouths,—to civilise them. We have taken away their land, have destroyed their food, have

made them subject to our laws which are antagonistic to their habits and traditions, have endeavoured to make them subject to our tastes, which they hate, have massacred them when they defended themselves and their possessions after their own fashion, and have taught them by hard warfare to acknowledge us to be their masters. We have done the work perhaps with as little cruelty as was compatible with such a job. No one I think will say that the English should have abstained from taking possession of Australia because such possession could not be secured without injury to the blacks. Had the English abstained, the Dutch or the French would have come, and certainly would not have come with lighter hands. There has been rough work,—and how could rough work have been avoided when the cause for quarrel was so deep? The race was a savage race, hating tasks, ignoring property, and one which would not fall into our ways. Gradually we have seen them disappearing before us,—sinking into the earth, as it were, as they made way for us. They have not retreated. Though personal property has been ignored, tribal property, the right of each tribe to its own territory, has been fully acknowledged among them,—so that to retreat was impossible. The only land to which they could have retreated was already occupied. As we have scattered ourselves onwards, these tribes have melted away. Their women have ceased to bear children, and their men have waxed prematurely old. Fragments of them only remain, and the fragments of them are growing still smaller and smaller. Within the haunts of white men, and under the tutelage of white men, they *have learned* to wear clothes, and to drink, and to be *covetous of* tobacco and money,—and sometimes to do *a little work*. But with their rags, and their pipes, and

their broken English, they are less noble, less sensitive of duty, less capable of protracting life than they were in their savage but unsubdued condition.

Such being the circumstances of the race, it was a matter of course that there should be some among the invading white men who would find it to be a matter of conscience to devote themselves and their lives and property to do some good to the blacks, in return for all the evil which their white brethren had inflicted on them. If only these black men could be made Christians, so that they should go to heaven after the sorrows of this life was over, then how great would be the balance of good in their favour! If only a few could be so favoured, would not even that be much? In the mansions of Our Father the black man would be as fair as the white,—if only he could be made to believe and to trust. In this spirit Bishop Hale and Bishop Short went to work. And in this spirit Rama Yuck has been established under the care of a German clergyman named Hagenauer. That the two bishops and Mr. Hagenauer will have their reward no man will doubt who sees the spirit in which the work has been done. With reference to the other and much more difficult question,—whether the Australian black can be taught to work out his own salvation by his religious faith,—he who would answer it must define very sharply in his own mind what he means by religious faith. No one in these days will be found to pronounce a verdict of eternal punishment against the poor savage, who has not come under the influence of some Christian pastor. That the untaught savage must be damned,—because he knows nothing of our faith,—no one now believes. Still it may be possible that the believing Australian black man may be specially saved. *If so, how will it be with him* if his faith be but a pseudo

faith? In such case at any rate the work of the pastors will have been in vain.

It is not for me here to speculate on the mysteries of religion, or to inquire how it is that men believe that faith will save, while they believe also that the absence of faith will not necessarily condemn. I think that such is the common condition of the minds of educated men in Christian countries. But all men feel that civilisation, philanthropy, and brotherly love have come of the teaching of the Christian religion. They have not as yet come in full perfection,—but they have come gradually, and are still coming. On this head men do have a steady belief in their hearts,—the very men who throw off from themselves, at first with dismay and then with disgust, unfathomable doctrinal points. Can we produce this steady advance of civilisation, philanthropy, and brotherly love among the Australian aborigines?

We can teach them to sing psalms,—and can do so with less labour than is generally necessary for white pupils, and in better time. If we take the children early enough we can teach them to read and write,—and as I saw at Rama Yuck, can teach them to do so in a manner that would be thought very excellent among white children of the same age. The glib, pattering portions of our religious services are pleasant to them,—those portions in which we must be aware that there is always much of mere repetition among ourselves and our own children; for who can dare to say that as our hymns and chants are sung in church, it is the usual condition of the heart to be lifted up to the full meaning of the words? But with ourselves we are confident that the ameliorating influence is in activity,—is active on a work that has been progressing for ages and will progress. I doubt if any man can believe this in regard to the ab-

original Australian races. The success which is achieved is achieved chiefly with children,—and they, as they grow up, are apt to go back into the bush, and to take to savage life, even though they have not been born to it. To me it seems that the game is not worth the candle. Such a one as Mr. Hagenauer will tell me that if he succeeded with a single soul, he will succeed greatly. I honour and admire the man, both for his zeal and for the self-denying practice of his life. But I do not believe in that doubtful working. The race is doomed, and is very quickly encountering its doom. To ameliorate the material condition of the failing population of the country we have invaded is manifestly our duty; towards saving them from hunger and pain much may be done;—but I think we mistake our duty when we prepare for them a prospective course of civilised life, which can only be of real use to them on the condition that they are to remain among us as a permanent people.

Of women and children, either purely black or of mixed race, there were seventy-five in the settlement at Rama Yuck when I visited it. The proportion of children and of infants was much larger than that of adults. I was told that women had been brought from South Australia,—I presume from Poonindee, but at the time I had not heard of the settlement at that place,—to be married to the men of Rama Yuck. The marriages had been successful, if procreation was the success desired. We saw the little brown piccaninnies rolling about in a tent by the river side, while the mothers were washing for the establishment. In the eyes of Mr. Hagenauer, who was thinking of the future of Rama Yuck, the sight was a happy one. *To me, who was thinking of the future of Australia, it was not so.* An increasing race

of aborigines in the land,—were it possible that the race should increase,—would be a curse rather than a blessing. The half-dozen fathers and mothers of Rama Yuck were to me but as a toy in a child's hand, when I remembered how these people have been and are being exterminated by the advancing footsteps of a dominant race.

There will be many who will disagree with me, and for their sake it will be only fair that I should say all in favour of the place that it deserves. I heard the children examined in the school,—about thirty I think there were,—and I was much struck by their proficiency. Their writing was peculiarly good, as was also their memory. They are a mimetic people, very quick at copying, and gifted with strong memories. But they do not, I think, understand. The children were clean and apparently happy. The married couples have separate cottages, two of which I entered, and found them to be clean and comfortable. I was told that the work of the place, such as building, painting, and joinery, is done by the blacks. I found two men employed on such work; —but the leading man of the two was the son of a white father. There were others there of the same objectionable breed,—some of them being children in the school. I learned that the government allowed £200 a year towards the support of the establishment, which was drawn in the shape of stores, and that a large allotment of public land had been granted for its use. There was, of course, some produce from the land,—but even with this, the means at the disposal of Mr. Hagenauer were hardly sufficient, and there seemed to be a doubt even on his own mind how far he might rely on funds sufficient to enable him to carry on his work. They who *believe in* the work cannot do better than make Mr. *Hagenauer* the recipient of their bounty.

This gentleman was assisted by a younger German, who, if I remember rightly, was also a clergyman; and the whole time of the two,—and apparently of their wives also,—was devoted to the custody of the seventy-five black subjects. They were both, apparently, educated men. The elder, of whom I saw the most, struck me very much,—as well by his pleasant manners and brightness, as by his zeal and unpretentious piety. I may add that Mr. Hagenauer has gained the confidence of the black natives, not only of his own establishment, but of the surrounding districts generally, to a degree that, I think, has never before been reached. It has been the absence of this confidence which has created the almost internecine wars that have raged between the two races. But the more I liked the man, the more strongly I felt that the game was not worth the candle, and that I would fain hope that he might live to shine in some more useful sphere of labour.

CHAPTER XI.

Legislation, Government, and Commerce.

THE scheme of legislation and government is the same in Victoria as in the other colonies, but it has been carried out after a more entirely democratic fashion, and with a more settled intention of throwing the political power of the colony into the hands of the people. There are, of course, the three estates,—Kings, Lords, and Commons, represented here by the Governor, with his appointment from Downing Street, the Legislative Council, and the Legislative Assembly. The Governor has, of course, the royal veto; and he has also, which is much more commonly used, the power of reserving bills which have passed the two colonial houses for the approval or

disapproval of the home government. The Upper House, or Legislative Council, is elective, as it is also in South Australia. In Queensland and New South Wales it is nominated. The nominations in the latter colonies are, indeed, practically made by the premier for the time, who is the minister of the people; but a House is thus constituted much less democratic and at the same time more influential than when elected by popular constituencies. Political power necessarily belongs chiefly to the Lower House,—to that which is nearest to the community at large; but it falls altogether away from an elective Upper House, as the people devote all their energies and all their thoughts to the members whom they are to elect for the popular chamber.

The Legislative Council in Victoria is returned by six provinces into which the colony is divided,—each province returning five members. Of these five one goes out every second year, so that each member of the Council is returned for ten years. A property qualification is required both for the candidate and for the electors. The former must own property to the value of £2,500, and the latter must pay a rental of £50, or rates on property to that amount. The interest taken by Victorians in the elections of the Council is not great. At those which were made in 1870 there was no contest in four out of the six provinces, and in the other two less than 50 per cent. of the electors polled. The Upper House seldom initiates laws, and is looked upon rather for protection than action. This is certainly the case in the other colonies also, but in none of them to the same extent as in Victoria. In Tasmania and South Australia I found the prime minister in the Upper House. In Queensland and New South Wales I found one of the cabinet there; and, in the latter, many of the

leading men of the colony held seats in the Council. In Victoria the cabinet is no doubt represented in the Council; but the representation is generally feeble, and the gentlemen selected have of late held no office and, I believe, received no emolument.

The Lower House is elected for three years, by manhood suffrage, and no property qualification is required either for the candidates or for the electors. The votes for both Houses are of course taken by ballot. In regard to the ballot in Victoria, it is as well to point out that its value consists not in any security afforded by secrecy,—as to which the voters are happily quite indifferent;—but in the tranquillity at elections which it ensures. In Victoria, and in Victoria alone among the Australian colonies, members of parliament are paid. They receive £300 a year for their services, and are entitled to travel free by railways and mail coaches. The system of payment has not, however, as yet been permanently adopted. Unless renewed by another bill it will lapse after the first year of the parliament next to be elected, and would thus cease in 1875. Whether it will be renewed not a few in the colony profess to doubt; but I observe that the doubters are those who think such payment to be objectionable. I have but little faith myself in the moderation of a dog that has once tasted blood, and do not therefore believe that the members of the next Victoria parliament will be endowed by so strong a spirit of patriotic martyrdom as to abandon by their own act the salaries which they will be then enjoying. I will not trouble my reader here by attempting to prove that this making a profession of parliament, this power of living poorly on the small means which parliament will produce, must be injurious to the legislature of the country, as the system

has but few advocates at home. It has now been practised for many years in the United States, and certainly has not served there to raise the House of Representatives. It has not been long tried in Victoria, but it certainly has not as yet had that tendency.

The mode of carrying on the government in Victoria subject to the approval of parliament is almost identical with that which is familiar to us at home. The governor nominally appoints his minister, — selecting one chief who selects his own cabinet; but the choice is in fact made by the Lower House, whose chosen leader remains in power as long as he is the chosen one, and gives way by resignation as soon as some other favourite has usurped the votes of the majority. The mode of changing ministers is nearly the same as with us at home,—but the power of the minister is in one respect confined within narrower limits. The outgoing minister in his last and generally futile attempt to regain that which he has lost, recommends the Crown to dissolve Parliament, so that the country at large may have an opportunity of reversing the last decision of its representatives. We at home now think that the Crown is bound to follow the advice so tendered, thereby obeying the great constitutional rule that the sovereign can do no political act except by the advice of his ministers. The practice is not as yet recognised,—is at any rate not as yet established as constitutional usage,—in the colonies. During my sojourn in Australia I saw a ministry outvoted in New South Wales and another in Victoria. In each case the outgoing minister appealed to the governor for a dissolution. In New South Wales the governor acceded,—and was then blamed by every *one for doing so.* In Victoria the governor refused,—*giving his* reasons in a paper which was read to the

ouse,—and every one praised him for refusing. In e one case as in the other there was a general feeling at nothing could be gained by a dissolution,—as in ew South Wales nothing was gained by the outgoing inister. Nevertheless it will come to be accepted in the lonies before long as good constitutional doctrine that in is matter, as in all other matters of political practice, the overnor should be guided by his responsible advisers.

A member of a colonial cabinet is not so great a an as a cabinet minister at home. He is not even latively so great a man and does not hold a position nong his fellow citizens proportionate to that enjoyed our own statesmen at home; but he holds very much ore than proportionate powers, and exercises very much ore than proportionate patronage. Everything is cen-alized. The roads, the bridges, and the railways of e colony are constructed by government. Asylums nd gaols are erected and managed by the government. he lands of the colony, not as yet alienated, are the operty of the government at large, and are sold or ased by the government. The local magistrates are ppointed by the government. Municipal institutions e growing, and as they grow this centralization of ower will be lessened; but, in the meantime, the minis-rs of the day, who may be men but very little qualified bear the weight of such responsibility, are called upon arrange details affecting the interests of individuals hich it would be impossible for any minister, however eat, to adjust with true impartiality. Things are, in uth, adjusted with an eye to electioneering majorities. hen a member for some remote district becomes a binet minister, that district at once expects a railway. hould a Roman *Catholic* be prime minister the Roman *atholics throughout* the colony expect government

places;—and every porter at a railway holds a government place. But the minister for lands is he upon whom the greatest pressure is brought to bear. A supporter of the ministry considers himself entitled to buy good land cheap,—and considers also that every impediment should be thrown in the way of those who oppose the ministry, but still wish to buy land. Tenders of contracts for the conveyance of mails are sent out in the name of the postmaster-general, who happened also to be prime minister when I was in Melbourne. Tenders for government clothing are sent out in the name of the treasurer. The same practice prevails throughout the cabinet, and produces a feeling that staunch support of the government may be quite as influential in procuring the desired job as favourable terms. The injustice done to individuals is not in itself so great an evil as the growing conviction throughout the colony that all this is a matter of course, and that it forms a recognised part of that concrete institution which we welcome under the name of Constitutional Government.

I do not wish to say hard things of Victorian ministers of state;—nor do I condemn any individuals when I assert that the whole colony is permeated by a conviction that the power of government is used for jobbing. While matters are centralized as they are now,—while members of the cabinet are compelled to exercise their own judgment in the appointment of gaolers, railway porters, and letter-carriers over the entire colony,—while tenders are sent in, not to the politically powerless head of a department, but to the political minister himself by name,—it would require more than human energy and impartiality to avoid jobbery. In the present circumstances of the colonial executive departments is it not probable that the energies of ministers will be

pted to take quite the other directi
could sit for a month on the Vict
who determined to manage his off
ice to his parliamentary position.
of course that he will use his pa
ion of his party.

this matter I do not know that eve
ds at home quite clean. I think I
ve not at any rate been long clean.
n all but abolished among us, c
desire of statesmen to be quit of a
thrown upon them gradually by th
y to raise bulwarks for political
ey at last found to be not only c
le, but also unserviceable. In
system is still rampant,—though t
what lessened by the general fee
to its iniquity. In all the Austral
its. In each of them ministers are
mentary support by manipulating
ready made are not common amo
new country,—so that it may ofte
hers, sons, and kinsmen of a mini
e in need of places. A ministry
parliament of Victoria in June, 18
olely on the ground that it had mis
There may, perhaps, be room to ho
ple may be of service, and that
the people generally that parlian
oes not mean the partial advancem
who may support this or that set o
can be but little doubt that a dece
and an increase in the power and
management would greatly tend

colonists themselves from falling into a miserably false view of politics, which at present it is almost impossible that they should avoid.

The revenue of the colony for the year ending 30th June, 1872, was £3,721,648. This included about three-quarters of a million raised by the sale of public lands and by pastoral leases. It included also the amount collected on the railways, for water-supply to the city of Melbourne, for telegraphs, pilot-dues, and postage, and various other items, all of which are brought to the account of the public purse, though they have no connection with the taxation of the country. The absolute burden on the country, raised in the shape of taxes, does not exceed a million and a half, and is therefore not above £2 a head on the population. The public debt amounts to twelve millions,—but it has been borrowed exclusively for the construction of public works, and almost exclusively for the construction of railways. It must be admitted that the burden of taxation on the public is light in the colony, and is so although the government has undertaken enterprises on the public behalf, which no private companies could have achieved.

The two great staple articles of commerce in Victoria are wool and gold. Of the gold-fields of the colony I have said enough, but it may be well to add a comparative statement of the value of those two sources of wealth. In 1870 the gold exported from the colony was sold for £6,119,782, and the wool for £3,205,106. Gold maintains its nominal value, whereas wool vacillates so much that within twelve months the price may be nearly doubled, or halved. Between March, 1871, and March, 1872, the price of wool did rise fully 80 per cent. But since 1852, the first year of extended gold production in Victoria, the Victorian wool has never

ar to the Victorian gold, and during the whole
eriod has amounted to little more than a quarter
levertheless the established wealth of the wealthy
Victoria has been made by pastoral pursuits
nan by mining. The aristocracy is essentially
ocracy of squatters,—that is of gentlemen who
de or are making their money by grazing cattle
aring sheep. The gold may cost as much to
as it is worth,—may, indeed, and often does,
ch more. But the sheep increase in numbers
shorn with comparatively little outlay. Here,
ost other countries, land is more coveted, and
convey a higher influence, than any other pro-
The squatter, even though he do not own his
it runs his sheep on waste lands, as a crown
vith a short lease, and no certainty of tenure
to that, is still regarded as a territorial magnate.
the gold produced in the colony be annually
ouble the wool, and though the raids of the
ter on the squatter have been more cruel in
than even in the other colonies, still the pro-
of wool is the most popular and certainly at
ent moment the most remunerative occupation
ria.

870 the total imports into the colony amounted
55,758, and the exports to £12,470,014, thus
rly balancing themselves. Each amount is about
lower than it was ten years before,—in 1861.
ubt whether this can be taken as showing any
in the substantial prosperity of the colony. The
in the exports has been chiefly on gold and
, with a wholesome rise on most other articles
rian *produce.* The export of wool increased
at period by more than a third, showing that it

was better worth the while of the stock-owners to keep their sheep than to send them into the other colonies for sale. The produce of gold is necessarily fluctuating, and cannot be taken in any one year as an indication of the trade of the country. The decrease in the imports was chiefly on grain and flour, thus showing that the country had progressed in the important work of feeding itself. No doubt, whenever new gold-fields are opened, creating new "rushes," or old gold-fields show themselves to be for a time specially productive, there will be a sudden influx of migratory population, and successful miners will spend money freely. They will thus raise the imports by their consumption, and the exports by the gold which they send away. A gold-producing country must be subject to these fluctuations, but they can hardly be taken as proof either of the decay or the rise of substantial prosperity.

As to the substantial prosperity of Victoria no one, I think, who has visited that colony, can entertain a doubt. It is to be seen in the daily lives of the colonists, in the clothes which they wear, in the food which they eat, in the wages which they receive, in the education of their children, and in the general comfort of the people.

TASMANIA.

CHAPTER XII.

Past History.

ems hard to say of a new colony, not yet ears old, that it has seen the best of its days, it is falling into decay, that its short period of e in the world is already gone, and that for it must exist,—as many an old town and old lo exist,—not exactly on the memory of the on the relics which the past has left behind it. has towns of her own at home and colonies of broad,—it would be invidious to name them, ch this may truly be said. On visiting them er feels assured that the salt of life has gone m. Trade dwells in them no longer, and pros- en do not move about their streets. Their in- are contented to be obscure, and generally her fears nor hopes. Society is mild and dull, emnant of the people who are left are for the satisfied to sit and wait. But a young colony ve young, sparkling, eager life. She should be impetuous, and loud, with a belief in her des- if she be given somewhat to boasting, she will ed, thereby show herself to be possessed of an tue, but will give evidence even by that vice of th of *youth which* makes a community at first *and then* prosperous. Such essentially are

Queensland and Victoria, which force even upon unwilling ears a conviction of their strength by the loudness of their self-assertion and the vigour of their confidence. I by no means say that the dreamy, dusty quiescence of decay, the imbecility of old age which does not become actual death because so little of the energy of life is expended on the work of living from day to day, have become the lot of young Tasmania; but I do say that Tasmanians are almost united in declaring so of themselves, and that they have said so till the other colonies are quite united in repeating the story.

Tasmania as Tasmania is very young,—so young that many old-fashioned folk at home hardly recognise her under that name, and still know her as Van Diemen's Land. That name is now odious to the ears of Tasmanians, as being still tainted with the sound of the gaol and harsh with the crack of the gaoler's whip; but it was under that name that the island was prosperous. England sent her convicts thither, and with her ruffians sent £350,000 a year for their custody and maintenance. The whole revenue of the island, including Customs, Inland Revenue, and Land Fund, does not now exceed £280,000. And the money sent from England was by no means all the wealth which the convicts brought with them. They had their thews and sinews, and the free squatters of Tasmania knew well how to turn such God-sends into money. And public works were done magnificently by them,—on the doing of which sufficiently, quickly, and without too close a regard to any immediate return of money, the welfare of a growing colony almost depends. Roads were made, and buildings were *erected, and* river banks were cleared, and forests were *cut down* with a thoroughness which proved that con-

victs were at any rate useful. But though useful they were disgraceful. The Van Diemonians,—as colonists from other colonies are wont to call them in jeering mirth,—had a spirit of their own which could not be at ease within a prison, even though they themselves were the masters and wardens, and kept the keys of the prison. It began to be unendurable to them that their beautiful island, the sweetest in climate, the loveliest in scenery, the richest in rivers and harbours, the most accessible of all Great Britain's eastern colonies, should be known to the world only as Great Britain's gaol. So she spoke her mind, and of course had her way,—as has been the case with all Great Britain's children since the tea was thrown overboard at Boston. The convicts were made to cease, and Van Diemen's Land became Tasmania,—Tasmania with free institutions of its own, with representative government, with Lords and Commons, with a public debt, with its own taxes, and a right to govern itself by its own laws,—so long as it should exact no laws contrary to the spirit of the laws of England. It became, in fact, as were and are the other colonies, all but independent, and it threw off from itself its convict stain. But then, as a matter of course, it threw off from itself also the £350,000 a year which in one shape or another the convicts used to bring with them from England, and it could make no more roads and put up no more public buildings, except in the normal way of the world, by paying the market price for the works accomplished.

The feeling of disgrace, the aspiration for a different state of things, and the determination to be quit of the questionable well-being of a convict establishment, were very grand on the part of the free settlers of Van Diemen's Land. There was more in it than in the same

resolution on the part of New South Wales;—for New South Wales was large, and was achieving property in another way when it resolved that convicts should be no longer received. New South Wales made no such sacrifice as did Van Diemen's Land. The government money, and government works, and government employment were no longer at that time all in all to New South Wales, as they were to the small colony settled in the southern island, which had been created in the first place for the convicts, and then nourished by them. A great fight was made by the mother country to retain the right thus to dispose of her ruffians, and Sir William Denison, who was the governor of the day in Van Diemen's Land, was very eager in his attempt to perpetuate the arrangement, acting no doubt under instructions from the Colonial Office at home. But the feeling against the convicts was too general, and the people, though few in numbers, were too strong for Sir William Denison. In 1851 and 1852, when the agitation was going on, there were less than 75,000 free inhabitants in the colony, but they prevailed;—and as a consequence the money stopped. There were no longer British troops in the island, now re-christened as Tasmania. All the paraphernalia of home wealth, and home empire, and home influence were withdrawn. Of course there has been a reaction. I do not dare to say that the Tasmanians regret their convicts; but they do regret the attendant expenditure and attendant ceremonies of the convict establishment. The colony had been fostered by extraneous help and not by internal energy. It was easier to see and to feel the meanness in the eyes of the world of this position, than to rise at once to the *national effort* necessary for success on its withdrawal. The "Van Diemonians" were all but united in the de-

of their determination that no more convicts be sent to them. They are now almost equally in their declaration that the cessation of the of the convicts has been their ruin. They think gland has been hard to them in the measure of which she has meted. There might have been a or at any rate a company of soldiers left in the -a few red jackets if only to enliven the streets lden the eyes of the women. Was it to be ex- hat all the money would be withdrawn at once, not quite at once with so great rapidity? There ains, and will yet remain for a few years,—as I lain more at length in another chapter,—a small for the expiring needs of the old establish- ut that is becoming less and less every year, and t of the money is felt in every station and in op.

all know the listlessness and unmanly apathy as hitherto been engendered all the world over rnment pay. In England for the last twenty have been making great efforts to cure the evil, fact that the efforts have been found to be ne- is the best proof of the truth of the assertion. ient cannot get the same work out of its work- t is got by private employers. It cannot build or manage an estate, or erect a palace with that which a private master can ensure. Six hours , diminished perhaps to five or four as oppor- may allow, takes the place of the eight hours servants employed in private enterprises. This r idleness produces idleness till it becomes the ssing of the service that real work is not exacted. nd to do something,—not even to pretend to do *is the gentlemanlike* thing. There has been

much of all this in England, but more of it, I think, among Englishmen employed out of England. The evil is by no means limited to the clerk, or secretary, or commissioner who feels himself to be a great man because he has very little to do for his salary, but extends itself to all those who see and know and envy the great man. A profuse expenditure of government money in any community will taint the whole of it with the pervading sin. Men learn to regard the government as babies regard the nurse,—and are like the big calf which can only be kept from its overwrought mother's dugs by some process of disagreeable expulsion. Personal enterprise and national enterprise are equally destroyed by it. In Dublin, you are told that Dublin could not thrive if the Lord Lieutenant were withdrawn; and, consequently, Dublin with its Lord Lieutenant does not thrive. Of all food this national mother's milk, when taken beyond the period of infancy, is the most enervating. Van Diemen's Land had the strength of character necessary for the abandonment of it by her own effort. I think myself that she has a constitution sufficiently strong to enable her to live through the consequent crisis, and to walk honestly on her own legs after a period of weakness. In the meantime she feels herself to be sick, and she longs for the unwholesome nourishment which she herself was wise enough to throw away from her.

I need hardly say that the island now called Tasmania lies south of Australia. The port of Launceston, which is the largest town in the northern division of the island, is, at the present rate of steaming, about twenty-five hours distant from the port of Melbourne. The island, with the small adjacent islands belonging to it, is *somewhat smaller* than Ireland. It comprises nearly *seventeen million* acres, of which less than a fourth have

een alienated from the Crown,—that is, purchased and sed by settlers in the colony. A small portion of the ast remaining area is leased by the Crown to squatters, nd is be-pastured,—if I may use a word which I have ound to be common in the colonies; but by far the reater proportion of the island is covered by dense unxplored forests of gum-trees. It is now divided into ighteen counties, of which five in the west are, as far s I could learn, altogether uninhabited and uninhabitble. Of others only strips of land near the sea or by ie side of rivers have been "taken up." It is mountainus, the mountains boasting of but moderate altitudes,—,000 feet, and the like. It is intersected by many vers, and watered by many lakes, being in this respect ltogether unlike the mainland of Australia. It was disovered in 1642, originally by Abel Jan Tasman, a utchman,—as were so many of the Australian pioneers. asman, so says the legend, was violently in love with laria, the daughter of one Van Diemen, who in those ays was governor of the Dutch East Indian possessions. asman had been sent out on this expedition by Van iemen, and showed his gratitude and his gallantry by ie liberal use of his patron's name and that of his atron's daughter in the nomenclature of the places he iscovered. The whole country he called Van Diemen's and. The largest of the adjacent islands which he saw e christened Maria. The lady's name still stands on ie maps; but posterity, with a justice which is not cusmary in such matters, after more than two centuries, in s hatred of a sound which had become connected all ver the world with rascaldom, has gone back to the al discoverer, and has created for the colony the pretty ut somewhat fantastic name of Tasmania. For many *ears after Tasman's* discovery it was thought to be a

part of the continent of New Holland, as Australia was then called. It was not till 1798 that George Bass discovered the straits which still bear his name. In 1803 the island was first occupied on behalf of Great Britain by a party sent from New South Wales, and in 1804 Colonel David Collins was appointed as its first lieutenant-governor, he being at that time subject to the governor of the parent colony. The settlement in Van Diemen's Land was made with the express intention of relieving New South Wales of a portion of its convicts, and specially with the view of sending thither those who had been hitherto stationed at Norfolk Island,—which place had been found to be ill fitted for the purpose. At this time the only, or at least by far the paramount interest taken by the mother country in the possession of Australia had reference to her convicts. New South Wales had been found to be a place to which convicts could conveniently be sent; but the number which could be safely kept there was not sufficient for the purposes of the home government. Van Diemen's Land might supply the deficiency, and to Van Diemen's Land were dispatched a certain proportion of the convicts who crowded and embarrassed the hands of the Governor of New South Wales. Two stations were opened, the first on the north and the second on the south side of the island. And thus sprung up two towns, Launceston on the Tamar in the north, and Hobart Town on the Derwent in the south. These are still the chief, and perhaps I may say without offence to various flourishing villages, the only towns in Tasmania; and they are joined together by such a road, 120 miles in length, as is not to be found elsewhere in the Australian colonies. This *was, of course,* made altogether by convict labour.

From this time, 1804, down to the year 1856, when

responsible government began, the history of Va
Diemen's Land is simply the history of a convic
establishment. How to manage convicts, how to ge
work out of them with the least possible chance of
escape, how to catch them when they did escape, how
to give them liberty when they made no attempt to
escape, how to punish them, and how not to punish
them, how to make them understand that they were
simply beasts of burden reduced to that degree by their
own vileness, and how to make them understand at the
same time that if under the most difficult circumstances
for the exercise of virtue they would cease to be vicious,
they might cease also to be beasts of burden,—these
were the tasks which were imposed, not only upon the
governors and their satellites, not only on the army of gaolers,
military and civil, not only on the army of gaolers,
warders, and suchlike, which was necessary, but also on
every free settler, and on every free man in the island.
or no one who had cast in his lot with Van Diemen's
and could be free from the taint of the establishment
unconnected with the advantages which it certainly
stowed.

A double set of horrors is told of the convict esta-
hment of Van Diemen's Land,—of horrors arising
n the cruelty of the tyrant gaolers to their prison
es, and of horrors created by these slaves when they
ped and became bushrangers. It must be borne in
l that almost every squatter was a gaoler, and that
st every servant was a slave. But no tidings that
old through the world exaggerate themselves with
ich ease as the tidings of horrors. They who are
shocked at them, women who grow pale at the
g and almost shriek as the stories are told them,
to have the stories so told that they may be

justified in shrieking. The ball grows as it is rolled, and the pile of wonder is accumulated. But no doubt the work to be done was very nasty work, and there was of necessity much of roughness on both sides. It must be understood that these prisoners in Van Diemen's Land were not to be kept as prisoners are kept in our county gaols and penitentiaries at home. They were to be out at work wherever the present need of work might be. Nor were they to be watched when at work by regular wardens as many of us have seen to be done with gangs of prisoners at Portland, Portsmouth, and elsewhere at home,—so watched that immediate escape, though not perhaps impossible, is very difficult. A portion of the convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land were no doubt locked up from the first, a portion were employed on government works and were probably kept under close though not continued surveillance;—but the majority both of men and women were sent out as servants to the free settlers, who were responsible, if not directly for the safe custody of those entrusted to them, at least for immediate report should any escape. The first preliminaries of escape were easy. A man could run into the bush, and be quit at any rate of the labour of the hour. If he were shepherding sheep, or building fences, or felling timber, during the greater part of the day, no eye unless that of a brother convict was upon him. He could go, and the chances of the world were open to him. But when these first preliminaries were so easy it was of course essential that they should ordinarily be rendered unsuccessful, and that the attempt should be followed by speedy and sharp punishment. The escaped convict was at once hunted, and generally tracked by the facilities which starvation afforded to his pursuers. No one but an escaped convict would feed an

escaped convict, and none but they who had established themselves as bushrangers had food either to eat or to give. Even the established bushrangers, who had homes of some sort in the mountain recesses, who were in league with the blacks, and who knew how to take the wild animals, the kangaroos and walliby and opossums, were not unfrequently driven by famine to surrender themselves.

Of course the escapes were numerous, and of course the punishments were severe. And it was not only that the men would escape, but also that when punctual to hours and punctual in the receipt of their rations, they would not earn their rations by work. They would not work after such a fashion as to please their masters;—and, as a necessity, the masters had a redress for such occasions. A convict who would only eat rations and never earn them,—and who could not be dismissed as can an ordinary idle servant,—required some treatment more or less severe. The master himself was not allowed to inflict corporal punishment,—but the neighbouring magistrate was entrusted with that power. The magistrate could, on hearing sufficient evidence of wilful idleness or other delinquency, inflict a certain number of lashes. The thing became so common, of such everyday occurrence, that very light evidence was soon found to be sufficient. The neighbouring settler or squatter was probably the friend of the magistrate, who was a squatter himself; and what better,—indeed what other evidence could the magistrate have than his friend's word? The practice became very simple at last. If the man would not work, or worked amiss, or was held to have sinned in any way against his master's discipline, he was sent to the magistrate to be flogged. He himself would be the bearer of some short note. "Dear Sir,—Please give

the bearer three dozen, and return him." The man as a rule would take the note,—and the three dozen, and would return. A bold spirit would perhaps run away. Then he would be tracked and dogged and starved, till he either came back or was brought back,—and the last state of that man would be worse than the first.

Of course these were horrors. The men who did escape and some who did not, committed fresh crimes and underwent fresh trials,—with very small chance of verdicts in their favour. And of all crimes murder and attempts to murder seem to have been most in excess. Men were hung for murder and attempts to murder and for various other crimes. The hangings were frequent and gave rise to sharp expostulations. There is a story in the island that the gaol chaplain at Hobart Town once remonstrated,—not against hanging in general or the number that were hung,—but as to the inconvenient celerity with which the ceremony was performed. Thirteen men, he said, could be comfortably hung at once, but no more. The crowding had been too great, and he trusted that for the future the accommodation afforded by the gaol might not be too far stretched. The hangman was a great and well-paid official. There were flagellators also, generally convicts themselves, promoted to the honourable employment of flogging their brethren at the different stations. There is still, I am told, an old pensioned hangman living under protection in the island. The flagellators have disappeared, some having gone to Victoria as miners, some having died in their bed,—a reasonable proportion having been murdered. *It may* be understood that the flagellators would not be *popular.*

Not a few of these forlorn ones did escape and make

their way into the wilderness, living in holes and amidst rocks and sometimes with habitations built for themselves in the deep recesses of the forests. The names of some of these still live in the memory of old Tasmanians, and some few still live themselves as respectable members of society. There was one Brady, who seems to have possessed himself of half the mountain tops in the island, for, let the traveller go where he will, he will be shown a "Brady's Look-out." Brady, I think, was hung at last. And there was one Howe, who had a wonderful career, living with a native girl whom he at last murdered because she was not fleet enough of foot to escape with him, and who was himself at last murdered by a companion. And then there was one Cash, who had a long career as a bushranger, and who now lives in dignified and easy retirement. There is also one Markham, now carrying on business satisfactorily as a gardener, who lived for seven years in a retreat he made for himself in the bush, coming down occasionally and stealing such articles as were essential for him, growing a little wheat on a plot round his cottage, keeping a goat and rearing a few sheep. For seven years the man lived on in this way, all alone, undiscovered, sufficing in all things for himself,—except in regard to those occasional thefts from his nearest neighbour. Then the solitude became too much for him, and he crept down to a neighbour's house,—the squatter from whom he had been accustomed to steal,—and finding the mistress of the family, he gave himself up to her in order that the law might do as it would with him. The squatter, who had been the man's prey, was an Irish gentleman, with a tender heart, who felt thankful to the man *for not having* murdered his wife and *children. Having position* and influence he interfered

on the man's behalf, and the law was lenient and the man was pardoned. The story was told to me by the lady to whom Markham surrendered himself, wild, with long locks, clothed in a sheepskin, haggard with solitude, tired out with absolute independence. Now he is a prosperous grower of apples. What an episode in life for a man to carry about always in his memory!

There was much of murder and robbery, much of hanging and slavery. English settlers to whom convicts were assigned of course learned the sweets of slavery. Their servants were intelligent beasts of burden, who had only to be fed, coerced, and made to work. The slave too was not purchased, and if he died there was no loss. The system of course was bad, as with our present lights we can see plainly enough. But though the system was bad, the men who carried it out did, I think, mainly strive to do so to a good end. Though one hears much of flogging in Van Diemen's Land, one hears still more of the excellence of the service rendered by convicts. Ladies especially are never weary of telling how good and how faithful were the females allotted to them and to their mothers. Indeed it is from the ladies of the colony that one hears the loudest regrets in regard to the good things that have now been lost for ever. And though the ladies are the loudest, men also tell of the excellence of the convicts by whose labour they were enriched in the old days. Again, on the other hand, the inquirer is constantly startled by the respectability of career and eminent success of many a pardoned convict. Men who came out nominally for life were free and earning large incomes within comparatively few years. Unless a man were reconvicted *he was sure* to be made free, having at first a ticket of *leave, which* enabled him to work within a certain dis-

ict on his own behalf, and then a conditional pardon, hich allowed him to go anywhere except to England. n the records of Tasmania, which we have at home, e are told of the cruelty and sufferings inflicted nd endured on both sides, of the cruelty of masters nd of all that their slaves endured, of the bloodthirsty alignity of bushrangers, and of the evils which they erpetrated on the community. Horrors are always so opular that of course such tales are told the loudest. nduring good conduct with good results creates no ensational enjoyment, and therefore we hear little or othing of masters and mistresses so satisfied with the ocility of convicts as to find them superior to free rvants, or of men who have been sent from England abject, nameless wretches, who have risen after a eriod of penal service, to opulence, respectability, and most to honour.

When the establishment was first set on foot in Van iemen's Land, not only were convicts sent out to cer- in of the settlers as labourers without hire, but the ttlers who took them had with each convict a grant land,—so many acres for each convict taken. The wner of the slave was then bound to feed and clothe e man, but was not required to pay him any wages. hat the convicts were sufficiently fed and clad by their nployers I have never heard denied. Indeed food was cheap,—or at least meat was so,—that no deficiency this respect was probable. Nor, as far as I can learn, ere the men overworked. No doubt the amount of bour performed by them daily was less than that ordi- arily given by free labourers. But absolute submission as required from them,—that absolute touch-your-hat- nd-look-humble submission which to this day is con- *dered necessary among* soldiers. They were to give

implicit obedience, and masters accustomed to implicit obedience and absolute submission are apt to become arbitrary. And the scourge, when it is in use, recommends itself strongly to those who use it. The system could not but be evil. Then, after some years, wages of £9 per annum were required from the masters for each man,—out of which the men found their own clothes. This was a great improvement in the condition of the convicts, as they were thus enabled to own property and to exercise some of the rights of free men. At the same time they had awarded to them the privilege of leaving their masters if they chose, and of going on to the public works. This was a privilege which was but seldom exercised, as private work and private rations and private discipline were always better than the work and rations and discipline of the public gangs. But it was something for a man who could not endure a master to be able to shake that master's yoke from his neck.

In different parts of the island, as the public works demanded, large stations were built for those employed. There were various of these stations on the route from Launceston to Hobart Town, where the men were kept while they constructed the road. They were built of stone, and the ruins of them are still to be seen on the road-side. Here also resided wardens and gaolers and flagellators, and I fancy that life in the gangs was generally very much worse than life in private service. The streets and roads about Hobart Town were made after this fashion, and many of the public buildings were put up by the convicts. The traveller is astonished at the neatness and excellence of these works in Hobart Town till he learns by degrees what it was that *convict labour* in old days did for a convict establishment.

And there was a third mode of bestowing the convicts in Tasmania which was,—and indeed is, for it still remains,—the most remarkable of the three. There were men who could neither be sent out as private servants, or even trusted to work in gangs,—men for whom a prison home was needed. A prison home also was needed for the new comers, as to whom in the first months of their service solitary confinement and good discipline were a part of the bad bargain they had made for themselves. This prison was after a while established at Port Arthur, a peninsula joined to the mainland by a neck of land only a few yards broad, and has been, I think, in many respects the most remarkable, as it is probably the most picturesque, prison establishment in the world. It is still in operation, as a certain proportion of old English convicts are yet in durance, and I shall therefore speak of it in the next chapter. Now it is altogether under colonial control; but it has been so only for a year or two. The transfer was, I think, finally made in 1870, till which time Port Arthur was an imperial establishment. Perhaps no spot on the globe has been the residence during the last sixty years of greater suffering or of guiltier thoughts.

The system of transportation as carried on in Van Diemen's Land no doubt was bad. It was bad to stain with the crime of so many criminals a community which must necessarily be in itself so small. It could never have been hoped that the population of Van Diemen's Land could swallow up so large a body of English criminals as would be sent thither, without becoming a people especially noted for its convict element. And yet it was never intended that Van Diemen's Land should be devoted to convicts, as was Norfolk Island, and as is the little spot of land called Spike Island in

the Cove of Cork. And the portioning out of convicts to settlers to be employed as labourers was bad; for it created a taste for slavery which has not yet lost its relish on the palate of many Tasmanians. A certain amount of harshness and bitter suffering was, no doubt, incidental to it. But I do not believe that men became fiends under its working. The fiends came out ready made, from England, and were on the whole treated with no undue severity. Of course there were exceptions,—and the exceptions have reached the public ear much more readily than has the true history.

A squatter who had the power of sending his men to be "flagellated" could hardly possess that tenderness of spirit which is now held to be essential to the character of a gentleman. But I received no evidence of cruelty of that deep dye towards the convicts which I have often heard attributed to the settlers of Van Diemen's Land. The period was a hanging period. The system was one to which flogging was necessary. Tenderness had no part in the thing as it was established. One of two events was certain to come about. Either the government must keep down the convicts, or the convicts would put down the government. There were times in which it almost seemed that the latter event might prevail.

As I have said before, there was very much comfort in the system. Good roads, handsome buildings, clean streets, and public gardens are very comfortable; and when they are produced almost without apparent expense they are heavenly. Such was the case both at Hobart Town and at Launceston. Convict labour no doubt is dear labour, but it seems to be cheap. The *things* are done, and no disagreeable questions arise *about the money*. There were soldiers with uniforms,

d officers with many titles. The hangman and flagel-
ors were only the undignified extremities of a long
of repressive but dignified officials. There was, too,
ertain power and name incident to the position, so
t Van Diemen's Land was by no means a poor place.
vertheless the people rebelled against the system,—
rather repudiated it with such strength, that the
ernment at home was at last forced to give way.

In 1853 Van Diemen's Land ceased to receive con-
ts, and in 1856, following the example of her elder
l younger sisters on the Australian continent, she
nt to work with a representative government of her
n. There had been considerable difference of opinion
ween the colony and the mother country. The con-
establishment was very convenient to us. We all
ow well how hard of solution is the question of the
ure disposition of the man against whom a judge has
h great facility pronounced a sentence of penal ser-
ude for a certain term of years. Whither shall we
d our afflicted brother? Our little depôts at home
small and easily crowded. Van Diemen's Land in
s respect was convenient, and was at first hardly
ught to have a voice loud enough to make itself
ard. The governor of the day, Sir William Denison,
l what he could to save the thing. But the people
re in earnest and they prevailed.

Up to that time the colony had no doubt prospered.
ool, the staple of all the Australian colonies, had been
own with great profit in the island. It was from Van
emen's Land that the district now called Victoria had
en first supplied with sheep. It was found that almost
ery plant and almost every animal that thrives in
gland could be *acclimatized* in an island whose climate
only a little warmer than that of England, and a little

more dry. It became known in the East for its breed of horses, for its whale fishery,—which was pre-eminently successful,—for its wheat and oats, and especially for its fruit. It could supply all Australia with fruit if only all Australia could be made to take it. For a time the markets were at any rate good enough to secure wealth. Men in Van Diemen's Land became rich, and both Launceston and Hobart Town were prosperous boroughs. Schools were general, hospitals were established, the institutions of the colony generally were excellent. Van Diemen's Land had not indeed a great reputation. It had a name that seemed to carry a taunt in men's ears. But it was prosperous and fat; and, unless when the bushrangers were in ascendancy, the people were happy. Such was their history up to 1856, when transportation had been abolished and representative government was commenced. Now the Tasmanians declare themselves to be ruined, and are not slow to let a stranger know that the last new name given to the island is that of "Sleepy Hollow." When the stranger asks the reason of this ruin, he is told that all the public money has gone with the convicts, and that—the rabbits have eaten up all the grass. The rabbits, like the sheep, have been imported from Europe, and the rabbits have got ahead of the sheep. "If it was not that this is Sleepy Hollow," they say, "we should stir ourselves and get rid of the rabbits. But it is Sleepy Hollow, and so we don't."

CHAPTER XIII.

Port Arthur.

When it had been decided between the mother country and the colony that transportation to Van Diemen's Land should be at an end, the colonial Houses

of Parliament petitioned the Queen that the name might be changed,—so that the convict flavour and the convict odour attached to the old sound might be banished; and the Queen of course assented. Hence has sprung in the catalogue of our colonies the name of Tasmania, as pretty as any that we have, but to my ears somewhat fantastic. In New South Wales, with its enormous area, and in the absence of any sea barriers by which convicts could be hemmed in, the traveller does not at present hear much about convicts. They have wandered away whither they would. Now and then good-natured reference is made in regard to some lady or gentleman to the fact that her or his father was "lagged," and occasionally up in the bush a shepherd may be found who will own to the soft impeachment of having been lagged himself,—though always for some offence which is supposed to have in it more of nobility than depravity. But in Tasmania the records are recent, fresh, and ever present. There is still felt the necessity of adhering to a social rule that no convict, whatever may have been his success, shall be received into society. "But if he should be a member of the Assembly?" I asked. Well, yes, my informant acknowledged, that there would be a difficulty. There are occasions on which a member of the Assembly may almost demand to be entertained,—as a member of the House of Commons has, I imagine, almost a right to dine with the Speaker. It is not only that men and women in Tasmania do not choose to herd with convicts, but that they are on their guard lest it might be supposed that their own existence in the island might be traced back to the career of some criminal relative.

In the meantime, though a new name sweet as a rose has been invented, the odour and the flavour have

not as yet quite passed away. A certain number of convicts are at work on the public domain in Hobart Town, but they are always the convicts of the island,—men who have received their sentences for deeds done in Tasmania. At the extreme south-west of the island,—in a peninsula called by the name of Tasman, which is all but an island,—is maintained a station called Port Arthur, and there are at present kept as many as remain of the old English exiles. With them are a portion of the convicts of the island. For those who were sent out from England, England still pays the cost of maintenance, amounting to £36 19*s.* 8*d.* per annum for each man under sentence, and something less for lunatics and paupers. Of these the great majority are now either paupers or lunatics, who would be free were they able to earn their own bread. England also pays, and will, by agreement, continue to pay for some further term of eight or nine years, a lump sum of £6,000 per annum towards the general police expenses, which were commenced on behalf of the mother country. When an English convict, who has had a conditional pardon, is reconvicted, he is maintained at the expense of the colony if reconvicted after a period of six months of freedom;—but at the expense of England if within that period. And so the convict system is dying out in Tasmania, and will soon be extinct, and at last the odour and the flavour will be gone. In speaking of possible convict members of the legislature,—I might also have spoken of possible convict prime ministers. I allude, of course, to men who have either been pardoned or have worn out their terms of sentence. By degrees also their odour and their flavour will pass away. That there *should be* such unsavoury remembrances is perhaps not *the least* salutary part of the punishment.

I visited Port Arthur, and was troubled by many reflections as to the future destiny of so remarkable a place. It is in a direct line not, I believe, above sixty miles from Hobart Town, but it can hardly be reached directly. The way to it is generally by water, and as there is no traffic to or from the place other than what is carried on by the government for the supply of the establishment, a sailing schooner is sufficient,—and indeed more than sufficiently expensive. In this schooner I was taken under the kind guidance of the premier and attorney-general of the island, who were called upon in the performance of their duties to inspect the place and hear complaints,—if complaints there were. We started at midnight, and as we were told at break of day that we had made only four miles down the bay, I began to fear that the expedition would be long. But the wind at last favoured us, and at about noon we were landed at Tasman peninsula in Norfolk Bay, and there we found the commandant of the establishment and horses to carry us whither we would. We found also a breakfast at the policeman's house, of which we were very much in want.

Tasman's peninsula, which has been held entire by the Crown for the purposes of the convict establishment, is an irregularly formed piece of land about twenty-five miles long and twelve broad, indented by various bays and creeks of the sea, very hilly, covered with primeval gum-tree forest, and joined on to the island by a very narrow neck of sand. Port Arthur, where are the prisons, is about nine miles from Norfolk Bay; but our first object was to visit the neck,—called Eagle Hawk Neck,—partly for the sake of the scenery, and partly because the neck is guarded by dogs, placed there to prevent the escape of the convicts. I had heard of these dogs before

I visited Tasmania, but I had thought that they were mythic. There, however, I found them, to the number of fifteen, chained up in their appointed places at and near the neck. The intention is that they should bark if any escaped prisoner should endeavour to swim at night across the narrow arm of sea which divides the two lands. In former days they used to be employed in hunting the men down. I doubt whether they are now of any service. They are allowed regular rations, one pound of meat and one pound of flour a day per dog; and I found the policemen stationed at the Neck very loud in their assurances that the business could not be carried on without the dogs. The policemen also have rations,—somewhat more than that of the dogs, though of the same kind; and it struck me that to the married men who have families in the neighbourhood, the rationed dogs might be serviceable.

The scenery at this spot is very lovely, as the bright narrow sea runs up between two banks which are wooded down to the water. Then we went farther on, riding our horses where it was practicable to ride, and visited two wonders of the place,—the Blow-Hole, and Tasman's Arch. The Blow-Hole is such a passage cut out by the sea through the rocks as I have known more than one on the west coast of Ireland under the name of puffing holes. This hole did not puff nor blow when I was there; but we were enabled by the quiescence of the sea to crawl about among the rocks, and enjoyed ourselves more than we should have done had the monster been in full play. Tasman's Arch, a mile farther on, is certainly the grandest piece of rock construction I ever saw. The sea has made its way in through the rocks, forming a large pool or hole, some fifty yards from the outer cliffs, the descent into which is perpendicular all round;

and over the aperture stretches an immense natural arch, the supports or side pillars of which are perpendicular. Very few even now visit Tasman's Arch; but when the convict establishment at Port Arthur comes to an end, as come to an end I think it must, no one will ever see the place. Nevertheless it is well worth seeing, as may probably be said of many glories of the earth which are altogether hidden from human eyes.

From the arch we rode back again by the Neck and Norfolk Bay to Port Arthur, and reached that place between seven and eight. I had been uncomfortable in the schooner, and was anxious to know what accommodation would be provided; but I was by no means prepared for the luxurious abode in which we found ourselves quartered. Indeed all Port Arthur loomed upon me at once as a remarkable place. I first saw a large church with a spire, what would be a very large church in an ordinary English rural parish, and attached to it a residence just such as might be prepared for a well-to-do rector at home,—only that the house had but one story, as is customary with old houses in the colonies. This, however, was no rectory, but the Government Cottage,—and in the old palmy days of the colony was used by the governors as a pleasant sea-side retreat for their wives and families. It looked out upon a large and well-kept garden, and then, through the shrubs, upon a lovely nook of the sea. A pleasanter cottage, or one with prettier external belongings, one would not wish to have by the sea-shore. And then the church was so big, and so near, and so respectable! I went into it, and found it to be fitted with high, dark-coloured, old-fashioned pews. There was a lofty, fortress-like pulpit, and round some great man's pew,—either the commandant's or the *governor's, probably* round both,—there was the old-

fashioned English curtain, so that the mighty ones within might pray or sleep without intrusion. It was very English; but remarkable chiefly for this, that it was there in the forest, on a shore uninhabited except by convicts, altogether undesirable for other inhabitants,—and that the convicts would soon be away. What then will become of the very respectable church with its high pews, and of the Government Cottage? In the mean time an excellent dinner was served to us by an ancient policeman and his wife.

On the following day we inspected the prisons, and poor-house and lunatic asylum and farm attached to the prisons;—for there is a farm of well-cleared land,—seventy or eighty acres under tillage, if I remember rightly; and there is a railway for bringing down timber and firewood. The whole was in admirable order, and gave at first sight the idea of an industrial establishment conducted on excellent commercial principles. The men made their own shoes and clothes and cheeses, and fed their own pigs, and milked their own cows, and killed their own beef and mutton. There seemed to be no reason why they should not sell their surplus produce and turn in a revenue for the colony. But prisons never do turn in a revenue, and this certainly was no exception to the rule.

I found that there were altogether 506 persons, all males, to be looked after, and that no less than 97 men were employed to look after them. Of these 25 were officers, many of whom were in receipt of good salaries. There was the commandant, and the Protestant chaplain, and the Roman Catholic chaplain, and the doctor, and the doctor's assistant, and the postmaster, forming with *their wives* and families quite a pleasant little society, *utterly beyond* reach of the world, but supplied with

every comfort,—unless when the wind was so bad that the government schooner could not get round to them. These gentlemen all had houses too. I was hospitably received in one, that of the commandant,—which, with its pretty garden, and boat-house, and outlook upon the land-locked bay of the sea, made me wish to be commandant myself. There would have been nothing peculiar in all this, except the cleanness and prettiness of the place, were it not that it must apparently all come to an end in a few years, and that the commandant's house and the other houses, and all the village, and the prisons, and the asylum, and the farm, and the church, will be left deserted, and allowed to fall into ruins. I do not know what other fate can be theirs. Tasmania will not maintain the place for her own prison purposes when there is an end of the English money;—and for other than prison purposes no one will surely go and live in that ultima thule, lovely as are the bays of the sea, and commodious as may be the buildings.

Of the 506 men to be looked after, 284 belonged to England, and 222 to the colony. Of the 506, 234 only were efficient for work; and of this latter number only 39 were English convicts. It will be understood that the lingering English remnants of transported ruffianism would by this time consist chiefly of old men unfit for work. There were 146 English paupers,—convicts who have served their time, but who would be unable to support themselves if turned out,—and there were 10 invalids who would return to their convict work when well. There were also 89 lunatics, of whom only 4 were under sentence. With 506 men to be looked after, 97 officers and constables to look after them, and with only 234 men able to do a day's work, it may well be imagined that the place is not self-supporting. Its net

cost is, in round numbers, £20,000; of which, in round numbers again, England pays one-half and the colony the other. It was admitted that when the English subsidy was withdrawn—for in fact England does pay at present £6,000 a year for general expenses over and above her contribution per man to the establishment at Port Arthur,—that when this should be discontinued, Port Arthur must be deserted.

The interest of such an establishment as this of course lies very much in the personal demeanour, in the words, and appearance of the prisoners. A man who has been all his life fighting against law, who has been always controlled but never tamed by law, is interesting, though inconvenient,—as is a tiger. There were some dozen or fifteen men,—perhaps more,—whom we found inhabiting separate cells, and who were actually imprisoned. These were the heroes of the place. There was an Irishman with one eye, named Doherty, who told us that for forty-two years he had never been a free man for an hour. He had been transported for mutiny when hardly more than a boy,—for he had enlisted as a boy,—and had since that time received nearly 3,000 lashes. In appearance he was a large man and still powerful,—well to look at in spite of his eye, lost as he told us through the misery of prison life. But he said that he was broken at last. If they would only treat him kindly, he would be as a lamb. But within the last few weeks he had escaped with three others, and had been brought back almost starved to death. The record of his prison life was frightful. He had been always escaping, always rebelling, always fighting against authority,—and always being flogged. There had been a whole life of torment *such as this;*—forty-two years of it; and there he stood, *speaking softly,* arguing his case well, and pleading while

the tears ran down his face for some kindness, for some mercy in his old age. "I have tried to escape;—always to escape," he said,—"as a bird does out of a cage. Is that unnatural;—is that a great crime?" The man's first offence, that of mutiny, is not one at which the mind revolts. I did feel for him, and when he spoke of himself as a caged bird, I should have liked to take him out into the world, and have given him a month of comfort. He would probably, however, have knocked my brains out on the first opportunity. I was assured that he was thoroughly bad, irredeemable, not to be reached by any kindness, a beast of prey, whose hand was against every honest man, and against whom it was necessary that every honest man should raise his hand. Yet he talked so gently and so well, and argued his own case with such winning words! He was writing in a book when we entered his cell, and was engaged on some speculation as to the tonnage of vessels. "Just scribbling, sir," he said, "to while away the hours."

There was another man, also an Irishman, named Ahern, whose appearance was as revolting as that of Doherty was prepossessing. He was there for an attempt to murder his wife, and had been repeatedly re-tried and re-convicted. He was making shoes when we saw him, and had latterly become a reformed character. But for years his life had been absolutely the life of a caged beast,—only with incidents more bestial than those of any beast. His gaolers seemed to have no trust in his reformation. He, too, was a large powerful man, and he, too, will probably remain till he dies either in solitary confinement or under closest surveillance. In absolute infamy he was considered to be without a peer in the establishment. But he talked to us quite freely about his little accident with his wife.

There was another remarkable man in one of the solitary cells whose latter crime had been that of bringing abominable and false accusations against fellow prisoners. He talked for awhile with us on the ordinary topics of the day not disagreeably, expressing opinions somewhat averse to lonely existence, and not altogether in favour of the partiality of those who attended upon him. But he gave us to understand that though he was quite willing to answer questions in a pleasant, friendly way, it was his intention before we left him to make a speech. It was not every day that he had such an audience as a prime minister and an attorney-general,—not to speak of a solicitor-general from another colony who was with us also, or of the commandant or of myself. He made his speech,—and I must here declare that all the prisoners were allowed to make speeches if they pleased. He made his speech,—hitching up his parcel-yellow trousers with his left hand as he threw out his right with emphatic gesture. I have longed for such ease and such fluency when, on occasions, I have been called upon to deliver myself of words upon my legs. It was his object to show that the effort of his life had been to improve the morals of the establishment, and that the commandant had repressed him, actuated solely by a delight in wickedness. And as he made his charge he pointed to the commandant with denouncing fingers, and we all listened with the gravest attention. I was wondering whether he thought that he made any impression. I forget that man's name and his crime, but he ought to have been a republican at home, and should he ever get out from Port Arthur might still do well to stand for a borough on anti-monarchical interests.

But of all the men the most singular in his fate was another Irishman, one Barron, who lived in a little island

all alone; and of all the modes of life into which such a man might fall, surely his was the most wonderful. To the extent of the island he was no prisoner at all, but might wander whither he liked, might go to bed when he pleased, and get up when he pleased, might bathe and catch fish or cultivate his little flower-garden,—and was in very truth monarch of all he surveyed. Twice a week his rations were brought to him, and in his disposal of them no one interfered with him. But he surveyed nothing but graves. All who died at Port Arthur, whether convicts or free, are buried there, and he has the task of burying them. He digs his graves, not fitfully and by hurried task-work, but with thoughtful precision,—having one always made for a Roman Catholic, and one for a Protestant inmate. In this regularity he was indeed acting against orders,—as there was some prejudice against these ready-made graves, but he went on with his work, and was too valuable in his vocation to incur serious interference. We talked with him for half an hour, and found him to be a sober, thoughtful, suspicious man, quite alive to the material inconveniences of his position, but not in the least afflicted by ghostly fear or sensational tremors. He smiled when we asked whether the graves awed him,—but he shook his head when it was suggested to him that he might grow a few cabbages for his own use. He could eat nothing that grew from such soil. The flowers were very well, but a garden among graves was no garden for vegetables. He had been there for ten years, digging all the graves in absolute solitude without being ill for a day. I asked him whether he was happy. No, he was not happy. He wanted to get away and work his passage to America, and begin life afresh, *though* he was sixty years old. He *preferred digging graves* and solitude in the island, to

the ordinary life of Port Arthur; he desired to remain in the island as long as he was a convict; but he was of opinion that ten years of such work ought to have earned him his freedom. Why he was retained I forget. If I remember rightly, there had been no charge against him during the ten years. "You have no troubles here," I said. "I have great troubles," he replied, "when I walk about thinking of my sins." There was no hypocrisy about him, nor did he in any way cringe to us. On the contrary, he was quiet, unobtrusive, and moody. There he is still, living among the graves,—still dreaming of some future career in life when, at last, they who have power over him shall let him go.

Of the able-bodied men the greatest number are at work about the farm, or on the land, or cutting timber, and seem to be subject to no closer surveillance than are ordinary labourers. There is nothing to prevent their escape,—except the fact that they must starve in the bush if they do escape. There is plenty of room for them to starve in the bush even on Tasman's peninsula. Then when they have starved till they can starve no longer, they go back to the damnable torment of a solitary cell. None but spirits so indomitable as that of the man Doherty will dare to repeat the agonies of escape above once or twice.

There was a man named Fisher dying in the hospital, who had been one of those who had lately escaped with Doherty, and had, indeed, arranged the enterprise, and had gotten together the materials to form a canoe to carry them off. Before they started he had been possessed of £10, which,—so the officers said,—he had slowly amassed by selling wine and spirits which he had *collected in* some skin round his body, such wine and *spirits having* been administered to him by the doctor's

orders, and having been received into the outer skin instead of taken to the comfort of the inner man. This, it was supposed, he had sold to the constables and warders, and had so realised £10. Now he was dying,—and looked, indeed, as he lay on his bed, livid, with his eyes protruding from his head, as though he could not live another day. But it was known that he still had three of the ten sovereigns about him. "Why not take them away?" I asked. "They are in his mouth, and he would swallow them if he were touched." Think of the man living,—dying, with three sovereigns in his mouth, procured in such a way, for such a purpose, over so long a term of years;—for the man must have been long an invalid to have been able to sell for £10 the wine which he ought to have drunk! What a picture of life;—what a picture of death;—the man clinging to his remnant of useless wealth in such a fashion as that!

Among other works the convicts were making a railway,—carrying it farther and farther into the bush in order that timber and firewood might be brought down. Here, as on all such works, there was a leading spirit,—the clever man, who understood things and made things fit; who could measure beams, and make the rough material obey his hand by the exercise of his intellect. He too was a convict, named Dunn. I doubt whether I heard his antecedents,—but he was spoken of with all that praise which is usually awarded to the clever man of an establishment in the presence of strange visitors. Perhaps Dunn may yet live to make his fortune on some public work.

In the evening and far on into the night the premier was engaged in listening to the complaints of convicts. Any man who had *anything* to say was allowed to say *it into the ears of the first* minister of the Crown,—but

all of course said uselessly. The complaints of prisoners against their goalers can hardly be efficacious. So our visit to Port Arthur came to an end, and we went back on the next day to Hobart Town.

The establishment itself has the appearance of a large, well-built, clean village, with various factories, breweries, and the like. There is the church, as I have said, and there are houses enough, both for gentle and simple, to take away the appearance of a prison. The lunatic asylum and that for paupers have no appearance of prisons. Indeed the penitentiary itself, where the working convicts sleep and live, and have their library and their plays and their baths, is not prison-like. There is a long street, with various little nooks and corners, as are to be found in all villages,—and in one of them the cottage in which Smith O'Brien lived as a convict. The place is alive, and the eye soon becomes used to the strange convict garments, consisting of jackets and trousers, of which one side is yellow and the other brown. If it were to be continued, I should be tempted to speak loudly in praise of the management of the establishment. But it is doomed to go, and, as such is the case, one is disposed to doubt the use of increased expenditure, of new farm implements, of a lengthened railway, of fresh enterprises, and of that extended energy which would be so desirable if the system were to be continued.

But it seems to be impossible that the system should be continued. That no more English convicts will be sent there is quite certain. It is equally so that the place cannot be maintained on behalf of the criminals of a colony whose whole population only just exceeds 100,000. Might it not serve as a convict depôt for all the Australian *colonies?*—for here, at any rate, men can be made to work on field-work with very little chance of escape, and

here are all the necessary appurtenances for the care and custody of men. But against this there are two reasons. The Tasmanians would not take convicts from the other colonies, because they fear the contamination of the stain attached to the name of a convict colony. This would simply be a sentiment, as the convicts would be no more to Tasmania than are the men at Portland and Dartmoor to Dorsetshire or Devonshire. But sentiment is often very strong, and even if the offer were made by the other colonies Tasmania would not accept it. But the offer will not be made by the other colonies, nor would it be accepted, if it were tendered, by Tasmania. Each desires to be self-sufficing to itself, and is jealous of any interference from its neighbours. Queensland has its own island, St. Helena, where her convicts make sugar,—and sometimes escape in the sugar-vats, as one had done on the day of my visit to the establishment. New South Wales is proud of Darlinghurst; and Victoria very proud indeed of Pentridge;—so proud, that were Tasmania annexed to Victoria, as all good Victorians think will be the case, she would not even then condescend to send her convicts to Port Arthur.

All those whom I questioned on the subject in Tasmania agreed that Port Arthur must be abandoned in a few years, and that then the remaining convicts must be removed to the neighbourhood of Hobart Town. If this be done there can hardly, I think, be any other fate for the buildings than that they shall stand till they fall. They will fall into the dust, and men will make unfrequent excursions to visit the strange ruins.

CHAPTER XIV.

Her present Position.

It is acknowledged even by all the rival colonies that of all the colonies Tasmania is the prettiest. This is no doubt true of her as a whole, though the scenery of the Hawkesbury in New South Wales is, I think, finer than anything in Tasmania. But it may be said of the small island that, go where you will, the landscape that meets the eye is pleasing, whereas the reverse of this is certainly the rule on the Australian continent. And the climate of Tasmania is by far pleasanter than that of any part of the mainland. There are, one may almost say, no musquitoes. Other pernicious animals certainly do abound, — but then they abound also in England. Everything in Tasmania is more English than is England herself. She is full of English fruits, which grow certainly more plentifully and, as regards some, with greater excellence than they do in England. Tasmanian cherries beat those of Kent,—or, as I believe, of all the world,—and have become so common that it is often not worth the owner's while to pull them. Strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, plums, and apples, are in almost equal abundance. I used in early days to think a greengage the best fruit in the world;—but latterly, at home, greengages have lost their flavour for me. I attributed this to age and an altered palate; but in Tasmania I found the greengages as sweet as they used to be thirty years ago. And then the mulberries! There was a lady in Hobart Town who sent us mulberries every day such as I had never eaten before, and as,—I feel sure,—I shall never *eat again*. Tasmania ought to make jam for all the *world*, — *and* would do so for all the Australian world

were she not prevented by certain tariffs, to which I shall have to allude in the next chapter. Now the Australian world is essentially a jam-consuming world, and but for the tariffs Tasmania could afford to pick, and would make a profit out of, the cherries and raspberries. And this is not the only evil. The Victorians eat a great deal of jam. No one eats more jam than a Victorian miner,—unless it be a Victorian stock-rider. But they eat pumpkin jam flavoured with strawberries,—and call that strawberry jam. The effect of protection all the world over is to force pumpkin jam, under the name of strawberry jam, down the throats of the people.

The Tasmanians in their loyalty are almost English-mad. The very regret which is felt for the loss of English soldiers arises chiefly from the feeling that the uniform of the men was especially English. There is with them all a love of home,—which word always means England,—that touches the heart of him who comes to them from the old country. "We do not want to be divided from you. Though we did in sort set up for ourselves, and though we do keep our own house, we still wish to be thought of by Great Britain as a child that is loved. We like to have among us some signs of your power, some emblem of your greatness. A red coat or two in our streets would remind us that we were Englishmen in a way that would please us well. We do not wish to be Americanised in our ways and thoughts. Well,—if we cannot have a red-coated soldier we will at any rate have a mail-guard with a red coat after the old fashion, and a mail-coachman with a red coat, and a real mail-coach." And they have the mail-coach running through from Launceston to Hobart Town, and from Hobart Town to Launceston, not in the least like a Cobb's coach, as they *are in the other colonies*, but built directly after that an-

cient and most uncomfortable English pattern which we who are old remember;—and they have the coachman and the guard clothed in red,—because red has been from time immemorial the royal livery of England.

The Tasmanians are loyal, but they have terrible doubts of the loyalty of England. Rumours of republican meetings have reached them, of English communism, of international labour meetings, and of opposition to the House of Lords. "We are English," they say, "but you are either French or American. We adhere to our red coats, but you are going to abandon the House of Lords; and, oh!—alas that such an idea should be possible!—there are among you some who would abandon the very throne." I have my own ideas about republicanism,—so called in England,—which are not very favourable to English republicans. I believe them to be few in number and as inferior in general knowledge of their fellow-countrymen as they are in position and influence. I do not think that the Crown is in danger,—believing it to be much safer than any other crown in the world. And I believe that the House of Peers has a long life before it. But wise men and anxious men in Tasmania shake their heads at me, and doubt my security.

Launceston is a clean, well-built town, and does most of the importing and exporting business of the island. It is on the north side of the island, and therefore within easy reach from Melbourne, with which port most of the business of Tasmania is done,—exclusive of the export of wool. It has no look of decay, in spite of the evil things that are said, and at any rate appears to prosper. The scenery round Launceston is not equal to that at *Hobart Town*, but there are one or two very pretty walks,—*noticeably* those up the hill over the waterfall whence

the visitor looks down upon the South Esk, which there is as pretty as the Lynn at Linton.

From Launceston there is a railway to Deloraine, going through a rich corn-growing country. The embroglio into which the finances of that unfortunate railway have been brought by the joint operation of the legislature and of certain municipalities, is more difficult to be understood than the old Schleswig-Holstein question, and bids fair to be as long before Tasmanian law courts as was that question before Europe. It is neither a private speculation, as are railways with us, nor a government enterprise, as are the railways in the colony generally, nor a joint affair between the two, as are the railways in India; but is dependent on private speculation joined to government enterprise, with an ill-defined understanding that the municipalities are to pay the bill. In the meantime government has found almost all the money,—the private speculation having been very limited,—and demands that interest shall be paid out of municipal contributions, which are to be levied from certain districts by varying rates, to be computed in accordance with the benefits which each district or part of a district may be supposed to receive from the railway. To add to the confusion, the sum on which the municipalities did agree to pay interest has been greatly exceeded. It is a very pretty mess; but, in the meantime, the railway does run to Deloraine.

An English farmer hearing of land giving 60 bushels of oats to the acre, averaging over 40 lbs. the bushel, would imagine that the owner of such land ought to do well,—especially if he knew that the same crop could be raised on the land year after year. But yet land growing such crops will not give a rent, or even a profit, to the combined landowner and farmer of 10s. an acre. *The corn has to be sent into* Launceston, and will not

fetch when there above 2*s.* a bushel,—or 16*s.* a quarter. Now oats in England, at that weight, range I believe from 30*s.* to 34*s.* a quarter. With us the wages of rural labourers are 11*s.*, 12*s.*, or 14*s.* a week, according to the county or district. In the part of Tasmania of which I am speaking, men were receiving £30 per annum wages, with rations, consisting of 10 lbs. of meat, 10 lbs. of flour, 2 lbs. of sugar, and ¼ lb. of tea per week, worth 7*s.* a week. They also had cottages if married, or house-room if single,—and some extra sums of money were given to them at harvest time,—£3 or £4,—to secure their services. This altogether would be worth 20*s.* or 21*s.* a week;—whereas living is generally cheaper to the working man in Tasmania than in England. The result is that the labourers are able to pay, and as a rule do pay, 6*d.* a week each for the schooling of their children. The labourer does well,—but the farmer makes but a poor profit out of his tilled land. It should be explained that on the farms which I visited,—and which belonged to a family of brothers, cousins, and uncles,—everything was done with the best implements brought out from England, and that manure was used. Hitherto the use of manure in tillage is not common in any of the colonies. It is thought to be more profitable to take what the land will give and then to leave it for awhile than to carry manure to it. Gradually, however, they who are most deeply concerned in agriculture find that there must soon be an end to a system such as this. In the district of which I am speaking wheat was subject to rust, which is the great scourge of the Australian farmer. The price of wheat in Launceston was 4*s.* 3*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a bushel; but my friend told me that it would pay him *better* to send his wheat to London than to sell it in the *colony*, and that he intended to do so.

I found that ordinary day labourers throughout the olony were getting 4*s.* a day without rations, or on an verage from 9*s.* to 10*s.* a week with rations and house ccommodation. The men without rations would of ourse be employed with less certainty of duration than ose hired as permanent hands with rations. Journeyen carpenters, masons, plasterers, wheel-wrights, and e like, were getting 6*s.* 6*d.* a day; domestic menervants £30 per annum with board and lodging, and male servants about £20. I found also that all provions were cheaper than in England or as cheap: bacon *d.* a pound; butter 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; bread 3½*d.* the 2lb. af; beer, brewed in the colony and very good, 2*s.* the allon; mutton 4*d.* a pound; beef 6*d.*; sugar 4½*d.* a ound; coffee 1*s.* 2*d.*; tea 2*s.*; potatoes £3 a ton. I am fraid that domestic details may not be very interesting general readers, but they may serve to afford to some ntending emigrant an idea of the fate which he would eet in Tasmania.

I must say of this colony, as I have and shall say of ll the others, that it is a Paradise for a working man s compared with England. The working man can here lways eat enough food, can always clothe and shelter imself, and can also educate his children. His diet ill always comprise as much animal food as he can onsume,—and if he be a sober, industrious man he will ever find himself long without work. Tasmania is no oubt at present not popular with the young Tasmanian orking man, because the search for gold has not hitherto been prosperous in Tasmania. The young men go ff to Victoria, though it may be doubtful whether they mprove either their comfort or their means by the journey. A miner in *Victoria* will earn from 7*s.* to 8*s.* a *ay;—the average wages* were 7*s.* 6*d.* when I was at

Sandhurst; but to earn that a man must be a miner. He must lose time in going in quest of his work, and cannot always readily find it. And when he has got it, and has learned to be a miner, and is in receipt of 45*s.* a week, he lives hard in order that he may gamble in gold speculation with all that he can save. I think that the labourer in Tasmania has the best of the bargain; but the desire for gold is so strong, and the chances of fortunate speculation are so seductive, that the young men of the island colony are gradually drawn away.

Of males, there were in the island in 1870, in round numbers, 27,000 under twenty years of age;—only 10,800 between twenty and forty, and 11,500 between forty and sixty. These figures prove that the male population has by far too great a proportion of old and of young for thorough well-being and a wholesome condition. Of females, there were 25,000 under twenty, the number of the girls as compared with that of the boys giving one evidence among many of the fact that the male progeny in Australia is more numerous than the female,—a rule which applies to horses, sheep, and cattle as well as to the human race. Between twenty and forty there were 12,000 women, who thus beat the men during that, the strongest, period of life, by 1,200; and between forty and sixty there were only 7,000 women, sinking below the number of men for the same period by 4,500. What becomes of the old women in Tasmania I cannot say. Between sixty and seventy there are 3,200 men, and only 1,200 women. I cannot suppose that after a certain time of life the Tasmanian women go to the diggings. I am almost disposed to think that the statistical tables of the colony show that ladies in Tasmania do *not give* correct records as to their ages. On 31st December, 1870,—and I have no information corrected up

to a later date,—there were altogether in Tasmania 53,464 males, and 47,301 females,—in all 100,765. Since 1870 the increase has been very slight. In 1853, when transportation from England ceased, the population was 75,000. The colony, therefore, has not grown as have the other Australian colonies,—not as Queensland, which began her career as an independent colony in 1859 with 18,000 inhabitants, and had 115,000 in 1870. But even in Tasmania there has been a steady increase, though the increase during the last few years has been small.

I went on by the railway to Deloraine, a not very attractive little village about eighty miles distant from Launceston, in no way suitable for the terminus of a railway, unless it be that it is the end in that direction of the corn-bearing district through which the line runs. I believe that the country about Longford and Westbury is the best suited for agricultural purposes of any in the island. I have already spoken of the produce of the Longford district. Beyond Deloraine, but not connected with it, and at a distance of some fifteen miles, another railway is in existence, running from thence to La Trobe, on the northern coast. This, I believe, is a tramway rather than a railway. It is called the Murray and Deloraine Tramway, as it runs along the river Murray, and is intended to join the Launceston Railway at Deloraine. I had not time to pass over it, as I had gone to Deloraine in company with the governor and others on purpose to visit the Chudleigh caves.

The Chudleigh caves are one of the wonders of Tasmania—and, indeed, they are very wonderful. We went there in true gubernatorial style, with four horses;—for it must be understood that throughout the colonies, when it is known that the *governor is* coming, things are done *as they should be. Ours was* a private little party, con-

sisting of four, but we had four horses, and went to the caves magnificently. We had a very pleasant day,—more than ordinarily so; but the Chudleigh caves should not be visited by any one lightly, and I think I may take upon myself to say that they should not be visited by ladies at all. On this occasion we were all males.

With our four horses we were driven some sixteen miles, till at last we were in the middle of thick bush without any vestige of a road. The road had become less like a road by degrees, and the fields less like fields. Where timber had been cleared away, wholly or in part, very heavy crops of oats were growing. The farmers are afraid to trust themselves to wheat because of the rust, and can hardly live by growing oats, so great is the cost both of labour and carriage, and so low the price of the grain. On our journey an old man attached himself to us, who seemed to have the caves under his peculiar care, and who assured us that he had shown all the governors over them. He came out upon us from a public-house, of which he was the proprietor, and promising us that we should have the benefit of his services, followed us on a wonderful rat-tailed mare with which he jumped over every obstruction along the road, and made himself very busy, assuring the governor that no governor could see the caves aright without him, and taking command of the whole party with that air of authority which always carries success with it. I think his name was Pickett. We soon found that we were creatures in Mr. Pickett's hand.

We descended from the carriage, Mr. Pickett so ordering, but the order was not given till it was impossible for any carriage to proceed farther. We then walked about a mile through the scrub, descending at last into a hole which was the mouth of the cave. Stalactite

aves are not uncommon in the world. Those at Ched-
ar in Somersetshire are very well known, and are very
retty;—much prettier than the caves in Tasmania, as
he stones drop into rarer shapes and are brighter and
nore picturesque. But the caves at Cheddar are nothing
o the Chudleigh caves in bigness, blackness, water, dirt,
nd the enforced necessity of crawling, creeping, wading,
nd knocking one's head about at every turn. Mr. Pickett
ghted the candles, told us that we should have to walk
bout five miles underground, gave us to understand
hat the water would never be more than up to our
niddles, that one could do it all in four hours, and that
e were about to grope our way through the greatest
onder of the world. Then he led the way gallantly,
plashing down into the mud, and inviting his Excellency
o take heart and fear nothing. His Excellency took
eart and went on. Whether he feared anything, I can-
ot say. I did,—when I had broken my head for the
hird time, and especially when I had crawled through a
revice in which I nearly stuck, and as to which I felt
lmost certain that I should never be able to force my
ay back again. We were then more than a mile away
rom the aperture, and innumerable black rivers, little
tyxes, dark deceitful Acherons, cold as death, ran be-
ween us and the upper air. Pickett was instant with us
o go on to the end. We had not seen half the won-
lers of the place,—which by-the-bye were invisible by
eason of the outer darkness. But we were cold to the
narrow of our bones, wet through, covered with mud,
nd assured that, if we did go on, the journey must be
nade partly on our hands and knees, and partly after
he fashion of serpents. At last we rebelled and insisted
n being allowed to *return*. So we waded our way back
gain. I think that I will never visit another land cave.

We had, however, brought fresh clothes. And when we had made a forest toilet, and demolished our chickens and sherry, we were able to smoke the pipe of peace in happiness and contentment under Mr. Pickett's auspices. Mr. Pickett told us, as we took our leave of him, that he should not enter the caves again till another governor should come to see them.

The road from Launceston to Hobart Town is as good as any road in England, and is in appearance exactly like an English road. It is hard to say what are the features which make one road like enough; but they who have travelled in France know that no French road, even when macadamized, is in the least like an English road. Every French road has a touch of despotism in it. Every English road looks as though it were ruled by a local board. The Australian roads are generally quite unlike our roads at home. They are made for the most part through dense forests. When they pass cleared lands, the divisions of the fields and paddocks are generally made either by fences with wooden frames and wire, or with two or three rough unpainted rails. The constructed part of the road, that on which the vehicles absolutely travel, is narrower than with us, but the allotted space for the road is very much broader;—so much so that when the funds are low and the way gets out of repair, it is apt to meander hither and thither across its broad borders. A rut deep enough to bury a pony is avoided here, and there some slough of despond is circumvented by a cleverly contrived circuitous route. And then, in the larger colonies, where distances are very great, the traveller soon loses all signs of a real road. It is a bush track, and has various ramifications, —*collateral* passes, which lead indeed all in the same *direction*, but which lie wide apart. In dry weather one

bullock driver of adventurous disposition has invented a new way on one side, and in wet weather another equally bold has opened up a fresh track on another. Nothing has been done towards making these roads except the cutting away of a few trees and the placing of some small bridges over the gullies. Now and again there comes in the wilderness a small oasis of really formed roadway, in some place which has been noted as being more than ordinarily impassable; and here for half a mile, or a mile, or perhaps only for a furlong, the work is done. Then again the traveller finds himself in the dense thickness of the forest with nothing to guide him as to which he shall take of five or six hopeless, devious paths.

Such are Australian roads in general, but that from Launceston to Hobart Town is altogether unlike them. It was made throughout by convicts, and was manifestly made with the intention of being as like an English road as possible. The makers of it have perfectly succeeded. When it passes through forest land,—or bush,—the English traveller would imagine that there was a fox covert on each side of him. There are hedges too, and the fields are small. And there are hills on all sides, very like the Irish hills in County Cork. Indeed it is Ireland rather than England to which Tasmania may be compared. And, as I have said before, English,—or Irish,—coaches run upon the road; a night mail-coach, with driver and guard in red coats, and a day coach with all appurtenances after the old fashion. I found their pace when travelling to be about nine miles an hour. We went by the mail coach as far as Campbelltown,—a place with about 1,600 inhabitants, which returns a member to *parliament*, and has a municipal *council, four or five resident* clergymen, a hospital, an

agricultural association, and a cricket club. Quite a place!—as the Americans say. When I asked whether it was prosperous, my local friend shook his head. It ought to be the centre of a flourishing pastoral district. It is the centre of a pastoral district, which is not flourishing,—because of the rabbits. This wicked little prolific brute, introduced from England only a few years ago, has so spread himself about, that hardly a blade of grass is left for the sheep! But why not exterminate him, or at least keep him down? I asked the question with thorough confidence that the energies of man need not succumb to the energies of rabbits. I was told that the matter had gone too far, and that the rabbit had established his dominion. I cannot, however, but imagine that the rabbit could be conquered if Tasmania would really put her shoulder to the wheel.

We passed a place called Melton, at which a pack of hounds was formerly kept,—so called after the hunting metropolis in Leicestershire; and as I looked around I thought that I saw a country well adapted for running a drag. Foxes, if there were foxes, would all be away into the mountains. They used to hunt stags, but I should have thought that the stags would have taken to the hills. But the hunting had belonged to the good old prosperous convict days, and had passed away with other Tasmanian glories. At Bridgewater, within ten miles of Hobart Town, there is a magnificent causeway over the Derwent, about a mile long, which was of course built by convict labour, and which never would, —in Tasmania never could,—have been made without it.

Hobart Town, the capital of the colony, has about 20,000 inhabitants, and is as pleasant a town of the size as any that I know. Nature has done for it very much

indeed, and money has done much also. It is beautifully situated,—as regards the water, just at the point where the river becomes sea. It has quays and wharves, at which vessels of small tonnage can lie, in the very heart of the town. Vessels of any tonnage can lie a mile out from its streets. It is surrounded by hills and mountains, from which views can be had which would make the fortune of any district in Europe. Mount Wellington, nearly 5,000 feet high, is just enough of a mountain to give excitement to ladies and gentlemen in middle life. Mount Nelson is less lofty, but perhaps gives the finer prospect of the two. And the air of Hobart Town is perfect air. I was there in February, —the height of summer,—having chosen to go to Tasmania at that time to avoid the great heat of the continent. I found the summer weather of Hobart Town to be delicious. And there were no musquitoes there. I have said something about Australian musquitoes before. They were not so bad as I had expected; but in certain places they had been troublesome,—especially at Melbourne. But I knew nothing of them in Hobart Town. Other living plagues there were plenty in Tasmania,—no doubt introduced, as were the rabbits, with the view of maintaining the general likeness to England. All fruits which are not tropical grow at Hobart Town and in the neighbourhood to perfection. Its cherries and mulberries are the finest I ever saw. Its strawberries, raspberries, apples, and pears are at any rate equal to the best that England produces. Grapes ripen in the open air. Tasmania ought to make jam for all the world, and would make jam for all the Australian world, were it not for Australian tariffs. Tasmanian jams would probably come *to England* if Tasmania could import *Queensland sugar free of* duty. As it is fruit is so

plentiful that in many cases it cannot be picked from the trees. It will not pay to pick it!

So much in regard to the gifts bestowed by nature upon the capital of Tasmania. Art,—art in the hands of convicts,—has made it a pretty, clean, well-constructed town, with good streets and handsome buildings. The Government House is, I believe, acknowledged to be the best belonging to any British colony. It stands about a mile from the town, on ground sloping down to the Derwent,—which is here an arm of the sea, and lacks nothing necessary for a perfect English residence. The public offices, town hall, and law courts are all excellent. The supreme court, as one of the judges took care to tell me, is larger than our Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster. The Houses of Parliament are appropriate and comfortable with every necessary appliance. They are not pretentious, nor can I say that the building devoted to them is handsome. There is a Protestant bishop of course, and a cathedral,—which a stranger, not informed on the subject, would mistake for an old-fashioned English church in a third or fourth-rate town. I was told that it is tumbling down; but a very pretty edifice is being erected close by its side. The work is still unfinished and funds are needed. Perhaps a generous reader might send a trifle.

From Hobart Town various expeditions may be made which amply repay the labour. I have already told how I went to Port Arthur. I was very anxious to get to Lake St. Clair, but did not succeed. Lake St. Clair is nearly in the middle of the island,—somewhat towards the west, or wilder part of it,—in County Lincoln, and is, I was informed, wonderfully wild and beautiful. It was described to me as another Killarney, but without roads. The beauty, too, I was told, could be well seen

only from a boat, and there was no boat then on the lake. I found that I could not compass it without devoting more time than I had to spare,—and I did not see Lake St. Clair. I went up the Derwent to New Norfolk, and Fenton Forest, and across from Hobart Town to the Huon River and a township called Franklin, finding the scenery everywhere to be lovely. The fern-tree valleys on the road to the Huon are specially so,—and in one of these I was shown the biggest tree I ever saw. I took down the dimensions, and of course lost the note. It was quite hollow, and six or seven people could have sat round a table and dined within it. It was a gum-tree, bigger I imagine in girth, though not so tall, as that which I described as having been found in Victoria, near the road from Woods Point to Melbourne. The River Huon is a dark, black, broad stream, running under hanging bushes,—very silent and clear, putting me in mind of the river in Evangeline.

On the Upper Derwent, in the neighbourhood of New Norfolk, where the river Plenty joins the Derwent, there are the so-called Salmon Ponds. Now these salmon ponds are a matter of intense interest in Tasmania, as very much skill and true energy have been expended,—and no slight amount of money also,—in efforts to introduce our river fish, especially the trout and salmon, into Tasmanian waters. In reference to trout the success has been perfect. The quantity in the rivers is already sufficient to justify the letting of fishing licenses at 20*s.* a year, and men who know how to fly-fish can get excellent sport. I have seen trout six and seven pound weight, and have eaten I think better trout in Tasmania than ever I did in England. In regard to salmon I can only say that there has as yet been no success. No one *has yet caught a Tasmanian* salmon, though there are

stories about of salmon having been seen. The man who catches the first salmon will be entitled to £30 reward.

Mr. Allport, of Hobart Town, a gentleman who has taken pains with the subject, and who thoroughly understands it, is confident of success. He gave me reasons to show how it is that the salmon should take much longer than the trout to establish themselves, and to prove that there was as yet no reason for a faint heart on this great matter. Mr. Allport's enthusiasm was catching, and I found myself ready to swear, after hearing him, that there must be salmon. Some other great scientific authority has declared,—thinks I believe that he has proved,—that it is impossible that there should be a salmon in Tasmania. It is a great question. I myself, in my ignorance, lean to Mr. Allport's side altogether, —because I had the advantage of knowing Mr. Allport. I was only told of the adverse great authority. But the trout are a fact. I ate them again and again, with great satisfaction. I do not doubt that before long, with true Australian fecundity, they will swarm in Tasmanian rivers.

In this part of the island,—the part of which New Norfolk is the centre, about twenty-four miles up the Derwent from Hobart Town,—hops have lately been introduced with success. They grow with great luxuriance and bear heavily. It is, indeed, hard to find anything that will not flourish in Tasmania,—except wheat, which seems in the Australian colonies generally to be of all crops the most hazardous. Everywhere one hears of rust. The stalk becomes hard, red, and thick under the influence of the sun, and then the grain is either not produced at all, or is a withered, shrivelled atom, giving no *flour*. Respecting the hops, I asked whether that at any *rate* was not a profitable enterprise. It would be, I am

told, but for the damnable Victorian tariffs which had been invented with the primary object of ruining Tasmania,—of bringing her so low that, to escape absolute ruin, she should be forced to annex herself to her big and cruel sister. That is the Tasmanian creed, and it is one not altogether unfounded on facts. It must be understood that Victoria is the natural market for Tasmanian produce. Setting wool aside, which almost as a matter of course goes to England, and which constitutes above a third of the total exports from the colony, we find that nearly three-fourths of its surplus produce is shipped for Victoria. This is done in the teeth of the terrible Victorian tariffs, and we may therefore be sure that the proportion would be much greater, and the produce sent very much more extensive, if the Victorian markets were open. Permission to sell her produce in Melbourne is the one thing necessary to ensure prosperity to Tasmania. This refers to almost everything she produces, —to flour, wheat, oats, barley, fruit, jam, vegetables, cheese, butter, hides, and horses. I always take delight in reminding a Victorian,—who is a jam-loving creature, —that he is obliged to eat pumpkin jam, a filthy mixture just flavoured with fruit, because of the tariff by which he protects the fruit-grower of Victoria,—who after all can't grow fruit. I know that this will bring down wrath on my head, because fruit is grown in Victoria,—very fine fruit, which I have seen and eaten. And how shall I be believed when with the same breath I warm my fingers and cool them;—when in the same paragraph I declare that the fruit is grown and is not grown? Money and care no doubt will produce fruit in Victoria;—but even Victorian shearers and Victorian miners cannot afford to eat jam made from costly fruits. Over in *Tasmania fruit is rotting*,—fruit as fine as any that the

world can produce,—because it is thought expedient to protect the Victorian raspberry. Oh, my Victorian friend, deluging your unfortunate inwards with pumpkin trash, it grieves me to think that the madness of this protection will not make itself apparent to you, till your taste will have been polluted and your digestion gone! You will, I fear, never live to learn what comforts, what luxuries, what ample bounties the rich world will give to him who will go out freely and buy what he wants in the cheap markets;—or how great, how fiendish, how unnatural is the injury done by him who won't let others go out and buy! In the meanwhile Tasmania sits pining because she cannot sell her fruit,—cannot sell her hops.

Wool is at present the staple of this colony,—as of all the others. But pastoral interests do not prosper here as they do in the four great colonies on the continent. Although comparatively so small a portion of the land has been bought from the Crown,—less than four million out of a total of nearly seventeen million acres,—very few flocks are pastured on runs leased from the Crown. There are altogether in Tasmania 1,350,000 sheep; and of these all but about 100,000 are pastured on purchased lands. In 1870 the sum derived by the colony from leases was only £7,210. In 1853 it amounted to very nearly £30,000. No doubt this has been caused by the sale of lands which had before been let; but the fact shows that it has not been found expedient to take up new lands for pastoral purposes, nor is it worth the wool-grower's while to do so. By far the greatest portion of the island is unfit even for pastoral purposes,—is too rough, too inaccessible, too rocky, and too heavily timbered. The grasses used for wool are *not there*,—or if there cannot be reached.

I must not misuse the colony by omitting to say a

word of her gold-fields. She has gold-fields,—especially that at Fingal. I believe I shall hardly be wrong in saying that there is no other to which it is necessary to call special attention. But, even on the Fingal gold-digging, very much has not yet been done. The young men of Tasmania who run to gold-rushes seek their fortunes beyond the island. Nevertheless, gold that pays has been found in the north-eastern part of the colony, and it may be that even yet Tasmanian rushes will come into fashion.

The form of government in Tasmania is very much the same as in the other colonies. There is a "Legislative Council" or Upper House, and an "Assembly," which is the Lower House. The governor of course is king, and is politically irresponsible. The Council is elected, and goes out by rotation, each man sitting for six years. The Assembly is elected for three years. In the latter manhood suffrage is the rule,—it being necessary that a man should be twenty-one years old, and have resided for a certain number of months in his district. For the Legislative Council there is a property qualification. Votes are of course taken by ballot. The chambers were not sitting when I was in Tasmania, and I was informed that they do not sit on an average above two months in the year. Legislation in the colony is undemonstrative and unexciting. But I think that a quiet common sense prevails which makes it unnecessary that a Tasmanian should blush when he compares the legislative doings in his parliament with the work of any other colony. I had the privilege of making the acquaintance of Mr. Wilson, the premier of the day, and I thought that I had not met a sounder politician in Australia,—and a great many not nearly so sound in other parts of the world. Mr. Wilson, I have no doubt, is

well known in Downing Street; but perhaps his reputation throughout Europe is not so great as that of some other prime ministers. A Victorian prime minister will receive more public attention. This, however, is brought about rather by the modesty of the smaller colony than by any deficiency of wisdom in her councils. Victoria is desirous of annexing Tasmania. Perhaps when she has done so, Mr. Wilson will become premier for the joint colonies, and then great things may be expected.

It strikes an Englishman with surprise to find repeated in so small a community as that of Tasmania all the fashions of government with which he has been familiar at home, but which, while he has acknowledged them to be good and serviceable for their required purposes, he has felt to be complex and almost confused,—and which he has known to have been reached not by concerted plan, but by happy accident, or rather by that arranging of circumstances which circumstances effect for themselves, when the intentions of men in regard to them are honest and high-minded. When a ministry at home is in a minority on any important subject,—any subject as to which the ministry has pledged itself,—the ministers resign in a body, and the Queen, at the advice of the outgoing premier, sends for that premier's chief political enemy. If that enemy, on assuming power, finds that the majority which brought him there will not support him while he is there, he—goes to the country. A new House of Commons is elected, and as that House may have a bias this way or that, this or that political chieftain becomes the Queen's adviser. The system is complex, and very difficult to be understood by foreigners. Even Americans find it difficult of comprehension. We *call it constitutional*, but it is written nowhere. There is *no law compelling* the beaten minister to resign. There

law compelling the monarch to send for a perhaps atable politician. There is no standard by which nportance of measures can be measured,—so that a may say, On this measure a beaten minister will ; but in regard to that measure a ministry, though n, may hold its ground. But by those who attend olitics at home the working of the thing is under- , and the system has become constitutional. No ter could live who would put himself into direct sition to it, let his genius and statesmanship be they might. Nor could any sovereign oppose it, continue to be a sovereign in England. The system pported by no law, but by a general feeling which onger than all laws,—and that general feeling of is expedient makes, and builds up, and alters from to time the political arrangement of public matters we call our constitution. The system has grown owly among us, who are a people not loving speedy ges,—who abolish no anomaly and reform no abuse ut infinite regrets. We understand, not accurately d, but after some fashion, this slow growth, and ally self-arranging political machinery among our- at home who are an old people. But it is very lar that the same system should have been adopted complacency,—almost without thought,—by our cratic children. The Australian colonies claim to n themselves in everything, to make what laws they e, to have what public ministers they choose, to l what money they think right,—to be bound to the er country only by their loyalty to the Crown. They oose their own ministers, and give them what name like. In one colony they have a colonial secretary, other a chief secretary. In one colony it is reckoned *his secretary must be*, and in another that he only

may be, the head of the government. One colony delights to call its minister the premier, another taboos the name altogether. One colony has seven cabinet ministers, another six, another five. Tasmania has only four, one of whom has neither portfolio nor salary. In these matters they independently make their own arrangements. But the system under which ministers go out and come in, dissolve parliament, and live upon majorities,—under which the governor is advised by the retiring chieftain to send for the then popular rising star,—even though he, the governor, should think the then popular rising star to be the most inefficient and dangerous man in the colony,—is the exact copy of our political constitutional system at home.

The power of the ministers is indeed comparatively greater in the colonies than in England,—as I have endeavoured to explain in speaking of political powers in Victoria. The management of affairs, which are in themselves comparatively small, is more concentrated than with us. The ideas as to patronage are, however, the same here and there. Whenever the governor is vested by the Constitution with the power of appointing, it is understood that the chief minister really nominates. In colonies, such as Queensland and New South Wales, in which the Upper House is appointed, and not elected, a great political power is thus put into the hands of the party which may happen to be "in."

The revenue in Tasmania amounts to about £220,000 a year, and the expenditure has been a little higher. I do not give the exact sum, because the figures before me will be an old story before this is published. The public debt amounts to £1,328,000, which includes a sum of £400,000 advanced to the Launceston and Deloraine Railway. The taxation only just exceeds £2 a head, and

cannot therefore be regarded as heavy. There is a separate land fund, which is burdened with expenses incident to the land. The amounts received for sale and leases of crown lands are expended on the land or on public works, so that no absolute revenue is thus received.

CHAPTER XV.

Future Prospects.

THAT Tasmania is going gradually to the mischief seems to be the fixed opinion of Tasmanian politicians generally. That such a belief as to one's country should not be accompanied by any personal act evincing despair has been the case in all national panics. English country gentlemen have very often been sure of England's ruin; but I have never heard of the country gentleman who, in consequence of his belief, sold his estate and went to live elsewhere. Speculative creeds either in politics or religion seldom prove their sincerity by altered conduct. Modern prophets have more than once or twice named some quick coming date on which the world would end; but the prophets have made their investments and taken their leases seemingly in anticipation of a long course of future years. So it is in Tasmania. Even they who are most unhappy as to the state of things live on comfortably amidst the approaching ruin. What the stranger sees of life in the island is very comfortable. The houses are well built, and are kept in good order. The public offices are clean, spacious, and commodious. The public garden is large, and, for so small a place, well kept and handsome. The inns are fairly good, as also are the shops. I here speak both of Hobart Town and Launceston, the only two towns in the colony. Hobart Town in round numbers has 20,000 in-

habitants, and Launceston 11,000. But they have the appearance of large and thriving cities much more than have towns with a similar population in England. Nevertheless, the Tasmanians acknowledge it to be the fact that Tasmania is going to the mischief.

The loudest grumblers declare that the ruin is to be found rifest in the rural districts, among the country folk and poor people. Hobart Town, they say, is kept alive by visitors who flock to it for the summer months from the other colonies; and Launceston has whatever relics of prosperous trade the island still possesses. The people in the rural districts, they say, are generally so poor that they can with difficulty live. I have, however, already stated how infinitely superior is the condition of the Tasmanian labourer to that of his brother at home in England.

No doubt, however, there are grounds for grumbling; or it might be more just to say that there is cause for apprehension. Though Tasmania is as yet only seventy years old, as a country inhabited by white men, and, being still in its early youth, it should be yearly laying up new blood and new bone in the shape of increased population. It is not doing so. For some years past there has been no increase of which the colony can boast. During four years, from 1866 to 1870, the total increase was 403. As 340 emigrants, chiefly German, were brought into the colony in 1870 by a system of bounties,—a number so small as to show that the effort was a failure,—it must be acknowledged that those immediate attractions which give increased population to a young colony have departed from it. And the grumblers are justified also by the condition of trade generally. In 1861 the eight chief articles exported from Tasmania were as follows:—

Wool	Value £326,000
Wheat	82,000
Oats	81,000
Sperm oil	59,000
Timber	55,000
Fruit (including jams)	50,000
Horses	42,000
Flour	39,000
	£734,000

In 1870 the amounts were altered as follows:—

Wool	£246,000
Wheat	15,000
Oats	56,000
Sperm oil	33,000
Timber	37,000
Fruit (including jams)	84,000
Horses	5,000
Flour	11,000
	£487,000

These figures show a decrease in every article except fruit; a total decrease of £247,000,—or, in round numbers, about one-third,—and a decrease of £120,000 in corn and flour alone. No doubt for so small a community such a falling off is very serious, and justifies apprehensions. Such a diminution in the supply of wheat would lead to the fear that the colony would soon fail to feed itself with flour and grain, did not we know that the exportation of these articles from Tasmania had been stopped by the Victorian tariffs. As long as Victoria charges 9*d.* a hundredweight on the importation of all grain, Tasmania will be shut out from the market which is nearest to her,—indeed, from the only foreign market to which she has hitherto been able to sell her produce other than wool.

In regard to wool, which is still the staple of the colony, and as to which the above figures show the greatest decrease, *the circumstances admit of a certain amount of explanation.* The weight of the wool exported

in 1870 was as great as that produced in 1861,—indeed, something greater; and the fall in the figures is due to the depreciation in value,—which, as all persons interested in the Australian colonies are aware, has again risen very greatly since the crop of 1870 was sold. And, again, the time of shearing, which varies according to circumstances of the year, threw over a portion of the wool of 1870 to the sales of 1871. It appears that in 1868 the amount of Tasmanian wool sold was 6,136,426 lbs.; in 1869, 5,607,083 lbs.; and in 1870, only 4,146,913 lbs. The great difference apparent between 1868 and 1870 was caused by the later shearing of the latter year, and therefore does not show, as it might seem to do, any serious decay in the pastoral interest of the colony.

In respect to the other articles enumerated,—especially in regard to cereal produce,—there is evidence of decay where especially there should be increasing life; and it is of extreme importance that they who are interested not only in this colony, but in the Australian colonies generally, should inquire and understand how it has come to pass that in a land so gifted as Tasmania,—in a land more fitted by climate for English emigrants than, I believe, any other on the face of the earth,—in a land that might flow with milk and honey, in a country possessing harbours, rivers, and roads,—things should already be going from bad to worse, instead of from good to better. The convict system no doubt brought with it much of evil for which it must answer,—as also many advantages with which it should be credited. The profuse expenditure of government money, and the use of what may be called slave labour, *no doubt* had a tendency to paralyze the energies of the settlers. The condition produced was unwholesome, and

unwholesomeness clings long. But the Tasmanians selves understood this, and got rid of the thing. convict flavour is quickly passing away from them; though a certain lack of vitality among some classes still be due to the condition of a convict settlement have endeavoured to describe it, Tasmania will ually throw off that disease as New South Wales has dy done. But there are other diseases which she ot throw off,—or rather there is another cause for se of which she cannot rid herself,—as long as the ing unnatural position of the Australian colonies rds each other in regard to commerce remains un-ed. I will state here the populations of the colonies hly:—

Victoria has	750,000 souls.
New South Wales	500,000 ,,
South Australia	185,000 ,,
Queensland	120,000 ,,
Tasmania	100,000 ,,
Western Australia	25,000 ,,
New Zealand	250,000 ,,

ng aside New Zealand,—which, however, is quite as interested in the matter as the others,—we find they are like so many English counties, or, as the is very large, like so many American states, con-us to each other, speaking the same language, ng the same or similar interests, connected in and by joint properties, joint families, and joint names, hed to the same mother country, having nothing a name to mark their borders. There is indeed no dissimilarity of interests as between Lancashire and shire, for wool is the staple produce of each of them. e is no such cause of disruption as between the hern and Northern States of America,—no dissimi-*of character as between* the Eastern and Western

States. They are at least as much one people as are the inhabitants of the dominion of Canada. They are much more one people than were the various German nationalities who had found it to be impossible not to bind themselves together by a customs union, even before Prussia had bound them together politically. They are all English;—and not a law can be passed by them without the assent of an English minister or his deputy. And yet they levy customs duties among each other as do the various nations of Europe;—or rather as did the various nations of Europe before the principle of free trade had been efficacious in liberating a single branch of commerce.

It is not my purpose here to discuss free trade, or to attempt to prove its beneficial action. I am content in my humble way to point out that people who reject free trade must be content to eat pumpkin mixture and call it strawberry jam. Those of my readers who are still in favour of protecting home industry by duties on imported goods will not be converted by me. In regard to the great majority of my countrymen I may take it for granted that on this matter we are of one opinion. The question here is not one of free trade;—but of free trade between the Australian colonies, which may be accompanied by any amount of protection by them all against the outside world. It is as though we should have discussed the expediency of border customs between Lancashire and Yorkshire at a time in which we levied duties on silks from France and Italy. There was a question among us then,—a much vexed question,—as to the imposition of duties on foreign articles; but no man would have been listened to for a moment who *would* have proposed border customs between our *counties* at home. Such a man would have been simply

e. The man who should do so in America with
d to the different states would be equally so. The
an Zollverein showed what was the feeling of Ger-
generally in the matter. But the Australian colonies
ct against each other as though they were separate
ns.

nd they are forbidden by the English law as it at
nt stands to do otherwise,—though the English
nment has more than once offered to the colonies
nction for the abolition of the absurdity in the
As the law stands at present any British colony,
therefore any one of the Australias, may levy what
and what customs duties it thinks fit to levy; but
not levy differential duties. New South Wales for
ce may put what duty it shall please on sugar;—
cannot receive Queensland sugar free of duty and
e a duty on sugar from the Mauritius or from Cuba.
yet there is no more than a nominal border-line
en the two colonies, the two places being as closely
l as any two English counties. Victoria may receive
free from all the world; but she cannot receive
free from South Australia, with which she borders
rkshire does with Lancashire, unless she receive it
lso from all the world. The law has been so fixed
der that no dependency of Great Britain should be
to sin against that free trade policy by which Eng-
professes to regulate her dealings with foreign
ries. Differential duties may, no doubt, be levied
the express view of injuring the trade of an
ial country; and if England binds herself not to
nit the injury, it is intelligible that she should bind
lependent colonies to the same extent.

ut England *has in point* of fact abandoned the
ple in regard to intercolonial trade;—not because

it is felt that the principle is not as applicable to the colonies as to England, but on the conviction that Australia in regard to trade must and should be regarded as one whole,—as is the Canadian dominion, as are the United States, as were the German kingdoms when Germany was politically divided. A reference to the population of the colonies, to their geographical position and affinities, to their joint interests, to their real oneness as a people, convinces the merest tyro in political economy of the absurdity of border duties between them,—almost equally of the absurdity of duties levied from port to port. On the 15th July, 1870, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote the following circular to the different Australian governors:—

"SIR,—I think it important to ensure that the governors of the Australian colonies should not misunderstand the views of Her Majesty's government with regard to intercolonial free trade.

"The different colonies of Australia are at present, in respect of their customs duties, in the position of separate and independent countries. So long as they remain in that relation, a law which authorised the importation of goods from one colony to another on any other terms than those applicable to the imports from any foreign country would be open, in the view of Her Majesty's government, to the objection of principle which attaches to differential duties.

"But Her Majesty's government would not object to the establishment of a complete customs union between the Australian colonies, whether embracing two or more contiguous colonies, or,—which would be preferable,—the whole Australian continent with its adjacent islands. If any negotiations should be set on foot with this object you are at liberty to give them your cordial support.

(Signed) "KIMBERLEY."

I cannot think that any one will read this without agreeing with Lord Kimberley, though probably most who do so would express their agreement in stronger terms, as to the present condition of Australian customs duties than it would suit a Secretary of State to use. But this proposition on the part of Lord Kimberley altogether abandons the question as to differential duties *between the* colonies. If there were an Australian customs *union* New South Wales would get Queensland sugar

f duty, but might still charge what duty it pleased
ıban sugar. Victoria would import free wine from
South Wales—which she does largely,—and free
from South Australia, and free hops from Tas-
; but would still put what duties she pleased on
h wines, and Chilian wheat, and English hops.
this permission would be given, not because Eng-
tatesmen have gone back in their opinion about
ntial duties,—but because the maintenance of
e trade interests between communities so bound
ier as are these colonies, is a worse evil than the
ance of differential duties which would thus be
d to exist.

it the colonies are not ready for a customs union.
of them, Tasmania, South Australia, and New Zea-
have expressed a general concurrence;—others a
ed concurrence. Victoria is the greatest sinner in
atter,—being for the time wedded to protection in
deformity. In the meantime permission has been
by certain of the colonies,—and notably by Tas-
, on whose behalf the matter has been argued with
vigour by her minister, Mr. Wilson,—that they
l be allowed to arrange their intercolonial customs
it reference to the duties charged on extra colonial
s,—and that they should be permitted to do this,
ıeasure paving the way to a customs union. This
ision has been refused them, and I must acknow-
that in the correspondence which has taken place
subject I think that the Tasmanian statesman gets
tter of Downing Street. I give in an Appendix,
Vol. II.,—as they are too long for insertion in the
Lord Kimberley's circular dispatch on the subject,
13th July, *1871;* and Mr. Wilson's memorandum
ver to it.

It is allowed by the Secretary of State that the permission which has been asked by certain of the A lian colonies has already been accorded to certain N American colonies. Lord Kimberley, however, dec that the cases are not analogous, because the permi to Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island refe articles which are not imported to those colonies Europe. But why should articles imported from E make a difference or a difficulty? Because,—at lea the reader is at first led to presume,—because w impeded by treaty from debarring European pro from our colonial markets by means of differential d levied in the colonies. But it appears, by a follo paragraph in the same dispatch, that the only t which could be considered to bar her Majesty's go ment from giving the desired permission to the A lian colonies is a certain treaty with the Zollverein, w treaty indeed subjects us to similar obligations in r to other nations, "through the operation of the favoured nation article." This would be, or migh quite clear. England, the Secretary of State might cannot give the permission, because she is boun treaty with the Zollverein not to give it, and has b herself also to other nations to abstain, on their be from all practices from which she abstains on beha the Zollverein. But in the very next paragraph agai Secretary of State goes on to say, that he is advised this treaty does not preclude her Majesty from givi the colonies the permission they request. The res all which seems to be, that a similar permission has given to other colonies; and that England is not hibited by any obligations of treaty from giving it t *Australian* colonies.

The colonists are asked in the dispatch in qu

whether it would be wise for them,—for them who have among them so many German elements,—to place German products at a disadvantage in their markets. It is very unwise, doubtless, to do so. Freetraders, at least, will agree that it is unwise. But the thing is done, and the permission for partial intercolonial free trade which is asked, would place Germany at any rate at no worse disadvantage than that under which she would labour, if the customs union proposed so wisely by Lord Kimberley were carried.

We cannot prevent the colonists from entertaining protectionist principles,—cannot go back to a condition of things which would enable the mother country to dictate to the colonies on the subject. Universal suffrage undoubtedly assists protection. The fabricator of any article sees that a tax on that article when imported will force the world around him to use the article home-made, and that then his peculiar labour will be fostered and protected. If foreign boots be made dear by a tax, the local bootmaker can get 5*s.* a pair for making boots; but if foreign boots be sold cheap, he cannot get above 3*s.* 6*d.* The Victorian farmer,—a very small man usually,—thinks that he cannot grow wheat and live if wheat from Adelaide be admitted to the markets on the same terms as his own wheat. Men learn so much quickly. The lesson is acquired on the first aspect of the matter. The consequent evil results to these shallow pupils in having to pay double for goods which they consume and do not produce, requires a deeper insight into matters, and an insight accompanied by some calculation, before it produces a conviction. At home, in England, the working man is certainly not superior in intelligence to his Australian brother, but he *is subjected in* his political instincts *and inquiries to higher, and, I* must say, to more honest

influences. I cannot bring myself to believe that he is generally made to understand great political truths, but he is made to believe that this or that politician is a safe political guide, and he votes accordingly. And on one subject, which is to him of all the most important,—the subject of food,—he has been made to understand that free trade means a cheap loaf. In Australia food is plentiful, and the labourer feels comparatively little solicitude on this subject. Each man wishes to protect from competition that which he himself makes. The Victorian, in his wisdom, desires to give nothing out of his store to any fellow-labourer from South Australia, or from Tasmania;—at any rate to give as little as possible. He therefore is a protectionist;—and the would-be minister of the day is a protectionist because he wants the labourer's vote.

It is thus that protection has become rife, and we cannot cure the evil suddenly by any order to be given, or by any permission to be refused. The ordinary educated traveller in the colonies,—getting into the society which will fall naturally in his way,—will find that almost every person he meets is opposed to protection. But everybody will tell him at the same time that protection cannot be abolished. The voters like it, and the voters are omnipotent. There is a variation in the feeling in the various colonies;—but this is the general state of the colonial mind on the subject. If it be so, it should, I think, be the object of governments at home to develop as far as possible all operations which will tend in the first place to create intercolonial free trade. The existing state of things has the double evil,—the first natural evil of impeding trade and of impoverishing everybody *concerned;* and the further evil of fostering rivalries and *hostilities* between people who are in fact one and the

same. That a general customs union would, of all steps in the right direction, be the greatest and the wisest there can hardly be a doubt. To me it seems to be almost equally clear that any measure tending to abolish customs duties between the colonies would be a step towards a customs union. Let New South Wales be enabled to take free sugar from Queensland and Queensland will take fruit on the same terms from New South Wales. The condition of the colonies makes it obvious that there should be no customs levied between them. In referring to the same subject in treating of New South Wales I have endeavoured to show how monstrous it is that attempts should be made to collect such a tax. But a customs union,—so say politicians in the colonies,—would lead to a federal union, to a political union of the colonies into one body of federal states. No doubt it would do so. No doubt such a union will be made;—and then Australia will become a great country.

Poor little Tasmania is straining every nerve to obtain the privilege of sending her produce for the consumption of her sister colonies, especially of Victoria, without which privilege she cannot continue to exist. The value of the exports from any country are, or should be, but small in comparison with the value of the produce consumed at home;—but the smaller the country is, the more certain is the ruin entailed upon it by prohibition from selling its goods in an outside market.

Its condition becomes such as that would be of a small wheat-growing English county debarred from selling its wheat beyond its own confines. The richness of its own produce would become its own greatest burden. Industry and energy would naturally disappear. A large *population* with diverse employments, *producing all, or nearly all*, that it wants, can live in

such a condition, though the life would be a bad life;—but a small community would be as were Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday, wanting almost all that man requires, though overladen with much plenty.

There is a remedy at hand for the injury which Tasmania now suffers,—but it is a remedy which she cannot adopt without soreness of heart, without dishonour, without self-annihilation. She can become a part of Victoria, and then the Victorian markets will be open to her. Let her implore Victoria to take her, and then she will be able to sell her wheat and her oats, her fruit and her jam, her hops and her horses at Melbourne. "You had better do it," the Victorian says to the Tasmanian. "It will come at last."

Men in Tasmania are beginning to feel that perhaps they had better do it, though the idea is odious to them. It is impossible that this island ever should be amalgamated with the big continental colony on equal terms. Were the arrangement made on seemingly equitable terms, on terms fixed in accordance with population, Tasmania would send to the Victorian legislature one Tasmanian for every eight Victorians,—or thereabouts; and the men so sent would have to remain in Melbourne for eight or nine months of parliamentary work. This small minority would be almost voiceless among their louder brethren, and it would soon come to pass that Tasmanians would not go there. Tasmania would be represented by Victorians, to whom she would have to pay the salaries which Victorian legislators now receive. Hobart Town would no longer be a seat of government. Some judge would come there on periodical visits as often as Victorian generosity would permit, and that *judge would* be Victorian. The little colony would be *handed over*, bound hand and foot, to her strong-fisted

sister, and there would be the end of all her glories. The reader will perhaps feel that these are simply sentimental objections, and will say that the material advantages to be gained would more than compensate them. But sentimental grievances are of all grievances the heaviest to bear, and the material advantages are only those which the colony has a right to expect without any sacrifice of her honour.

Such a change of things would be detrimental not only to Tasmania, but to all Australia generally. I have suggested in a former paragraph that a general federal union of these colonies into one nationality will take place sooner or later. Such I believe to be the opinion of almost all who have thought upon the subject. But nothing will tend so much to delay this result as the special greatness and superiority in population and wealth of any one colony. The big colony will think twice before it will admit the little colony to equal terms with it. There was much generosity on foot when Virginia and New York united themselves with Rhode Island, and a great patriotic idea was urgent in the breasts of great patriots. Among the Australian colonies each colony recognises with astonishing accuracy its own position in wealth and population. Victoria is even now much the biggest. Were Tasmania to become a part of Victoria, I fear that the difficulty of forming, first, a customs union and then a political federal union, would become greater even than it is at present.

It is to be presumed that such amalgamation could not be effected without the consent of the government at home, and that the matter is one as to which a Secretary of State would feel himself justified in refusing his consent on the ground of general policy. If there is *to be an Australian as well* as a Canadian dominion, or

rather a union of states,—for such must be the condition rather than the other,—it will be more easily effected with many than with a few. Before that day shall arrive, there will probably be a northern colony in Queensland, and a further division from New South Wales in the direction of the big rivers. And there will be a northern territory in that which is all now called South Australia, with a capital at Port Darwin. I trust that the fairest and prettiest and pleasantest of all the colonies will not then have been absorbed, so that the name of Tasmania shall be absent from the roll of Australian States.

I have written, I fear, much at length respecting the customs duties which lie so heavily on poor Tasmania, —because the sound of her wailings is still present in my ears as I write. But I do not in the least doubt that sooner or later she will emerge from her troubles. The place is too pleasant, and the air too sweet, and the natural advantages too obvious, to allow of her claims being neglected in the search which English emigrants are making for far-away homes. As a matter of course she will right herself at last. In the meantime, it is very much to be desired that she should be allowed to sell her fruit and her hops to her rich neighbours. Were it my lot to take up my residence in Australia, and could I choose the colony in which I was to live, I would pitch my staff in Tasmania.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

Western Australia,—Early History.

An ingenious but sarcastic Yankee, when asked what he thought of Western Australia, declared that it was the best country he had ever seen to run through an hour-glass. He meant to insinuate that the parts of the colony which he had visited were somewhat sandy. It is sandy. The country round Perth is very sandy. From Freemantle, the seaport, the road up to Perth, the capital, lies through sand. From Albany, the seaport at which the mail steamers stop, the distance to Perth is about 260 miles, and the traveller encounters a good deal of sand on the way. The clever Yankee who thought of the hour-glass probably did not go beyond Perth. There is much soil in Western Australia which is not sandy,—which is as good, perhaps, as any land in the Australian colonies;—but it lies in patches, sometimes far distant from each other; and there is very much desert or useless country between. In this is, probably, to be found the chief reason why Western Australia has not progressed as have the other colonies. The distances from settlement to settlement have been so great as to make it almost impossible for settlers to dispose of their produce. This has been the first great difficulty with which Western Australia has had to contend; and to this have *been superadded others*: the absence of gold,—an

evil not so much in itself as in the difference created by the presence of gold in the other colonies, whereby the early settlers in Western Australia were induced to rush away to Adelaide and Melbourne; its remoteness from the populous parts of the Australian continent; the fact that it is not the way from any place to any other place; the denseness and endlessness of its forests; its poisonous shrub, which in many places makes the pasturing of sheep impossible; and the ferocity of the aboriginal tribes when they first encountered their white invaders. These causes have made the progress of Western Australia slow, and have caused the colony to be placed in a category very different from that in which the other colonies are reckoned, and to be looked at from an exceptional point of view.

The other Australian colonies were originally founded on some ground or for some cause special to themselves. New South Wales, which was the first occupied, was selected as a penal settlement for the use of the mother country. Captain Cook had then but lately made himself acquainted with the coast, and had specially recommended Botany Bay to the British government. Consequently, a young convict world, under the rule of Governor Phillip, was sent to Botany Bay; and finding Botany Bay unsuited for its purposes, the young world settled itself at Port Jackson. From this establishment Van Diemen's Land was an offshoot, first colonized for the same purpose,—that of affording a safe refuge to British criminal exiles. An effort was also made in 1803 to establish a penal settlement near the site on which Melbourne now stands. And, indeed, the first attempt to set up the British flag on that part of the Australian continent which is now called Western Australia was a step made in the same direction. The governors of Port

Jackson, or New South Wales, as it came to be called, having been nearly overwhelmed in their heroic struggles to find food for these convicts fourteen thousand miles away from home, on a land which, as far as they had seen it, was very barren, made a sister settlement, first at Norfolk Island, then in Van Diemen's Land, and thirdly at King George's Sound,—where stands the town of Albany, which place is now the Southern District of Western Australia. A small party of convicts, with Major Lockyer as their governor, were stationed here in 1826,—but the convicts were withdrawn from the place when it was recognised as belonging to the established colony of Western Australia. After this fashion and for this reason,—that of affording a home to the transported ruffians of Great Britain,—the first Australian settlements were made. South Australia was colonized by private enterprise. Victoria and Queensland were separated from New South Wales to the south and north as they became sufficiently populous and strong to demand to be allowed to stand alone. But Western Australia arose after another fashion. She was colonized because she was there,—not because she was wanted for any special purpose, either by the community at large or by any small section of it. We had claimed, and made good our claim, to call all New Holland, hardly by this time known by the name of Australia, as our own. We had done something on the east coast, something in the southern island; some small attempts had been made to utilise the south generally. There were still the west and the north open to us. The northern coast, which even yet we have hardly touched except for telegraphic purposes, was very hot and very unpromising. But there came news to us that on an estuary which had been named the Swan River, running out into the ocean at

about the thirty-second parallel of latitude, in a salubrious climate, a commodious settlement might be formed. News to this effect was brought home by Captain Stirling in 1827, and in 1829 the captain, now promoted to the position of Governor Stirling, returned to the Swan River, and founded the colony,—which dates from 1st June of that year. He was preceded, by a few months, by Captain Freemantle in the "Challenger," who first hoisted the British flag on the spot on which the town of Freemantle now stands. In the month of August the town of Perth, twelve miles up the Swan River, was founded, and in the following month lands were assigned to the new-comers. In that year twenty ships arrived with settlers, stores, several immigrants, and a few soldiers. I do not know that these were specially high-minded men, flying from the oppressive rule of an old country, as did the Pilgrim Fathers who were landed from the "Mayflower" on the shores of Massachusetts;—nor that they were gallant, daring spirits, going forth with their lives in their hands, in search either of exceptional wealth or exceptional honour, as has so often been done by the Columbuses and Raleighs of the world. They certainly were not deposited on the shore because they were criminals. They seem to have been a homely crew, who found life at home rather too hard, and who allowed themselves to be persuaded that they could better their condition by a voyage across the world. What was their position, or what might have been their fate had they remained at home, no one now can tell. They certainly did not have light work or an easy time in founding the colony of Western Australia.

Ships continued to come. In 1830 there came *thirty-nine* ships, with 1,125 passengers, and stores valued at £144,177. I think it right to state that

take my details as to these matters from the early numbers of the "Western Australian Almanac," which surely among almanacs deserves to be placed in the very highest rank. I may say of all Australian almanacs that they are much better than anything of the kind in England, telling one what one does want to know, and omitting matter which no one would read. Among them all, this "Western Australian Almanac" should stand high, and will, I hope, show itself to be as charitable as it is good, by pardoning the freedom with which I purloin its information.

Troubles, heavy troubles, soon arose among the young colonists. The heaviest, probably, of these early troubles came from the not unnatural hostility of the natives. All the first years of the colony's existence were saddened by contests with the blacks—by so-called murders on the part of the black men, and so-called executions on the part of their invaders. Looking at these internecine combats from a distance, and by the light of reason, we can hardly regard as murder,—as that horrid crime which we at home call murder,—the armed attempts which these poor people made to retain their property; and though we can justify the retaliations of the white conquerors,—those deeds done in retaliation which they called executions,—we cannot bring ourselves to look upon the sentences of death which they carried out as calm administrations of the law. The poor black wretches understood no pleas that were made against them,—were not alive even to the Christian's privilege of lying in their own defence, and of pleading not guilty. They speared a soldier here and a settler there, ran away with booty, fired houses, and made ravages on women and children, doubtless feeling that

they were waging a most righteous war against a most unrighteous and cruel enemy. When caught, they knew that they must suffer. In the old records of the colony, one reads of these things as though all the injuries were inflicted by the blacks and suffered by the whites. Here, at home, all of us believe that we were doing a good deed in opening up these lands to the industry and civilisation of white men. I at any rate so believe. But, if so, we can surely afford to tell the truth about the matter. These black savages were savage warriors, and not murderers; and we too, after a fashion, were warriors, very high-handed, and with great odds in our favour, and not calm administrators of impartial laws.

I do not say that the black men were ill-treated. I think that in Western Australia, as in the other colonies, great efforts were made by the leading colonists to treat them well, and, if possible, so to use the country for the purposes of the new-comers as not to injure the position of the old possessors. In this, however, the colonists failed egregiously, and could not probably have avoided failure by any conduct compatible with their main object. It was impossible to explain to the natives that a benevolent race of men had come to live among them, who were anxious to teach them all good things. Their kangaroos and fish were driven away, their land was taken from them, the strangers assumed to be masters, and the black men did not see the benevolence. The new-comers were Christians, and were ready enough to teach their religion, if only the black men would learn it. The black men could not understand their religion, and did not want it; and, to this day, remain unimpressed by any of its influences. But the white men brought *rum* as well as religion, and the rum was impressive *though* the religion was not. It is common to assert,

when we speak of the effect which our colonists have had on uncivilised races, that we have taught them our vices, but have neglected to teach them our virtues. The assertion is altogether incorrect. We have taught them those of our customs and modes of life which they were qualified to learn. To sing psalms, and to repeat prayers, we have been able to teach the young among them. Of any connection between the praises and prayers and the conduct of their lives, I have seen no trace. Many arts they have learned from us, the breaking and training of horses, the use of the gun, the skill and detective zeal of policemen,—for in Western Australia and in Queensland the aborigines are used in this capacity,—and some adroitness in certain crafts, such as those of carpenters and masons. But we have been altogether unable to teach them not to be savage. They will not live in houses except by compulsion. They will not work regularly for wages. They are not awake to the advantages of accumulated property. In their best form they are submissive and irresponsible as children,—in their worst form they are savage and irresponsible as beasts of prey. In a former chapter I have spoken of a philanthropic establishment, maintained for their benefit in Victoria, in the results of which I did not believe, much as I appreciated the philanthropy. In the next I will attempt to describe a prison kept for their use in Western Australia,—in which I did believe.

Two institutions of a philanthropic nature are maintained also in this colony for black men and women, or for black children,—or, as I found to be the case at the one which I visited, for half-caste children. One at New Norcia, *which I did not see*, is in the hands of *the Roman Catholics*, and was established by Bishop

Salvado. There were, according to the census papers, thirty-four adults and twenty-six children at this place. They are associated with and instructed by a large number of monks, and they are made to follow the ceremonies of the church to which they are attached, and perhaps to understand them as well as do the white proselytes. And there is a Protestant establishment for the teaching of children at Perth, which was first established at Albany, but which has been transplanted to Perth by the present bishop. Here I found twenty-two children, of whom fourteen were half-caste and eight were natives. For each of these the colony paid one shilling a day;—any further expenses incident to the establishment were defrayed by the bishop. The registrar of the colony, in speaking of this establishment in his last annual report,—that for 1870,—says that "it has gone through a varied history of success and disappointment. Several of the young women trained there have, from their educational attainments and knowledge of music, been sent for, and have gone as teachers at missionary stations in the neighbouring colonies, but it is to be regretted that the numbers now under charge do not exceed fourteen." He goes on to say that "the acquirement of a home and property is unknown to the natives of the bush, and it seems essential for the success of any attempt to ameliorate their condition, that this principle should be chiefly promoted and encouraged." I quite agree with this gentleman as to that which would be chiefly essential; but I must say, at the same time, that I never found an aboriginal Australian in possession of a house of which he was himself the owner or tenant. For the establishment at New Norcia, the colonial government allows £100 a year. I was also informed that £50 per annum was allowed for a school maintained

for native children by sisters of mercy. Of this latter school I could find no trace.

It is calculated that in the settled districts of the colony, there are at present about three thousand aboriginals, including men, women, and children. That the number is decreasing very quickly there is no doubt. Of these three thousand, nearly seven hundred are supposed to be in the service of the settlers of the colony during some portions of the year,—some for a few days at a time, or for a few weeks,—some perhaps for a few months. They cannot be depended upon for continual service. Their doom is to be exterminated; and the sooner that their doom be accomplished,—so that there be no cruelty,—the better will it be for civilisation.

The black men in Western Australia were certainly not treated with exceptional harshness,—were perhaps treated with exceptional kindness,—but they were very troublesome to the new-comers. There was much of spearing on the one side, and much of shooting and hanging on the other. There seem to have been two pertinacious chiefs, or resolute leading natives, named Yagar and Midgegoroo, who gave a great amount of trouble. They carried on the war for four or five years, by no means without success. The records speak of them as horrible savages. They were probably brave patriots, defending their country and their rights. Midgegoroo was at last taken and shot. What was the end of Yagar, or whether he came to an end, no one seems to know.

And there were many other troubles in the young settlement which, as we read the record, make us feel that it was no easy thing to be an early colonist. Food for the new-comers was often wanted. The young crops of wheat on which so much depended were destroyed

by moths and red rust. There was great lack of any circulating medium. The soil, though good in many places, was good only in patches, very distant from each other; and there were no roads,—so that the settler who produced meat in one place could not exchange it for the corn and wheat produced elsewhere. And there was no labour. That of all evils was perhaps the one most difficult to be encountered and overcome. The black man would not work; and the white man who had his block of ground thickly covered with gum-trees and blackboys,—a large resinous shrub common in the country is called by the latter name,—could not clear it and till it and sow it with sufficient rapidity to procure sustenance for himself and family.

It must be remembered in regard to all the Australian colonies that the country, which has proved itself to be exceptionally rich in repaying industrial enterprise, produced almost nothing ready to the hands of the first comers. There were no animals giving meat, no trees giving fruit, no yams, no bread-trees, no cocoa-nuts, no bananas. It was necessary that all should be imported and acclimatized. The quickness with which the country has received the life and products of other countries is marvellous. In some districts of certain Australian colonies,—especially of Victoria and Tasmania,—the English rabbit is already an almost ineradicable pest; in others is the sparrow. The forests are becoming full of the European bee. Wild horses roam in mobs of thousands over the distant sheep and cattle stations. In Western Australia grapes of an enormous size are sold retail at a penny a pound. Mutton through the colonies averaged twopence a pound in 1871. But everything was at first brought from Europe, and at first the struggle for existence was very hard.

This struggle was very hard in the first infant days of Western Australia; and there seems often to have arisen the question whether upon the whole it would not be well that the settlement should be abandoned. In 1832 the troubles were so grievous that the governor, Captain Stirling, went home to represent matters. Could not something be done for the poor strugglers? At the end of this year there were only six hundred acres of land under grain, and the reason given for so slight an advance was the difficulty, or almost impossibility, of procuring seed. In 1834 the governor returned as Sir James Stirling, and the struggle went on. In the same year was taken the first step towards that resolution which has since given the colony its present position and reputation, either for good or for bad as it may be. A petition for convicts from home was got up at King George's Sound, where, as has been before stated, a small convict establishment had been settled in early days by the then governor of New South Wales. In Albany, at King George's Sound, the comforts of convict labour seem already to have been appreciated and regretted. This petition, however, was repudiated by the colony at large. The colonists were in a bad way,—but not yet so bad as that. At this time the system of transportation had already become odious to the other colonies,—especially to New South Wales. The stain of the convict element had been felt to be disgraceful, and the very name was repulsive and injurious. But convicts could be made to labour, to open out roads and clear timber and build bridges, and to works without which it is impossible that a young colony should thrive. And the expense of convicts would be borne by the imperial *revenue*. Convict labour, bad as it *might be, meant labour for nothing*. The mother country,

which would give but little else, in her desire to rid herself of her own ruffians, would no doubt give that. It was known that the mother country was hard pressed in that matter, not knowing what to do with her convicted ruffianism, and that she would be only too happy to send a few thousands to the Swan River. But the colony rejected the petition which was originated at King George's Sound, and would not as yet condescend so far.

But things went from bad to worse. In 1838 there was a sad wail. Ten thousand barrels of oil were taken off the coast, but not a barrel was taken by an English or colonial vessel. All this wealth had fallen into the hands of French or American whalers. And the murders went on, and the hangings. And in 1840 all the wheat was destroyed by a moth. There had indeed been glimpses of success. In 1832 a Legislative Council first sat,—nominated of course by the governor; and in the same year a newspaper was published,—in manuscript. Soon afterwards a theatrical entertainment was given, and a printing-press was brought out, and a public clock was set up, and churches were opened. Struggles were made gallantly. Mr. Eyre, who was not so successful afterwards when he went as governor to Jamaica, made his way across the country from South Australia to King George's Sound, through the most sterile region of the continent, performing one of those wonderfully gallant acts by which Australian explorers have made themselves famous. Fresh acres were brought under cultivation. In 1843 the white population had risen to nearly four thousand. But still things were very bad. We are told *that* in 1844, from scarcity of money and other causes, *the colony* was in a most depressed condition. In 1845 *a second* petition for convicts was circulated,—not only

King George's Sound, but throughout the colony. It id not, however, find much favour, and was signed by o more than one hundred and four settlers. The ruggle still went on, and on the whole very bravely. literary institute was proposed, if not opened. There as an exhibition of European fruits grown in the colony. here was some success in whaling, instigated no doubt y a feeling of British hatred against those French and mericans who had come with their ships in the early ays, and carried off the oil from under the very noses f the colonists. New patches of good land were dis-overed,—notably in the Toodjay district about sixty iles from Perth. A subscription of £30 was collected r the poor Irish who were dying at home in want of otatoes. The public revenue in 1849 was £16,000, nd the expenditure only £15,800. With £200 in the ublic chest and no debt, there was clearly a state of ublic solvency. But still the complaints of the want of bour were very sore, and it is recorded that in 1848 a reat number of mechanics and labourers left the colony r South Australia. This was the saddest thing of all, r South Australia was only founded in 1836, whereas Vestern Australia was seven years her senior.

In 1849 the colony yielded to its fate, and at a ublic meeting in the capital, with the sheriff in the hair, a deputation was appointed to ask the governor o take steps to make Western Australia a penal settle-ent. And so the deed was done. Steps were taken hich were very quickly successful, and from that time, —or rather from 1st June, 1850, when the first convict rived, down to 9th January, 1860, when the last con-ct was put on shore at Freemantle, over 10,000 of ese exiles *have been sent to a colony which still pos-sses a population of only 25,000* white persons.

Of this same year, 1849, two other memorable statements are made. It is said that coal was discovered in Western Australia, and that gas admirably fitted for domestic purposes had been extracted from the shrub called the "blackboy." I regret to state that neither the gas nor the coal are at present known in the colony. Whether there be coal or not in this part of Australia is still one of the secrets of nature. Search is being made for it now under government auspices, by the process of boring,—not I fear with much promise of success. I am told that geologists say that there is coal, but that it lies very deep in the earth.

From 1850 down to 1868,—and indeed to the present day and for many a day to come,—the history of Western Australia is and will be that of a convict colony. Whether it is well that a young and struggling settlement should be assisted after such a fashion is a question on which they who have studied the subject in regard to Australia differ very much. As regards the colony now under review, I am inclined to think that it could not have been kept alive without extraneous aid; and I do not know what other sufficient extraneous aid could have been given to it. It may be well to explain here that the exportation of convicts to Western Australia was discontinued, not in deference to the wishes of that colony itself, nor because the mother country was tired of sending them,—but because the other colonies complained. The convicts when released got away to South Australia and Victoria,—or, at any rate, the Victorians and South Australians so reported; and thus the stain was still continued to the young Eastern world. The other colonies remonstrated, and therefore convicts are no longer sent to the Swan River.

But there are still in Western Australia nearly 2,000

convicts. On 1st January, 1872, there were exactly 1,985, including holders of tickets of leave and of conditional pardons. In addition to these there are the remainder of the 8,000 who have worked out their sentences,—or, in the language of the colony, have become expirees,—and their families. The whole labour market of the colony, as a matter of course, savours of the convict element. No female convicts were sent out to Western Australia, and therefore an influx of women soon became above all things desirable. Women were sent out as emigrants, in respect of whom great complaint is made by the colony against the government at home. It is said that the women were Irish, and were low, and were not calculated to make good mothers for future heroic settlers. It seems to me that this complaint, like many others made in the colonies generally, has been put forward thoughtlessly, if not unjustly. The women in question were sent that they might become the wives of convicts, and could not therefore have been expediently selected from the highest orders of the English aristocracy. Another complaint states that the convicts sent were not convicts of the kind ordered and promised. There was,—so goes the allegation,—a condition made and accepted that the convicts for Western Australia should be convicts of a very peculiar kind, respectable, well-grown, moral, healthy convicts,—who had been perhaps model ploughmen at home,—and men of that class. I have always replied, when the allegation has been made to me, that I should like to see the stipulation in print, or at least in writing. I presume the convicts were sent as they came to hand,—and certainly many of them were not expressly fitted to work on farms at a distance *from surveillance*. The women, I do not *doubt, were something like* the men;—and in this way a

population not very excellent in its nature was created. But the men worked for nothing.

It is certainly true that the convict element pervades the colony. If you dine out, the probability is that the man who waits upon you was a convict. The rural labourers are ticket-holders,—or expirees who were convicts. Many of the most thriving shopkeepers came out as convicts. There are convict editors of newspapers. A thorough knowledge of the social life of the colony is needed in order to distinguish the free settler from him who has been sent out from Great Britain to work out his period of punishment. Men who never were convicts come under the suspicion of having been so, and men who were convicts are striving to escape from it. The effect is that the convict flavour is over everything, and no doubt many would-be immigrants are debarred from coming to Western Australia by the fear that after a year or two their position would be misconstrued. In this respect a great evil has been done.

But it may be doubted whether the colony would have lived at all without an influx of convicts. They who at last asked for them,—so unwillingly,—were clearly of that opinion. There are many in the colony now who express much regret that the settlement should ever have been contaminated by a criminal class, and who profess to believe that nothing but evil has come from the measure. Such regrets are natural, but cannot be taken as indicating any true conception of the difficulties which caused the settlers to ask for convicts. Others declare, and I think with more reason, that the colony could not have lived but for the questionable boon. The parent colony, New South Wales, could not *have been* founded without convicts. The land was not *a land of* promise, overflowing with milk and honey. It

was a hard land, with much barren soil, often deficient in water, with but few good gifts apparent to the eye of the first comers. The gold was lying hidden and unsuspected among the distant water-courses and in the bosom of the mountains. The large pastures had to be reached across mountains which were long impervious to explorers. In telling the early tale of New South Wales I have endeavoured to explain how great was the struggle to maintain life on the first settlement; and the struggle was made only because it was necessary to Great Britain that she should find a distant home for her criminal exiles. The convicts were sent; and the attendants on the convicts, with convict assistance, made a new world. The same thing has been done in Western Australia, and the results will at last be the same. As soon as the exiles arrived at the Swan River imperial money fostered and comforted the struggling settlement. Not only was work done by the men who were sent, but for every man sent money was expended. There were imperial officers,—comptroller-generals, commissary-generals, commandants, superintendents, surveyors, chaplains, accountants, all paid from home. And the convicts did work,—not indeed so well or with such result as paid labourers,—but still, after the convict fashion, with considerable effect. If the men individually were bad workmen, yet their number was great. And it was work gratis,—costing the colony nothing. Such roads have been made as the other colonies,—always excepting Tasmania,—do not possess. Public buildings have been erected, and an air of prosperity has been given to the two towns,—Perth and Freemantle, the only towns in the colony,—which could hardly have come to them *yet but for this* aid. And imperial funds *are still spent largely, though* no doubt the money flow-

ing into Western Australia from that source will yearly become less and less. The comptroller-general has gone home, and there is doubt whether there will be another comptroller-general. The comfortable and somewhat imposing house, in which the old comptroller used to live, at Freemantle,—in dignity only second to that of the governor,—has been made a hospital. The numbers are decreasing both of officers and men. The head convict establishment is at Freemantle, and the glory of Freemantle is over. The men are no longer allowed to work on distant roads, because the gangs are expensive when kept at a distance. Everybody is talking of retrenchment. The Home Office is still called upon to pay, but can no longer get rid of a single ruffian in this direction, and of course looks closely to the expenditure. In Western Australia generally much blame is thrust upon the government at home because of its parsimony, and hard things are said of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, because it is supposed that he has ordered the withdrawal of the gangs from the roads. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer is a vigorous man, but I hardly think that his vigour has gone so far as this. The retrenchment has probably sprung from the zeal of officers here, who have felt it to be both their duty and their interest to respond to the general demand for economy expressed by their superiors at home. But still there is money coming, and still there is work done; and it may be that this will last till the colony can exist and prosper without further aid. In this respect great good has been done.

Whether more of good or more of evil has befallen Australia generally from its convicts, is a question which *will not* be decided to the satisfaction of the English *world* at large for many a year to come,—though the

day for a general decision will come. But this may be said of the system with certain truth,—as it may of all human institutions,—that now, when the sweets of it have been used and are no longer sweet, the advantages are forgotten and the evils borne in mind. The Bill Sykes physiognomy of a large proportion of the population is to be seen daily throughout Western Australia. And the roads and buildings are also to be seen. But men remember whence Bill Sykes came, and why; but they forget how they got the roads and buildings.

In 1851 the rushes for gold commenced in Victoria and in New South Wales, and before long there came upon Western Australia the conviction that gold was the one thing necessary for its salvation. If gold could only be found, Western Australia would hold up its head with the best of them. Exploring parties were made, and gullies were ransacked,—I will not say altogether in vain, for I have seen small grains of gold which were undoubtedly washed out of Western Australian earth;—but no gold was found to repay the searchers. In 1862 a reward of £5,000 was offered for the discovery of a gold-field that would pay, within a radius of fifty miles of Perth; but no lucky man has claimed the reward. In the same year an offer was made to the colony by Mr. Hargreaves,—one of those who claim to have first discovered gold in Australia, and who possessed the credit of having found it, not by accident, but by search made in consequence of geological comparison instituted by himself between California and Australia. The great Mr. Hargreaves proposed to come to Western Australia and search for a gold-field, on condition that £500 and his expenses were paid to him. The colony at once accepted the proposition. If gold could only be found, what would

be £500 and Mr. Hargreaves's expenses? Towards the end of the year Mr. Hargreaves came, and started to the north, for the Murchison River. If anywhere, gold might be there. Such seems to have been Mr. Hargreaves's opinion. But in the January following Mr. Hargreaves returned to Perth unsuccessful. The colony, no doubt, paid the stipulated price,—and wept again as it has wept so often. It has since sent, in the same way, for other expensive aids from beyond its own limits, for machinery and skilled science; the machinery and skilled science have come, and the poor colony has paid the bill;—but there have been no results.

From that day to this the craving for gold has continued,—and is still strong as ever. It is the opinion of many that nothing but gold can turn the scale, can bring joy out of despondency, can fill the land with towns, and crowd the streets with men. And there is much truth in the belief. It is not the gold that does it,—the absolute value of the metal which is extracted, —but the vitality to trade, the consumption of things, the life and the stir occasioned by those who, with the reckless energy of gamblers, hurry hither and thither after the very sound of gold. The men come, and must live,—and must work for their livelihood, if not in getting gold then on some other workfield. The one thing wanted is population. Gold, if really found in paying quantities, would be a panacea for all evils in the colony; but, if that be impossible, even tidings of gold, tidings loud enough to gain credit, might turn the scale.

It may easily be conceived that such hopes as these, —hopes which might be gratified any day by an accident, but which could not assure themselves of success by steady industry,—would lead to a state of feeling

which I may perhaps best describe as the Micawber condition. If only gold would turn up! Gold might turn up any day! But as gold did not turn up,—then would not Providence be so good as to allow something else to turn up! This feeling, than which none can be more pernicious, is likely to befall every population which seeks after hidden and uncertain gains. The gain may come any day,—may come in any quantity,—may turn squalid poverty into wealth in an hour. The splendid transformation has been made over and over again, and may be repeated. Why should it not be repeated here, with me, on my behalf? And, if so, how vain, feeble, and contemptible would be a paltry struggle after daily wages? No doubt there was much of the Micawber spirit in the colony, and many waited, thinking that gold would turn up,—or if not gold, pearls, or coal, or copper, or gas made out of blackboys. For there have been promises made by the cruel earth of all these brilliant things.

By the earth or by the water;—for perhaps the promise of pearls has been, of all these promises, the one best performed. In 1861 I find the first mention of mother-of-pearl found on the northern coast, at Nickol Bay,—far away beyond the limits of the colony which had been explored, but which was geographically a portion of the seacoast of Western Australia. Now there is a settlement at Nickol Bay. At present horses and sheep are reared there; but Nickol Bay is best known for its pearl fishery. This has gradually increased. In 1862 pearl-shell was exported to the value of £250. In 1863, none. In 1864, £5. In 1865, none. In 1866, £7. In 1867, £556. In 1868, £5,554. In 1869, £6,490. For 1870 I have not the amount. In 1871 it arose to £12,895. This enterprise can hardly be re-

garded as having been carried on by colonial industry, as strangers have come to the coast, and pearl-divers are men of migratory habits, who know little of homes, and are not subject to much patriotic enthusiasm; but they attach themselves for a time to the coast that is nearest to them, and spend upon it some portion of their gains. The fishery on the northern coast of Western Australia, not for pearls, but for pearl-shell, will probably become a prosperous trade.

The staple of the colony has no doubt been wool,—and it appears to have been the original idea of the wealthier settlers to carry out in Western Australia the system of squatting which had already become successful on the eastern side of the continent. The value of wool exported is more than half that of all the exports of the colony. In 1871 it amounted to £111,061,—which was shorn from the backs of 671,000 sheep. But these figures cannot be taken as indicating any great success. I could name five stations in Queensland on which more sheep are kept than run through all the pastures of Western Australia. It is common in Western Australia to hear of squatters with 2,000, 3,000, or 4,000 sheep. In the eastern colonies I found it unusual to find less than 10,000 on a single run. I heard of one leviathan squatter in Western Australia, who owned 25,000 sheep. In Queensland, New South Wales, or Victoria, 30,000 is by no means a large number of sheep for a single run,—as the reader of the previous pages will know very well by this time, if he have read attentively. There are various reasons for this comparative smallness of things. The colony has never been *popular*. It began poorly, and has been since *succoured by* convicts. It is remote from the other pastoral *districts of* Australia, and divided from them by a large

npassable desert. And there are large districts in-
sted by a poisonous shrub, which is injurious to horses
nd deadly to cattle if eaten green, but which is ab-
olutely fatal to sheep. The traveller comes on these
istricts here and there, and some one picks for him a
prig from the plant,—with a caution that if he eats
uch of it, it will probably disagree with him. I with-
ood all temptation in that direction, and eat none.
rom land wanted for agricultural purposes, the poisonous
nrub is easily eradicated; but the cost of doing this
ver the wide districts required for pastoral purposes
ould be too great. The baneful localities are known,
nd the number of sheep poisoned are few; but the fact
nat so much land should be unserviceable is of course
dverse to squatting.

The timber trade has thriven in Western Australia,
nd at the present moment is so much in request that
omplaints are made that the available labour of the
olony is all taken into the bush, to the great detriment
f the farmer. Hitherto the chief exportation has been
f sandal-wood, which in 1871 amounted to £26,926.
n 1869 it had risen to £32,998. This goes almost
ntirely to the east,—to Singapore and China, and is, I
m told, chiefly used there for incense. But the trade
n jarrah-wood, which hitherto has been small, will pro-
ably soon take the lead. Tramroads are being laid
own in two places, with the view of taking it out from
he forests to the seacoast. The wood is very hard,
nd impervious to the white ants and to water. It is a
uestion whether any wood has come into man's use
hich is at the same time so durable and so easily
orked. It may be that after all the hopes of the
Vest-Australian *Micawbers* will be realised in jarrah-
ood.

The first object of the first settlers was of course to grow wheat. In any country that will produce a sufficiency of wheat men may live and thrive. Western Australia will produce wheat, and contains many patches of country which, from the nature of the soil, seem to be specially fit for cereal crops. The heat on the western coast is not continuous, nor so intense as it is at the same latitudes in New South Wales and Queensland; but, nevertheless, failure in the wheat crops has been one of the chief sources of misfortune and failure in the colony. One reads constantly of rust and moth, and of the insufficiency of the grain produced, and even of the difficulty of procuring seed. The farming has been thoroughly bad, and very bad it is still.

From the commencement of the settlement up to the present day Western Australia has been a crown colony, or, in other words, has been subject to rule from home instead of ruling itself. A governor has been appointed to it, whose duty it has been to initiate such changes in the laws as have appeared necessary to him, and as have met with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He has had a Legislative Council, which was nominated by himself, and therefore subject to him; and, of course, an Executive Council, consisting of paid officers who have done the departmental work for him. Under this scheme of government the colonists themselves had nothing to do with the manner in which they were ruled. The governor was irresponsible to them, but responsible to the government at home. It may be that such a form of rule may be good for an infant community. For an adult colony it cannot be good. How far it has already been altered under the sanction of the present governor, Mr. Weld, I will endeavour to explain in another chapter, and will also

speak of the further changes which are in prospect. The absolute power attaching to the governor of a crown colony is already, happily, a thing of the past in Western Australia.

I will also postpone to another chapter such account as I may be able to give of alienation from the Crown of the lands of the colony. The manner in which this should be done, and the manner in which it has been and shall be done, has been of all questions the most important to the Australian colonies generally. As a new law on this subject was proclaimed in March, 1872, when I was in the colony, and as the changes made are of vital importance, I will endeavour to explain the present condition of the matter when speaking of the colony as it now is.

And thus Western Australia has struggled on since 1829, having undergone many difficulties; not much heard of in the world; never doomed like Sierra Leone or Guiana; never absolutely ruined as have been some of the West Indian islands;—but never cropping up in the world, an offspring to be proud of, as are Victoria and Canada.

CHAPTER XVII.

Rottnest and Freemantle.

ROTTNEST is an island some twelve miles distant from Freemantle, and Freemantle is the seaport town nearest to Perth,—very deficient in its qualifications in that respect, as I shall explain hereafter. The two places are now spoken of together as containing two convict establishments,—that at Rottnest for black men or aboriginals, and that at Freemantle for European and colonial white prisoners. I will speak of Rottnest first, because it was established for its present purposes before convicts were sent out from England to Western Australia.

The island is about four miles long and two miles broad, and was originally almost covered with bush. The soil is sand throughout. Here and there through one end of the island there are five or six small salt lakes. Here black convicts were confined and made to work very soon after the colony was first established. In the course of a few years they were taken to the mainland, in order that they might be employed on the roads. But they ran away, and could not by any amount of chaining and repression which was compatible with work be kept from escaping. Then the establishment at Rottnest was reopened, and has since been maintained as a *penal* settlement for black convicts, who have been *regularly* tried and condemned in accordance with British *law*. When I visited Rottnest there were sixty-five of

these aboriginals in the island,—not a large number, perhaps hardly sufficient to justify any special mention; but the special mention is made because it seemed to me that the black men whom I saw in the prison were very much nearer to a state of civilisation, and were upon the whole in a better condition, and indeed happier, than any whom I encountered in other conditions. Of course they desired their liberty, though by no means with that pining desire which creates brooding melancholy; but they were clothed and fed and housed, and constrained to work,—though by no means to work heavily, —and had assumed the look and bearing of human beings. They were not subject, either by night or day, to solitary confinement,—except in cases of outrage and insubordination; and such cases did not often occur. They had a regular dietary,—twelve ounces of meat a day properly cooked, with rice and bread and tea. By their labour wheat was produced from the sand, and barley, and hay. The wheat was thrashed and ground, and of course baked on the island. The only white labour employed was that of six European convicts borrowed from the opposite establishment at Freemantle, to do portions of the work for which black men could not be trained to sufficient skill. These prisoners also made salt from the salt lakes, which is sold on the mainland, and which may be made to such quantity as to pay the expense of the whole establishment. For superintending the salt-works a white man is employed at a salary,—who was himself a convict not long since. I was informed that the produce of the island obtained by the work of the prisoners defrayed the whole expenses of the establishment except the salaries of the officers. There is a governor, with five warders, and a doctor. There *is no chaplain, nor is any* attempt made to Christianize

these savages. I believe that any such attempt, and that the presence of any chaplain, would be misplaced and useless. I know that for saying this I shall have against me the opinion of many good men,—of the very men whose good opinion I should be most proud to win,—but I do not believe in the result of the Christian teaching which these men are able to receive. Nor does it strike me with any special horror that sixty-five savages should be left without this teaching, when I know it to have been the will of God that hundreds of thousands such as they should die without it in their own countries.

But here, at Rottnest, the aboriginal convicts do work, and work cheerfully. On Sundays they are allowed to roam at will through the island, and they bring home wallabys, and birds, and fishes. At night they are locked up in cells, never less than three together, and are allowed blankets for bedding. It was the nearest approach that I saw to black adult civilisation,—though made through crime and violence. And here I must again express an opinion, that the crime and the violence of these men have altogether a different effect on the mind of the bystander than have the same deeds when done by white men. As we condemn them for much in that they are savages, so must we acquit them of much for the same reason. Our crimes are often their virtues; but we make them subject to our laws,—of which they know little or nothing,—and hang them or lock them up for deeds for which they are not criminal in their own consciences, and for the non-performance of which they would be condemned by their own laws. I was astonished to find how large a proportion of these black prisoners had been convicted of murder;—and that the two who were awaiting their trial were both accused of that crime. But these murders were chiefly tribal retributions. A

man in some tribe is murdered, or perhaps simply dies. It is then considered necessary that the next tribe should also lose a man,—so that things might be made equal; and some strong young fellow is told off to execute the decision of the elders. Should he refuse to do so, he is knocked about and wounded and ill-treated among his own people. But if he perform the deed entrusted to him, he is tracked down by black policemen, is tried for murder, and has a life-sentence passed against him. When examined as to these occurrences they almost invariably tell the truth;—never endeavouring to screen themselves by any denial of the murder done, or by the absence of sufficient evidence; but appealing to the necessity that was laid upon them. Such an account one of those in the prison, who was to be tried, gave to me in the governor's presence,—which was much as follows, though at the time demanding interpretation, which I hope the reader will not need:—"Him come,"—him being some old chief in the tribe;—"him say, 'go kill Cracko;'"—Cracko being the destined victim;—"me no like; him say 'must;' me no like very much; him hab spear;"—then there was a sign made of the cruel chief wounding his disobedient subject;—"then me go kill Cracko."—"With a tomahawk?" suggests the governor. The prisoner nods assent, and evidently thinks that the whole thing has been made clear and satisfactory. In very many cases the murderer is acquitted, as the judge very properly refuses to take the prisoner's story as a plea of guilty, and demands that the crime shall be proved by evidence. If the evidence be forthcoming the young murderer is sent to Rottnest with a life-sentence, and,—as I think,—enters on a much more blessed phase of existence than he has ever known before.

In the evening it was suggested that the prisoners

should "have a corroboree" for the amusement of the guests, and orders were given accordingly. At that time I had never seen a corroboree,—and was much interested, because it was said that a special tribe from which sixteen or eighteen of these men came were very great in corroborees. A corroboree is a tribal dance in which the men congregate out in the bush, in the front of a fire, and go through various antics with smeared faces and bodies, with spears and sticks, howling, and moving their bodies about in time;—while the gins, and children, and old people sit round in a circle. I am told that some corroborees are very interesting. I probably never saw a good one,—as I did not find them to be amusing. This corroboree in the Rottnest prison was the best I saw,—but even in that there was not much to delight. When the order was given, I could not but think of other captives who were desired to sing and make merry in their captivity. Here, however, there was no unwillingness,—and when I proposed that five shillings' worth of tobacco should be divided among the performers, I was assured that the evening would be remembered as a very great occasion in the prison.

I did not find the establishment for white convicts at Freemantle at all as interesting as that at Port Arthur in Tasmania. Port Arthur is in itself very picturesque and beautiful. Freemantle has certainly no natural beauties to recommend it. It is a hot, white, ugly town, with a very large prison, a lunatic asylum, and a hospital for ancient worn-out convicts. No doubt the excitement which one expects to feel in such a place is supposed to be aroused rather by the nature of its inmates and by their treatment, than by any outside accessories;—but the *outside* accessories at Port Arthur no doubt had a strong *effect*. And at Port Arthur I met with men who interested

me, and with whom I have endeavoured to interest others. At Freemantle there was hardly a man whom it can be worth the reader's while to have introduced to him. Perhaps that stipulation of which I have spoken, that none but respectable convicts should be sent to Western Australia, may have produced the undesirable effect of which I speak. I can call to mind no special individual except a gentleman whom I remember to have been tried in England for having got the mate of one of his ships to scuttle the ship out at sea. I saw him walking about with a very placid demeanour, and perhaps his friends may be glad to hear that he was conducting himself in a most exemplary manner. I do not doubt but that he will be editor of a newspaper before long. It was interesting, too, to see tobacco served out to all the European convicts who had not been re-convicted since their arrival. Such men are called probationers, and seem to have considerable privileges,—as though there were much virtue in coming out to the colony and working there gratis, with all expenses paid by the government at home. The poor black fellows only get tobacco on such a very rare holiday occasion as that I have described; but the white men from England, who had scuttled ships and the like, get their weekly supply regularly,—as gentlemen should. I own that I grudged it them.

At Port Arthur I saw men in solitary cells, who had been there long, who would be there long,—who had spent almost their lives either in solitude or under the lash. At Freemantle there were only two or three in the cells, and they only for a day or two each. I rather complained of this to the officer who was showing me the place, giving him to understand that I had expected *something more exciting*. He had, he said, one man

locked up for making himself generally objectionable, whom I could see if I liked; but he warned me, that if I did see him, I might find it very difficult to check his eloquence. The cell was opened, and the man came out and made his speech;—or so much of it as we would consent to hear. At last the warder explained to him that this indulgence could not be prolonged, and he was gently put back, and locked up again. I was assured that he would have gone on for hours;—but there was nothing interesting in his speech, whereas the eloquent prison lawyer at Port Arthur delighted me by the malignity and audacity of the charges which he brought against everybody.

The large prison at Freemantle is fitted to hold 850 prisoners. I do not know that so many have ever been confined there. The men, as they have arrived, seem to have been told off into gangs, and the majority of them have been employed at distances from the head-quarters,—chiefly on the construction of roads. When I was in the colony there were still such gangs, some on one road, and some on another; but the system of so employing the men was being brought to a close, because their cost was greater when thus spread about the country than when maintained at one centre establishment. This was declared to be the case, and the allegation was made that the reduction was forced upon the colony by home parsimony. The allegation was made, but did not reach me from official lips,—and I do not believe that they who have the management of the convicts, the governor and comptroller, have ever received orders to put the men to comparatively useless works, in order that the money spent upon them from *Great Britain* might be lessened. I do not doubt but that general, and perhaps stringent, instructions have

been given as to economy. In what branch of the public service have not such instructions been given during the last four or five years? But the zeal which has complied with these instructions by withdrawing the men from the distant and more useful works has probably been colonial, and is, I think, to be lamented. As the colony has had the convicts, it should at any rate get from them all that it can get;—and even though the small extra expense of keeping the men in distant gangs should be borne by the colony itself, the money would be well expended. The matter will probably seem to be insignificant. It is perhaps necessary that a man should visit such a colony as Western Australia before he can realise the need of roads. The distance from Albany to Perth is 258 miles. Perth is the capital of the colony, and Albany is the port from and to which is made the only communication by steamboat with the outside world which the colony possesses. About a third of this road has been properly made. The remaining two-thirds consist of a cleared track through the bushes, with bridges here and there, and occasional attempts at road-making. It would be much better that the road should be finished. In the colony there are many excellent roads running out of Perth, without which the colony would be altogether uninhabitable;—and they were all made by convict labour. I mention the two facts in order that I may be excused for dilating upon the subject.

The prison, which, as I have said, can hold 850 inmates, now contains 359 men. Of these 240 are imperial convicts,—convicts who have been sent out from England, and who are now serving under British sentences, or sentences inflicted in the colony within twelve months of the *date of their freedom*. For all these the *expense is paid from home*. And there are 119 colonial

convicts,—convicts with whom the colony is charged, as being representatives of colonial crime. But even of these about four-fifths came to Western Australia originally as convicts from home. I cannot tell the extent of the charge upon the imperial revenue,—as I did in regard to the establishment in Tasmania,—because at Freemantle the affair is managed on a different basis. At Port Arthur the colony supplies everything, and receives so much a head for the men. At Freemantle the home government does the work for itself in detail, sending out stores from England, and making purchases for itself.

I suggested to the superintendent of the prison that the enormous building through which we were walking would soon become useless. He scouted the idea, and declared, apparently with pride, that the colony would always supply a sufficiency of convicts to keep it going. I suggested that 850 men under sentence would be a great many,—that even half that number would be a very great number,—in a population of 25,000 souls; and the more so, as the enormous distances in the colony made it necessary that other prisons and penitentiaries should be maintained. But he was still hopeful. The population would increase, and with the population crime. It was not likely that a people whose connection with prisons had been so long and so thorough should fail Freemantle at a pinch. I could not agree with him. I do believe that the prison at Freemantle will become all but useless,—as will also that at Port Arthur.

As to the treatment of the men at this establishment, there can be no doubt that it should be held to be free *from* any charge of harshness. The question is, whether *the* men be not too well treated. The food is sufficient, *and* very good. The work is always lighter than that

done by free labourers. The utensils and bedding are good. Everything is clean. The punishments are light and infrequent. Flogging still does take place, but very rarely. The men, if they behave well, are allowed more hours of amusement than fall to the lot of freemen;—and have as many means of amusement as most free labourers. It was only half-past five in the evening when I saw the men marshalled at the end of their day's work to receive their tobacco. Why a man who had come from England with a life-sentence against him should receive tobacco, whereas a colonial prisoner sent in for six months should have none, I could not understand.

In the old days, when Norfolk Island was the doubly penal establishment attached to our first penal settlement at Port Jackson, when the managers of these prisons had not yet learned the way to extract work from unwilling convicts without flogging them, penal servitude was no doubt a horrid punishment. Chains and the scourge, darkness and bread and water, were then common. That wretch whom I saw at Tasmania,—who told me that for forty years he had never known one day's freedom,—had been made what he was by the old system. I do not remember that he had ever been a thief, but he had always been a rebel. The manner of the thing is altogether altered now, till one finds one's self driven to ask whether punishment so gentle can be deterrent. As regards our connection with the colonies, the question is not one of much importance, as we shall never send another convict to Australia.

I cannot finish this chapter without giving a copy of a certificate which was handed to me by a policeman at Albany, *just as I was* about to leave the colony:—

"I hereby certify that the bearer, A. Trollope, about to proceed to Adelaide per A. S. N. Co.'s steamer, is not and never has been a prisoner of the Crown in Western Australia. (Signed) ——————

"Resident Magistrate."

It is perhaps something of a disgrace to Western Australia that the other colonies will not receive a stranger from her shores without a certificate that the visitor has not been a "lag." Such a resolution on their part must remind the poor Western Australians grievously of their disgrace. So many have been convicts, that the certificate is demanded from all! But I think that they should not charge a shilling for it, and thus raise a revenue out of their own ill fame. It was not my fault that South Australia demanded the certificate. Considering all the circumstances, I think that they should give the passport, and say nothing about it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Western Australia, Present Condition.

I LEARN from a little book, written by Mr. W. H. Knight, and published in Perth, on the history, condition, and prospects of Western Australia, that the colony, as defined by her Majesty's Commissioners, includes all that portion of New Holland situated to the westward of the 129th degree of longitude, and extends between the parallels of 13° 44′ and 35° south, its greatest length being 1,280 miles from north to south, and its breadth from east to west about 800 miles. The area is about 1,000,000 square miles, or about eight times the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The total population on December 31, 1871, as given in the Blue Book published in 1872, was 25,353. On the 31st of March, 1870, the population, as taken by the census, had been 24,785. For a young colony that can only thrive by an increasing population, the figures are not promising; and they are the less so, in that the latter number may be probably taken as exact, whereas the former, showing the increase, has been matter of calculation. In such calculations there is always a bias towards the more successful side. With an area so enormous, and a population so small, the value and distribution of the land form together the one all-absorbing question. The new-comers arrive intending to live *out of the land*, which at any rate is plentiful;—

and as new-comers are not plentiful, it is necessary to tempt them with offers of land. In all the Australian colonies the system has been the same, although it has been carried out with various limits and various devices. In the early days of Western Australia very large grants indeed were given, on compliance by different individuals with certain stipulations as to the number of emigrants imported and value of stock and goods brought into the colony. The following grants were made:—

To Mr. Thomas Peel . . .	250,000 acres.
To Colonel Latour	103,000 ,,
To Sir James Stirling . . .	100,000 ,,

I need hardly say that the estates thus conferred were very extensive, and such as would together constitute a county in England. The county of Berkshire contains only 481,280 acres. But it has not appeared that grants on this scale have done good to the colony, or to those to whom they were made. In neither of the cases above named has any prosperous settlement been established on the lands granted, nor, as I believe, have the families of the recipients been enriched, or permanently settled in the country. It was soon found that land divided into smaller quantities would more probably produce the energy which was wanted, and other schemes were invented. The grants above named were made under an order issued from the Colonial Office called Circular A, which was in existence prior to the regular settlement of the colony. Circular B was issued in 1829, and entitled settlers to free grants of land at the rate of one acre for every sum of 1*s.* 6*d.* invested on the land,—the land to be made over in fee at the end of twenty-one years, if the improvements effected satisfied the government. But

this was soon again changed, and Circular C granted land on and from 1st January, 1831, to all settlers at the rate of an acre for every 3*s.* invested, and 100 acres for every servant introduced into the colony, limiting the time of improvement to four years. But on the 1st March, 1831, Circular D appeared, doing away with all free grants,—excepting to officers of the army and navy retiring from their profession with the intention of becoming settlers,—and substituting for such free grants the sale of the crown lands at a minimum price of 5*s.* an acre. In July, 1841, the price of the crown lands was raised to 12*s.* an acre; and subsequently, in the same year, to 20*s.* an acre,—which may be called the normal Australian price, though variations have been made upon it in all the Australian colonies;—and, at this rate of 20*s.* an acre, it was to be sold in blocks of not less than 160 acres each, with a right of commonage attached to each block. In 1843 another change was made, which, however, did not alter the price, but had reference to the maximum and minimum limits of land which might be purchased. In 1860 the price was again reduced to 10*s.*, and the quantity to 40 acres. Then, in 1864, came further alteration, and other laws were enacted, which were those in operation at the time of my visiting the colony, but which were again changed while I was there. Under the regulations of 1864 lands were classified as town, suburban, country, and mineral. Town and suburban lands, the value of which was of course dependent on the prosperity of the so-called town, and on the nature of the land around it, were saleable by auction, the upset or reserve price being fixed by the governor. Mineral lands, or lands known or *supposed to contain* minerals, were saleable in lots

not less than 80 acres each, at £3 an acre. The ordinary country lands,—land, that is, which might be selected here or there by the immigrant or other intending purchaser,—were again to be sold at 10*s.* an acre, and in blocks of not less than 40 acres each. It is as to land of this nature,—the ordinary land of the country left open for selection,—that the emigrant should interest himself. The same law of 1864 also defined the term under which pastoral lands should be let by the Crown in the various districts of the colony, being in one district at the rate of 20*s.* per 1,000 acres, and in another 10*s.*,—with various other stipulations. But the pastoral squatters' relations with the Crown are of much less interest to him than are those of the free-selecter or purchaser. This last law of 1864, as did all previous land laws in the colony, required that the purchaser should pay his money down. At first indeed there were free grants under certain stipulations, then 5*s.* an acre was charged, then 12*s.*, then 20*s.*, then 10*s.*,—but in each case the money was to be paid at once. In this way during the eleven years up to 1869 inclusive, 117,854 acres were alienated in the colony, showing an average of something over 10,000 acres a year. For this the Crown,—or we may more safely say the colony,—received £69,440—or an average of about £6,300 per annum. The absolute price realised was about 12*s.* 6*d.* an acre; but the sale had been very slow,—the injury arising from which was to be found, not in the smallness of the money received, which was and is a question of quite second-rate importance, but in the absence of inducement to immigrants, of which it seemed to be evidence. There is the land, undoubtedly in many districts so fertile as to offer to new-comers the means of

living easily upon its bounties,—producing wheat, oats, barley, grapes, potatoes, with ordinary fruits and vegetables in abundance; with a climate preferable to Englishmen to any other Australian climate except that of Tasmania; certainly with many drawbacks, the chief of which is the distance from each other of the districts which are so gifted;—but still a country with all these gifts. How shall men be induced to come to it, and partake of its good things?

I cannot say that the question is asked by the colony at large in any spirit of wide philanthropy, or that it is asked eagerly, as it is, by those in whose hands rests the government of the colony, with any special view to benefit the hungry labourers of England and Ireland. In Western Australia it is simply a question of self-preservation. I do not know that any good can be done by soft words in the matter. The colony has never prospered as yet, and is not prospering at present. I have endeavoured in a previous chapter to show, if not the reason for the fact, at any rate the fact itself. At first a scanty population spread itself over a wide district, and having no extraneous help to foster it, was on the brink of perishing by its own natural weakness. Then it called for extraneous help, and received it in the guise of convicts. But the very aid was an injury,—which has still to be endured, and, if possible, gradually cured. Convicts do not make a colony popular with intending colonists. Gold makes a colony popular; but gold has not been found in Western Australia. Coal makes any land prosperous; but coal has not been found in Western Australia. Good harbours assist a colony,—and Western Australia has a magnificent harbour at King George's Sound;—but it is 260 miles from the

capital, and is divided from the capital by an uninteresting and useless country. The so-called harbour near to the capital, that at Freemantle, is simply a road in which vessels cannot lie safely. Struggling against these evils, the colony has not hitherto prospered;—but the question still arises whether something further may not be done to induce men to settle on its shores and till its lands, and gather its grapes and figs, and make themselves fat with its fatness. There are two things which may yet be tried, say the governors and those who are interested, —which may be tried, perhaps, with some greater confidence than can be placed in the Micawber hope for gold, and coal, and pearls. Let us have representative government, and let us have another land law. The new land law has been passed and proclaimed; and the condition of the government is a state of transit, being at present half Crown condition, and half representative condition. These at present are the two great panaceas.

As to the land, I have no doubt that the governors are right. I use the word in the plural number, as I neither wish to give to any man the glory which should be another's, or to take from any man the glory that is his, and I am not at all aware how far this gentleman or that is responsible for the new regulations. I will postpone to the next chapter my endeavour to explain the new law, or that part of it which may be important to emigrants, as in this chapter I am desirous of confining myself to the present condition of the colony. The law, though proclaimed when I was there, had not so come into operation that any action had been taken under it. The intermediate step between Crown government and representative government had already been *taken*, and had produced effects. This step I believe I

may safely attribute to Mr. Weld, the present governor of the colony, and my readers will understand that I should not mention his name, did I not thoroughly agree and sympathise with him in his efforts to do away with a fashion of government under which I believe that Englishmen will never prosper.

The other Australian colonies are governed by responsible ministers under irresponsible governors, each with two legislative chambers, of which the larger and more influential is elected, and the other is either elected, as in Victoria, or nominated by the leading colonial minister, as in New South Wales. In these larger colonies the kings, lords, and commons to which we are accustomed at home, are repeated, though there is an overriding power in the Secretary of State at home which somewhat clips the wings of these colonial parliaments, and robs them of that omnipotence which is the great attraction of our own Houses. But Western Australia is still a Crown colony. The governor is responsible, and his advisers, as such, are not so. Legislation takes its initiation with him. He is supposed, in truth, to govern, whereas governors in the other colonies are ornamental vice-sovereigns, whose business it is to superintend society, and to be the medium of communication between the great minister at home and the smaller ministers in the colonies. But in Western Australia at present the governor does not quite govern in the true Crown-colony fashion. Under the auspices of the present governor, and with the consent of the Secretary of State at home, an intermediate condition of things has been reached which is intended to pave the way to responsible government. There is an executive council, of course,—as there always has been,—consisting of the governor himself and

four officers, of whom the colonial secretary is supposed to be the leading spirit. These gentlemen form the governor's cabinet. But there is also a legislative council, —a parliament with one house,—of which six members are nominated by the government and twelve are elected by the different districts of the colony. Of the six nominated members, three, but not more than three, may belong to the executive council, and be paid servants of the Crown. This chamber is nominated and elected for three years. It sat for the first time in November, 1870, and was deposed after a second session early in 1872, in consequence of a change in the adjustment of the right of voting. A re-election was about to take place when I was in the colony. The last session had, I was told, been rather stormy. The next, it was thought, would be less so. As things stand at present, the governor can effect nothing without the House, nor can the House effect anything without the governor. It is not so with us or in the other colonies,—as all who understand parliamentary action are aware. The governor of Western Australia is under no obligation to accede to the wish of the people as expressed by the House; but the House has the power of voting supplies, and can, of course, cause this power to be felt.

Such a confused condition of governing and legislating,—for it is, in truth, a confused condition,—can only be justified by the inexpediency of rushing at once from the secure but repressing despotism of a Crown colony to the unpractical energies of a full-fledged, double-housed parliament, with responsible ministers, who shall go in and out in accordance with the majorities of the day. The feeling of the present governor, and of the minister at home, is, no doubt, in favour of the full-

ledged representation system; but in so small a colony, —in a colony with a sparse population, scattered over in immense area,—there must necessarily be great difficulty in finding men fit to be legislators. And they who may, after a while, become fit have as yet had but slender means of learning how legislation should be conducted. The system, as at present adopted, which will hardly bear strict investigation on its own merits, may probably be found useful in giving the necessary training to the leading men of the colony, and in bringing them by degrees into the ways of discreet legislation. I must confess that in Western Australia one hears of doings in days not far remote which lead one to think that any amount of ignorance in a legislator, that any amount of what I may, perhaps, call rowdyism in a chamber, is better than practically irresponsible power in the hands of a would-be mighty colonial officer, removed from home by half the world's circumference.

I do not wish to be understood to say that I look to responsible representative government as a panacea for all the evils with which Western Australia is afflicted, or that I think that a colony which would perish without that remedy would by that alone be saved from ruin. I have no such belief in any form of government. It is in Western Australia, as elsewhere, by the people and their energy that the people must be made to flourish. But I do think that a people who are empowered to act for themselves in politics, even though their political action should in many instances be unwise, are more likely to be stirred to energy than are a herd of men driven this way or that in matters of policy, according as some man from without may choose to drive them. I am aware that a *population* of 25,000 is very small to

support, very small to need, all the paraphernalia of a double-housed parliament; Queensland, however, had not so many when she commenced the experiment, and with Queensland it has succeeded. I am aware that there is at present great difficulty in getting proper men for the position of legislators in Perth;—perhaps I may go farther, and say that as yet these are not to be found in the colony. Men are wanted who can yearly afford to give a portion of their time in the capital for nothing, who shall have trained themselves to think, as legislators, of their country's good, and not of their own special wants, and who shall be possessed of that patient demeanour and forbearing temper which a legislative chamber demands. I doubt whether such men can as yet be found in Western Australia. I know they have not been plentiful in the other colonies. I know that in some of the legislative chambers of Australia rowdy manners are common, and class interests very much in the ascendant. I am well aware that these chambers are not what they should be,—are very short, indeed, of being model legislative chambers. But nevertheless the work is done,—if not in a perfect, still in a wholesome manner, and the colonies are upon the whole raised to energy, vitality, and dignity by the unseen operations of representative government. I believe that the same result would follow in Western Australia, and that the colonists would gradually throw off that Micawber tone of hoping to which I have alluded, if the duty were imposed upon them of managing for themselves.

I reached the colony from Melbourne at Albany, and I left the colony starting from the same town for Adelaide in South Australia. Albany is a very pretty little town on King George's Sound,—which is, I believe, by

far the best harbour on the southern coast of the continent. It is, moreover, very picturesque, though not equally so with Port Jackson and the coves round Sydney. In Albany there are a few stores, as shops are always called, a brewery, a depôt for coals belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, a church, a clergyman, two or three inns, and two or three government officers. Among the latter I found an old schoolfellow of my own, who filled the office of resident magistrate, and in that capacity acted as judge in all matters not affecting life for a district about as big as Great Britain. His training for these legal duties he had gained by many years' service in the Prussian army, and, I was told, did his work uncommonly well. Albany itself was very pretty, with a free outlook on to a fine harbour, with bluff headlands and picturesque islands. The climate is delightful. The place is healthy. I was assured that the beer brewed there was good. The grapes were certainly good. For a few moments I thought that I also would like to be a resident judge at Albany, with unlimited magisterial power over perhaps a thousand people. It is pleasant, wherever one's lot is cast, to be, if not the biggest, at least among the biggest. But I was told that even at Albany there were squabbles and factions, and that the rose colour of the place did not prevail always. And then, though grapes grew there, and other fruits, and some flowers, I could not find anything else growing. The useless scrub covered the stony hill-tops close up to the town. The capital was distant 260 miles, and between it and the capital there was nothing. The mails came and went once a month. At each of my visits to Albany the mail excitement was existing. The *Tichborne* case was at its highest, and

people had much to say. When I was departing, there were two bishops there. I fancy that I saw the best of Albany, and that it would be rather dull between the mails.

In travelled to Perth with a friend, having made a bargain with the mail contractor to take us,—not with the mail, which goes through without stopping in seventy hours,—but by a separate conveyance in four days, so that we might sleep during the nights. This we did, taking our own provisions with us, and camping out in the bush under blankets. The camping out was, I think, rather pride on our part, to show the Australians that we Englishmen,—my friend, indeed, was a Scotchman—could sleep on the ground, sub dio, and do without washing, and eat nastiness out of a box, as well as they could. There were police barracks in which we might have got accommodation. At any rate, going and coming we had our way. We lit fires for ourselves, and boiled our tea in billies; and then regaled ourselves with bad brandy and water out of pannikins, cooked bacon and potatoes in a frying-pan, and pretended to think that it was very jolly. My Scotch friend was a young man, and was, perhaps, in earnest. For myself, I must acknowledge that when I got up about five o'clock on a dark wet morning, very damp, with the clothes and boots on which I was destined to wear for the day, with the necessity before me of packing up my wet blankets, and endeavoured, for some minutes in vain, to wake the snoring driver, who had been couched but a few feet from me, I did not feel any ardent desire to throw off for ever the soft luxuries of an effeminate civilisation, in order that I might permanently enjoy the freedom of the bush. But I did it, and it is well to be able to do it.

No man perhaps ever travelled two hundred and sixty miles with less to see. The road goes eternally through wood,—which in Australia is always called bush; and, possibly, sandy desert might be more tedious. But the bush in these parts never develops itself into scenery, never for a moment becomes interesting. There are no mountains, no hills that affect the eye, no vistas through the trees tempting the foot to wander. Once on the journey up, and once on the return, we saw kangaroos, but we saw no other animal; now and again a magpie was heard in the woods, but very rarely. The commonest noise is that of the bull-frog, which is very loud, and altogether unlike the sound of frogs in Europe. It is said that the Dutch under Peter Nuyt, when landing somewhere on these coasts,—probably near Albany,—were so frightened by the frogs that they ran away. I can believe it, for I have heard frogs at Albany roaring in such a fashion as to make a stranger think that the hills were infested with legions of lions, tigers, bears, and rhinoceroses, and that every lion, tiger, bear, and rhinoceros in the country was just about to spring at him. I knew they were only frogs, and yet I did not like it. The bush in Australia generally is singularly destitute of life. One hears much of the snakes, because the snakes are specially deadly; but one sees them seldom, and no precaution in regard to them is taken. Of all animals, the opossum is the commonest. He may be easily taken as his habits are known, but he never shows himself. In perfect silence the journey through the bush is made,—fifteen miles to some water-hole, where breakfast is eaten; fifteen on to another water-hole, where brandy and water is consumed; fifteen again to more water, and *dinner; and then* again fifteen, till the place

is reached at which the night-fire is made and the blankets are stretched upon the ground. In such a journey, everything depends on one's companion, and in this I was more than ordinarily fortunate. As we were taken by the mail contractor, we had relays of horses along the road.

Perth I found to be a very pretty town, built on a lake of brackish water formed by the Swan River. It contains 6,000 inhabitants, and of course is the residence of the chief people of the colony,—as the governor is there, and the legislative chamber, and the supreme judge, and the bishop. The governor's house is handsome, as is also the town-hall. The churches,—cathedrals I should call them,—both of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, are large and convenient. On my first arrival I stayed at an inn,—which I did not indeed like very much at first, as the people seemed to be too well off to care for strangers; but which in its accommodation was better than can be found in many towns of the same size in England. I must acknowledge, however, that I was much troubled by musquitoes, and did not think the excuse a good one when I was told that a musquito curtain could not be put up because it was Sunday.

I found that crime of a heavy nature was not common in Perth or the districts round it, though so large a portion of the population consisted of men who were or had been convicts. Men were daily committed for bad language, drunkenness, absconding, late hours, and offences of like nature. For men holding tickets-of-leave are subjected to laws which make it criminal for a man to leave his master's employ, or to be absent from his master's house after certain hours, or to allude in an

improper manner to his master's eyes. And for these offences, sentences of punishment are given which seem to be heavy, because it is difficult to bear in mind the difference between free men, and prisoners who are allowed partial freedom under certain conditions.

I have heard it said, more than once or twice, in reference not specially to Perth, but to the whole colony, that the ticket-of-leave men are deterred from violence simply by fear, that they are all thieves when they dare to steal, and that the absence of crime is no proof of reformation. The physiognomy, and gait, and general idleness of the men, their habits of drinking when they can get drink, and general low tendencies, are alleged as proof of this. It cannot be supposed that convicts should come out from their prisons industrious, orderly men, fit for self-management. The restraint and discipline to which they have been subject as convicts, independently of their old habits, would prevent this. The Bill Sykes look of which I have spoken, is produced rather by the gaol than by crime. The men are not beautiful to look at. They do spend their money in drink, filling the bars of the public-houses, till the hour comes at which they must retire. But it is much in such a community that they should not return to crimes of violence.

For myself, I must say that I spent my time in Perth very pleasantly. I remember being reminded once of the injustice done to a certain poor community by a traveller who had wandered thither and had received hospitable treatment. "They cannot be so poor," the traveller had said, "because they gave me champagne every day!" Doing *honour to the stranger*, they had broached their

last bottles of the generous wine, and though poor, had put their best foot foremost in exercise of genuine hospitality. I was told how cruel this was. "We were poor," said my informant, "but we gave what we had freely, and were then twitted with making false complaints." I cannot but think of this as I tell my experiences of Perth. I heard very much of the poverty of Western Australia, but I found that people there lived as they do elsewhere. There were carriages and horses, and good dinners, and, if not liveried servants,—a class which is not common in the colonies,—men waiting with white cotton gloves, who in London would be presumed to be greengrocers, but who in Perth were probably "lags." They seemed to hand the dishes very well.

Of the other town, Freemantle, I have already spoken. I went also sixty miles up to the west, to Toodjay and Newcastle, which, from the returns showing the acres under cultivation and the produce, I find to be one of the best agricultural districts in the colony. It is surpassed only by the Greenough district. As to the prospects and past experiences of farmers in this and other parts of the colony, I found it very difficult to get information on which I could rely. I came across men who had been farmers, whose report was anything but good,—who said that to farm in Western Australia, was simply to break the heart. And I came across others,—notably two old colonists in the Toodjay and Northam districts,—who assured me that they had done very well. In each of these cases the men had had sons capable of working with their own hands and not too proud to work. Hitherto I do not think that there has been scope for farmers who employed much outside labour. The

labour has been dear and bad,—and money has been hard to get. There has always been and still is a great effort to pay labourers in produce,—but this cannot be done entirely, and the farmer who hires has drained from him almost all the money that he can earn.

That the farming has been and is atrociously bad, there can be no doubt. Men continue to crop the same ground with the same crops year after year without manuring it, and when the weeds come thicker than the corn, they simply leave it. Machinery has not been introduced. Seed is wasted, and farmers thrash their corn with flails out on the roads after the old Irish fashion. I need hardly say that there is no reason why this should continue to be so. That the land would soon pay for good farming I have no doubt, even though the surplus grain were sent home to England. At present the colony, which should above all things strive to be an agricultural colony, actually imports flour and grain to the amount of about £6,000 per annum.

I have already said that wool is the staple commodity of the country. I doubt much whether it will continue to be so, as the trade of wool-growing does not seem to extend itself in any way at all commensurate with the area of land which it occupies. In 1869, there were 654,054 sheep in Western Australia, and in 1871 the number had increased only to 670,999. In the other wool-growing colonies, it is thought that no squatter can make money on a run with less than 10,000 sheep. In Western Australia, 3,000 or 4,000 are considered to be a fairly large number, and squatters frequently run flocks that do not exceed 1,500 or 2,000 over enormous tracks

of land. In New South Wales and Queensland, few squatters have less than a sheep to three acres. No rule can be laid down, as every run must be considered as a whole, and on most runs there is some land, more or less, which is not fit for use at all. But a squatter with 60,000 acres will generally have grass for 20,000 sheep. In Western Australia, one hears of a sheep to ten acres, and a sheep to twenty acres. The sheep of the Australian colonies amount together, I believe, to about forty millions. In Western Australia, which boasts of being the largest in area of them all, there is not as yet one million. In truth there is very much against the squatter. It is not only that much of the land which is called pastoral bears a poisoned shrub fatal to sheep;—but that from this and other causes, the distances are so great that a sufficient number of sheep to make the business really remunerative can hardly be kept together.

I found rural wages lower in Western Australia than in the other colonies,—the reason for which is of course to be traced to the nature of the labour market. The squatter, or farmer, expects to get a man who is or was a convict, and the price of the work is arranged accordingly. It averages about 3*s.* a day without rations, or from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a month with rations. I was told that a man's rations cost 10*s.* a week,—which is much higher than in the other colonies. I do not doubt that the men are charged at this rate. If the man be paid full wages, so that he has to feed himself, he must in most cases get all his supplies from his employer's store, and the employer exacts a large profit. If the employer feeds the man, he calculates the rations supplied at the rate that he would sell them, and fixes his wages accordingly. *Thus* a man with 40*s.* a month, with rations, would be

supposed to receive 80*s.* a month, although he would not cost his employer above 68*s.*

The wages of mechanics are about the same here as in the other colonies: masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths earning about 7*s.* a day throughout the colony.

There are so-called public schools throughout the colony, supported by government, and free to necessitous persons. They who can pay are made to pay, at rates ranging from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a week; but the greater part of the expense of the schools is borne by the colonial revenues. The sum so expended is between £3,000 and £4,000 a year. In 1871, there were 1,730 scholars at these schools, a number which seems to be too small for the population. I find, however, that in the year previous to that, namely, 1870, out of the whole population, there were only 3,945 above the age of five who could neither read or write.

In Western Australia the State still takes charge of the religion of the people, and pays £3,560 per annum for its ecclesiastical establishment. Of this by far the lion's share goes to the Church of England. There are fourteen so-called chaplains stationed in different districts of the colony, and the theory I believe is, that they are appointed to look after the souls of the convicts. They do, in fact, act as parish clergymen. They receive from the government £200 per annum each, and their income is subsidized to a small degree by the public who attend their churches. Small payments are also made to the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Churches. But all this will soon be altered. The payments from imperial funds will doubtless be discontinued as the convict establishment dies out, and all ecclesiastical payment will be *brought to* an end by representative gov-

ernment here, as has been or as is being done in the other colonies. I fear that when it is so, the difficulty of maintaining clergymen in Western Australia will be very great.

CHAPTER XIX.

Western Australia,—Future Prospects.

I FEAR that it will seem that in what I have said I have given a verdict against Western Australia. I have intended rather to show how great may be the difficulties attending the establishment of a young colony, which in its early years finds no special or unexpected aid from remarkable circumstances. The same struggles with equal hardship and similar doubts have no doubt been made before, and nothing has been said of them. The strugglers have lived through and fought their way to prosperity, and but little has been heard of the details of the fight. When the Puritans were landed on the shores of Massachusetts men did not rush about the world and write books. It may probably be that they too, at their first starting, had but few glimpses of the glory of the coming Yankee world. It was perhaps only by hard fighting with adverse circumstances, that they could get corn, and labour, and money. But they went on, and the glories of Yankee-dom are now patent to the whole earth.

It is to the gold that has been found in Eastern Australia that the eastern colonies have owed their rapid rise and great name;—and in a great measure, the want of reputation under which Western Australia labours, is due to the golden achievements of her sisters. She would not have been thought to have done so badly,

had not those sisters done so well. This cannot be pleaded as being entirely sufficient to account for the effect, because we know that South Australia has not done much with gold, and South Australia holds up her head. I have not yet spoken of South Australia, but when doing so, I will endeavour to show how and why she has prospered.

And then, in another way, the gold-diggings of the eastern colonies have been detrimental not only to the reputation, but to the very existence, of Western Australia. Men have constantly gone after the gold. It became almost useless to land emigrants on the western shore. Tidings came of this rush and of that rush, and the new-comers disappeared, soon turning up, as new chums again, in the golden land. I have expressed my opinion more than once that the majority of those who have rushed after gold have done themselves but little good;—but they enriched the colony to which their labour was given and from which they drew their supplies. Gradually this evil of "rushing" is dying out. The amount of Australian gold produced may go on increasing year by year for many years. They who profess to understand the matter think that it will do so. But the gold will come from quartz-crushing,—from that eating up and digesting of the very bowels of the mountains by heavy machinery, which I have endeavoured to describe elsewhere,—and not by the washing of alluvial soil. It is the latter pursuit which has produced the rushes, whereas the former produces steady industry with a fixed rate of wages. The shifting of labour from colony to colony will, I think, from this cause, become less common than it has been, and agricultural work will *hold its own* against mining work,—in Australia as in

other countries. It is a mining country, and there will be many miners;—but it will not occur to every man that he should be a miner.

In speaking of the future of Western Australia I shall not receive the thanks or sympathies of many of its inhabitants, if I express an opinion that that future is to be independent of gold. The idea is deep-rooted that there should be gold and must be gold,—that Providence cannot have been so unjust as not to have put gold here. Why not in the west as well as in the east? And then the stranger is told of mica, and slate, and quartz, and boulders,—and of the very confident opinion which Mr. Hargreaves expressed. I know nothing of mica, and slate, and quartz, and boulders,—and very little of Mr. Hargreaves. But I know that no gold worthy of the name has been found yet; and that the finding of gold in infinitesimal quantities has been common in many countries. Doubtless gold may turn up in Western Australia, but I trust that the colony will be too wise to wait for it. Should it come, let the favour be accepted from the gods;—but I do not think that men should live expecting it.

In the meantime what other measures may serve to turn the tide, and produce some life and action? The land is good, and if properly tilled will produce all that is necessary for man's life. And the land that will do so, though widely scattered, is abundant. I need hardly say that at home in England there are still among us millions of half-starved people,—half-starved certainly according to the dietary of the poorest even in this poor colony,—to whom the realisation of rural life in Western Australia would seem to be an earthly paradise if it could be understood,—to whom it would be a paradise

if it could be reached. I have spoken in anything but flattering terms of the colony and its labourers. I have not depicted the present normal Western Australian carter as a very picturesque fellow. But bad as he is, he can always get enough to eat and drink, and, if he will behave himself well, can always have a comfortable home.

But they who will come now will not be unpicturesque with the lineaments of the gaol, as he has been, and the more that may come the less probability will there be of mistaken suspicions. Living is cheaper than in England, as meat is 4*d.* instead of 10*d.* a pound, and wages are higher;—for in no agricultural county in England do they rule so high throughout the year as 18*s.* a week. In the colony 18*s.* a week are the lowest that I have known to be given without rations. And the rural labourer in Western Australia is more independent than in England. How, indeed, could he possibly be less so! He is better clothed, has a better chance of educating his children, and certainly lives a freer and more manly life.

But how shall the rural labourer out of Sussex, Suffolk, Essex, or Cambridgeshire get to Western Australia? If there were no pecuniary difficulty in the journey,—if every labourer were empowered by Act of Parliament to go to some parish officer and demand to be sent across the ocean,—it is probable that a very large fleet of transport ships would soon be required, and that English farmers would find it difficult to get in their seed. This can never be the case, but something towards it is done. The colonies assist intending immigrants, and the mother country too assists, or, in some cases, pays the entire expense of emigrants. We sent out those ill-born and ill-bred women who were wanted as convicts' wives,

—and who, when received, were found to be mere Irish. But it is ill bringing a man out who will not stay when he is brought. If you, my philanthropical reader, send out some favoured tenant or parishioner, your object is fairly achieved whether the man make himself happy in Western Australia or Victoria. But it is by no means so with the colony, when the colony pays. When a colony has paid for three or four hundred immigrants, and finds after a few months that they have all disappeared, and gone to more fortunate lands, the colony not unnaturally becomes disgusted. Then it is that the colony feels that nothing will do but gold. And the mother country is affected somewhat in the same way, though less bitterly. It is said now that England has promised a certain number of free emigrants to Western Australia, and that she has not kept her word. But the mother country says that, as regards Western Australia, it is useless to send her emigrants unless she can keep them. In speaking of the continuance of the obligation on the part of England, Lord Granville, in July, 1869, wrote as follows:—"It has already been laid down as a condition of that continuance that the immigration should be wanted, and such as the colony can provide for; but it is clear from the census returns that the large proportion of these persons who reach Western Australia do not remain in it. There is therefore the strongest primâ facie evidence that the immigration is not wanted." The men are tempted away; and do the colony, for whose benefit they were sent, no good by their short sojourn. Then why send them? Renewed petitions for emigrants, emigrants to be sent out at the expense of the government, were made; but the Secretary of State was firm. Nominated emigrants would remain,—emigrants nomi-

nated by friends in the colony. So pleaded the
ernor, with an anxiety which showed that at any rat
heart was in the matter. But the Secretary of State
still hard. "Her Majesty's Government are fully aw
he said in 1870, "that nominated emigrants are
likely to remain in the colony than others; but u
tunately they have no evidence before them that e
one or the other class do in fact remain."

How shall men and women be got who will rem
—who will come to the place in order that they
live upon the land, and not simply making it a stepp
stone to some rush for gold? It can only be done
making the land attractive; and the great attrac
offered by land is ownership. Let a man unders
that he can have land of his own and live upon it, o
rent to no one and service to no one, subject t
bondage, with no one to order his coming in and
going out, with no tasks laid on his shoulders by
other, that he can be altogether free from the domi
of a master, and you open up to his mental eyes a
of life that is full of attraction. This new home, th
so unlike the home that he is to leave, is indeed
across the waters, in another world, away from the
rades and circumstances of his life amidst which he
that, though wretched, he is secure. He feels that
go he can never return; and he hears vague, unsati
tory, even contradictory accounts of the new land.
knows that he is groping his way, and that, shoul
go, he will at last take a leap in the dark. Even
those among us who have many friends, the natur
whose life has taught us where to look for informa
who can not only write but express in writing wha
mean, who can not only read but know where to

the books that will teach us that we want to learn, there is felt to be much difficulty when the question arises whether we shall remove ourselves and our household gods to the new home that we call a colony, or whether we shall send a son to push his fortunes in the new country. To digest what we have learned and bring it all together so that we may act upon it safely is no easy task. What must it be to the working man whom some newspaper has reached, or some advertisement to emigrants; and who, in addition to this, has heard the vague surmises of his neighbour? He goes to the parson, or to the squire, or perhaps to his employer,—and is recommended to remain. The adviser hardly dares to say otherwise, and is probably himself impregnated with the patriotic idea that there is no place for an Englishman like England. For members of parliament, and men with £5,000 a year, or with prosperous shops in Cheapside,—for some even whose fortune is less brilliant than that,—England is a very comfortable home. No land can beat it. But for Englishmen in general, that is for the bulk of the working population of the country, it is I think by no means the best place. A large proportion of our labouring classes cannot even get enough to eat. A still larger proportion are doomed so to work that they can think of nothing but a sufficiency of food. In all the Australian colonies, if a man will work the food comes easily, and he can turn his mind elsewhere. I do not assert that there is no poverty,—no distress. Even in Western Australia the government is obliged to maintain an establishment for paupers. But poverty is not the rule, and a man who will work and can work may be independent.

Success in emigration depends much on the fashion

of the thing, and this peculiar exodus,—to Western Australia namely,—is not at present fashionable. If in the course of the next two or three years two or three thousand new-comers were to land upon its shores and stay there, the thing would be done. And the two or three thousand would find plenty and happy homes. But solitary immigrants to the colony feel that they become mixed with the convict population. At the present moment great encouragement has been offered to new-comers,—to men who on arriving with a few pounds in their pockets will be willing to work with their own hands, but who will so work on their own lands.

I do not know how far, in what I have written of the other colonies, I may have been able to make my English reader understand the nature and position of a "free-selecter." I found it very difficult to understand myself, or to come to a conclusion whether he should be regarded as the normal British emigrant,—manly, industrious, independent, and courageous,—or a mere sheep-stealer. There was one other alternative, hardly more attractive than the last. He need not be a mere sheep-stealer, though probably he would do a little in that line; but might have free-selected with the first great object of making his presence so unbearable to the squatter on whose run he had perched himself, that the squatter would be obliged to buy him out. I certainly found that the manly, independent, and courageous free-selecter was not the free-selecter of whom the squatters talked to me in Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria. The squatters did not carry me with them altogether; but it certainly is the case that free-selecters in these colonies *often* do steal sheep, and often do make themselves disagreeable. A man desirous of free-selecting,—say in

Queensland and New South Wales, for the game has nearly been played out within the smaller and more valuable confines of Victoria, — has the whole world of the colony open to him, and very little to divert his course. He searches and inquires, and, actuated by good or bad motives, settles down on some bit of land which he thinks will grow corn, and where he is sure to be hated by the squatter whom he is invading. The colonial governments offer him every possible encouragement as to money,—land at 15*s.* an acre, land at 10*s.* an acre, and especially land with deferred payments,—with payments taking the shape of rent, perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* an acre per annum,—the land becoming his own at the end of a term of years, the yearly deferred payments having been taken as the price of it. But the governments have done little or nothing to assist the free-selecter in placing himself. A part of the charm of the thing in the eyes of the free-selecter has been the power of choosing his land. We can understand that there is a pleasure in going well on to the run of some great squatter, pegging out some 40, 80 or 160 acres, and saying, "By your leave, sir, I mean to have this." We can understand that there is pleasure in doing it, and great pain in enduring it. My sympathies have been chiefly with the free-selecter, not believing that he is always a sheep-stealer, and feeling that the land should be open to him. Pastoral autocrats with acres by the hundreds of thousands,—acres which are not their own,—cannot fill up a country. They are the precursors of population, and, as the population comes, should make way for it. But might it not be arranged that the free-selecters should be invited to come and take up their lands in some manner less objectionable than that which *has hitherto prevailed?*

When I was in Western Australia new land regulations were issued and proclaimed, having just received the sanction of the Colonial Office at home; and these regulations go a long way towards effecting a remedy for those evils attaching to free-selection which I have attempted to describe,—and they will remedy another evil which, in Western Australia especially, is very detrimental to the selecting farmer. They will bring the agricultural occupiers of the land together. Men are invited to occupy lands chosen for "special occupation." By this arrangement the skill and experience of the land officers of the colony will be used on behalf of the selecter, who will not only be enabled to place himself on soil capable of bearing corn, but will find himself surrounded by others, occupied as he is in producing corn. In this way rural communities may be formed which shall not be sheep-stealing communities. The locality having been chosen in the first place, not by the new-comer, but by the government, sheep-stealing will not at any rate have been the object when the choice was made,—nor the idea that a squatter if harassed sufficiently may at last be induced to buy his neighbour out. Communities will be formed, and communities will make markets. I have sometimes thought that free-selecters like to take their land up far away in the bush, at long distances each from another. There is a wild independence in the doing so which charms. But no decision can be more detrimental to the man's material interest. When so located he is driven to consume all that he grows, and then,—unless he steal sheep,—he can consume nothing else. That which is most to be desired by *him* is that gradually a township should be formed round *his* homestead.

Immigrants and others are invited by these new

regulations to take up land selected for special occupation, and great boons are offered to those who will do so. In the first place the payment of the price of the land is deferred. Hitherto in this colony it has always been necessary that the price of the land should be paid down. The land, as has been explained elsewhere, has been purchased at various prices, ranging from 5*s.* to 20*s.* an acre,—but there has been no deferred payment. At last 10*s.* an acre was the settled price,—and so it remains. The ordinary free-selecter may go where he will beyond the limits of town, suburban, or mineral lands, and, if no purchaser have been before him, may purchase any amount of land in blocks of not less than 40 acres, at 10*s.* an acre. But when purchasing after this fashion he must pay his money down. If he will take up land selected for special occupation, he need not pay his money down. He need only pay 1*s.* an acre per annum, such payment being required in advance. He must then fence the whole of his land and till a quarter of it during the ten years over which the payment is deferred,—and if he do thus the land becomes his own.

There are other stipulations which the intending emigrant should understand. The purchaser cannot purchase in this manner less than 100 acres. It is considered that he cannot crop all the land yearly, and that less than 100 acres will not afford a man subsistence. Nor can he take up more than 500 acres. In addition to the use of the land which will be his own at the end of the ten years, and will be in his own hands during the previous occupancy, the selecter will be entitled to run cattle and sheep upon commonages, or neighbouring lands not fitted for agricultural purposes. It is stipulated that the common land shall in no case exceed 200 per

cent. of the land fitted for agricultural purposes,—so that the commonage for 2,000 agricultural acres, or acres fit for agriculture, shall not exceed 4,000 acres. It is not stipulated that the commonage shall amount to any fixed number of acres. It is understood, however, that it will suffice,—not of course for the produce of wool,—but for meat and milk.

In writing for the information of future emigrants, it is very difficult to make the exact truth clearly intelligible. The new regulations speak of land fitted for agricultural purposes, and in what I have written above I have spoken of "agricultural" land. The emigrant who comes out to take up lands selected for special occupation in Western Australia, must not expect that he will find ploughed fields. He will find forest land, covered more or less thickly with timber,—what all the world in Australia knows as bush,—and it will be his first work to clear that portion of his holding from which he intends to get his first crop. But the land will have been chosen as being fitted, when cleared, for agricultural purposes. The thickness, and what I may call obduracy, of timber is very various. It may be presumed that the land chosen will not be heavily timbered. I was told that the average price of clearing bush in Western Australia was about £4 an acre. A man contracting to do such work would expect to make 25*s.* a week. If this be so, a man knowing what he was about would clear an acre in three weeks.

But, to my thinking, the best part of the offer made still remains to be told. Any emigrant taking up land in the colony selected for special occupation within six months of his landing,—the time named should I think *have been* prolonged to at least twelve months,—and

who can show that he has fulfilled the above conditions with regard to improvements, is entitled to the value of his passage-money out, provided that passage-money does not exceed £15; and he will have the same allowance made to him for every adult he brings with him,—the money to be credited to him in the payments made for his land. The offer in fact amounts to this,—that thirty acres will be allowed free for every adult whom the immigrant may bring with him to settle on the land, provided that the passage out has cost £15,—which is I presume the usual price of sending an adult to Western Australia. I am also assured, certainly on good authority, that half the allowance will be made for non-adults; but there is no proviso in the bill itself to this effect.

The result of all this any intending emigrant can calculate for himself. A man with a wife and one adult and one non-adult child would in fact get his one hundred acres for nothing. If his family were larger, he would get more land;—but he should bear in mind that he has to fence it all and till a quarter of it within ten years, and that in this way a larger acreage may become an increased burden to him rather than an increased property.

Of course I am here addressing those who have in their own hands the means of emigrating. Not only will the £15 a head be wanting in bringing out his family, but also something on which to live when the new country is first reached. But, presuming that a working man with a working family can raise £200,—a very strong presumption I fear,—I do not know that he could do better than establish himself as a farmer in Western Australia.

I believe that Western Australia has no agent at

home, as have the other colonies, a part and perhaps the chief part of whose business it is to facilitate the emigration of those who intend settling themselves in the new colony. Why should we pay an agent to send us emigrants when no emigrants will come to us? That no doubt is the feeling of a desponding Western Australian. And yet the colony has, as I think, with much wisdom offered most alluring terms to emigrants. At present, however, I do not see how these terms are to be made known to persons at home. I say this as an apology for the insertion here of details which cannot, I fear, interest the ordinary reader.

It is admitted on all hands that Western Australia cannot be made to thrive until her population shall be increased by new-comers. Twenty-five thousand people may perhaps live together in comfort within confines which shall be sufficiently extended to afford to all a sufficiency of land, and at the same time compact enough to bring them together. But Western Australia is an enormous country, and its scanty population is spread about it by hundreds. The so-called settled districts are twelve in number, and the average area of each is more than half as big as England. The average population of each district is only just above 2,000. Let the English reader conceive the ten northern counties of England with 2,000 inhabitants between them! And in saying this I am speaking of the settled districts,—not of the distant regions which are claimed by the colony as belonging to it, and which will remain probably for centuries, perhaps for ever, uninhabited. An influx of population is necessary to Western Australia, not only that there may be enough of men and women to form a community and administer to each other's wants, but

that the very nature may be changed of those upon whose industry the colony now depends. In its deep distress it accepted convicts, and was saved, as I think, from utter collapse by doing so. But the salvation effected was not healthy in its nature. I have given the figures over and over again. To make up a population of twenty-five thousand souls ten thousand male convicts have been sent! Life and property are fairly safe. Work is done. The place is by no means a lawless place. Those who emerge from their sentences reformed are encouraged to prosper. Those who come out unreformed are controlled and kept down. But nevertheless the convict flavour pervades the whole,—to the great detriment of that part of the working population which has always been free. This evil is of course curing itself by degrees. The colony receives no more convicts, and the very birth and growth of its young citizens will gradually obliterate the flavour. But this would be done much more quickly and much more effectually by an influx of new blood. Nothing would tend so much to the improvement of the people as any step that would enable the enfranchised convict to move about among his fellow labourers without being known as a convict. It is so in New South Wales and Tasmania. Intimate intercourse will probably reveal the secrets of a man's past life in any country; and if a man once degraded afterwards rise high, his former degradation will be remembered. But in these once convict colonies time is having its effect, and men's minds are not always referring to the matter. It does not affect the rate of wages, nor the character of the work to be done. The once convict does not feel that every one regards him as a convict and does *not therefore* work as convicts work. In Wes-

tern Australia the man who never was a convict will fall into such habits of work, simply because they form the rule of life around him. Nothing but an increasing population will cure this quickly.

But the very fact that it is so, the very injury to which the colony has been subjected in this matter, gives in one respect the surest promise that here a new-comer may find a prosperous home. In England, as all the world knows, residences of all kinds are to be had at a much cheaper rate to the east of London than at the west. The east has all its disadvantages,—which are chiefly of a sentimental or fashionable nature. The man who can despise these may live there in a commodious house, who would be forced to put up with straitened quarters if he allowed himself to follow the fashion. Western Australia is the east side of London. The objections to it, bad as they are, concern chiefly sentiment and fashion. I do not recommend the man who is taking out £20,000 to a colony, with the idea of becoming a great man, to go there; but to him who feels that with £200 or £300 he has but little hope in England, and who would prefer independence and property of his own to the composite luxuries and miseries of a crowded country, I think that Western Australia offers perhaps as good a field for his small capital as any other colony.

I have endeavoured, as I have gone on, to indicate the natural sources of wealth to which the colony has a right to look. To those that I have already named I should add the breeding of horses, for which it seems to be specially adapted. At present the business is limited by the difficulty which the breeders have in disposing of their produce. India is their great market,—together with Batavia and Singapore. But there are no middle

traders to take the young horses off the hands of the breeders,—who cannot themselves breed horses, and charter ships, and conduct the sales. This again is one of the evils to which a scanty population is ever subject.

I have no doubt that the exportation of jarrah-wood and of pearl-shell will become large and prosperous trades. The former will probably be by far the most beneficial to the colony, as it will be prosecuted by men in the colony,—whereas the pearl-shell will be sought and taken away by coasting strangers. It is hard, too, to believe that a country should be so prolific in grapes as this is without some result. I will not take upon myself to say that I drank West Australian wine with delight. I took it with awe and trembling, and in very small quantities. But we all know that the art of making wine does not come in a day;—and even should it never be given to the colony to have its Château This, or Château That, its 1841, its 1857, or 1865, or the like,—still it may be able to make raisins against the world.

Gold of course may turn up even yet. For myself, I look to corn and fruit, and perhaps oil,—to the natural products springing from the earth,—as the source of the future comfort of this enormous territory.

Appendix No. 1., page 112.

Regulations under which free-selections of Land can be made in Victor
from MacPhaile's Australian Squatting Directory.

For Crown lands, not being lands included in any city, town, o licenses to occupy for a period of three years, at a rental of 2s. pe annum, any such license not to be for more than 320 acres, may be g the Governor to any person applying and paying half-a-year's rent i for such allotment.

Applications for licenses may be made on any day during of personally, to a land officer for the district, and applicants shall at t application deposit half-a-year's rent of allotment in advance.

Every license shall be issued under the following conditions:— dition for the payment of the fee in advance at half-yearly interva condition that the licensee will not, during the currency of suc assign the license, nor transfer his right, title, and interest therein allotment therein described, or any part thereof, nor sublet the said or any part thereof, and that the license shall become absolutely v signment of such license, whether by operation of law or otherwise the said allotment or any part thereof being sublet. (3.) A conditi licensee shall, within two years from the issue of such license, e land described in such license with a good and substantial fence, during the currency of such license, cultivate at least one acre o ten acres thereof. (4.) A condition annulling the license in ca payment of the fees, or any of them, in accordance with the conditi mentioned, or in case the licensee shall not, within six months afte of the license, and thenceforward during the continuance of suc

said license, he shall be entitled at any time, within thirty days after three years from the commencement of the license, to demand and obtain from the Governor a Crown grant, upon payment of 14s. for each acre or fractional part of an acre, or otherwise he may obtain a lease of the said allotment; and every such lease shall be for a term of seven years, at a yearly rent payable in equal parts half-yearly in advance of 2s. for each acre or fractional part of an acre so demised, and shall contain the usual covenant for the payment of rent, and a condition for re-entry on non-payment thereof; and upon the payment of the last sum due on account of the rent so reserved, or at any time during the term, upon payment of the difference between the amount of rent actually paid and the entire sum of £1 for each acre, the lessee, or his representatives, shall be entitled to a grant in fee of the lands leased, and every such grant shall be subject to such covenants, conditions, exceptions, and reservations as the Governor may direct: Provided that in the case of the death of the licensee during the currency of such license it shall not be obligatory on the executors or administrators of such licensee to comply with the said condition of occupation.

No such license or lease shall give power to any licensee, lessee, or assignee to search for or to take any metal; and it is provided that before any license or lease is issued to any applicant, he shall make a declaration on oath before a justice, in a form settled by the regulations, that his application is made in conformity with the provisions of this Act.

No person shall become the licensee, either in his own name or in the name of any other person, of any allotment, who shall have selected, under any previous Land Act, the maximum number of 320 acres allowed under this Act, or who shall have taken up a pre-emptive right, or shall have made a selection, or whose selection shall have been forfeited or cancelled for the evasion of any such Act. But a selecter under any previous Act may take up a sufficient quantity of land to make up the 320 acres allowed by this Act.

No person shall become the licensee of any allotment who is under eighteen years of age, or who is a married woman not having obtained a decree of judicial separation, or who is a trustee, servant, or agent in respect of the license applied for, or who has entered into any arrangement to permit any other person to acquire, by purchase or otherwise, the allotment or any part of it, or the applicant's interest in the usufruct of it, and all land applied for under this Act shall be so applied for, *bonâ fide* for the use and benefit of the applicant in his own proper person, and not as the agent, servant, or trustee of any other person, on pain of the forfeiture of the license, and all contracts made in violation of the Act shall be held to be illegal and absolutely void both at law and equity.

If it be proved to the satisfaction of the Board within sixty days of the end of the third year from the commencement of the license that substantial and permanent improvements of the value of £1 per acre of the allotment have been made upon it, in the terms of the condition of the license, a certificate under the seal of the Board, to that effect, shall be given to the licensee, his executors or administrators. But if the Board be not satisfied that such improvements of the value aforesaid have been made, then such improvements as have been made may be valued by arbitration, one arbitrator being chosen by the licensee, his executors or administrators, another by the Board, and a third by the two arbitrators so chosen; and such arbitrators, or any two of them, shall make their valuation in writing within four months after the end of the third year from the commencement of the license. But if either party shall neglect to appoint an arbitrator, then the one chosen by the other party shall have full power to value.

The Board *shall, as soon as possible* after the last days of June and December *in every year, prepare a list* of the names of all persons from whom

the rights against trespassers which at law belong to the owner in
of any land, except the right of impounding, but so soon as the all
the part of it trespassed on, shall have been properly fenced, then
have that right also.

Holders of licenses of land under any other Act, of which th
shall have been in possession at least two years and a half, if it be
the satisfaction of the Board that they have erected buildings or
provements on such lands, and that the conditions of the license
complied with, and there be no objections on account of the gre
auriferous, or other reasons of a public nature, shall have the exc
to purchase the allotment on which such improvements stand, at a
determined by the Board not to exceed the upset price of the ne
sold by the Crown before the issue of such license, and so much
paid by the licensee during his possession of the land shall be cred
in the purchase money of the said land.

Appendix No. II., page 95.

Melbourne Botanic Garden, 21st February, 1872.

TO CLEMENT HODGKINSON, ESQ., ASSISTANT-COMMISSIONER OF LANDS AND SURVEY.

Sir,—Referring to your suggestions of the 12th inst., I took the earliest opportunity of acting upon them, and accordingly, on the 15th inst., I proceeded to the Watts River, and carefully inspected the heavily-timbered country, extending from Mount Monda to Mount Juliet, also the various spurs and tributaries of the Watts, extending as high up as the crest of the dividing range and the watershed of the Goulbourn River.

I have now the honour to report that a very large extent of the above country is densely timbered with various species of Eucalypti, constisting principally of Eucalyptus obliqua, E. Amygdalina, and E. Goniocalyx.

Immense numbers of each of the above species have attained gigantic dimensions, and very much surpass any other species of Eucalypti I have ever met with in other forests.

On penetrating into many of the secluded spots near the source of the Watts, and on the spurs of the ranges in the vicinity, I met with large tracts of valuable timber; enough to supply all ordinary demands for many years, if carefully conserved. In many places I observed large areas where the axe of the splitter is yet unknown, and where the timber averages from 100 to 150 trees per acre, with a diameter of from 2 ft. to 6 ft., and from 250 ft. to 300 ft. in height, the most of which is as straight as an arrow, with very few branches.

Some places, where the trees are fewer and at a lower altitude, the timber is much larger in diameter, averaging from 6 ft. to 10 ft., and frequently trees of 15 ft. in diameter are met with on alluvial flats near the river. These trees average about ten per acre; their size, sometimes, is enormous. Many of the trees that have fallen through decay and by bush fires measure 350 ft. in length, and with girth in proportion. In one instance I measured with the tape line one huge specimen that lay prostrate across a tributary of the Watts, and found it to be 435 ft. from its roots to the top of the trunk. At 5 ft. from the ground it measures 18 ft. in diameter, and at the extreme end where it has broken in its fall, it is 3 ft. in diameter. This tree has been much burnt by fire, and I fully believe that before it fell it must have been more than 500 ft. high. As it now lies it forms a complete bridge across a deep ravine.

Proceeding from Fernshaw up the Black Spur, some large specimens of Eucalyptus obliqua and amygdalina may be seen; but it is only by leaving the main road and following some of the splitters' tracks for several miles higher up the Watts that the forests of fine timber and large trees are to be found. On some spurs of these ranges, where the timber is extra fine in quality, some few trees have been felled by splitters, but the mountainous nature of the country, and the difficulty of transport, is so great, it will be many years before much destruction can be done in this part of the forest.

The number of splitters at present working in these forests is very limited, and is likely to continue so. In many places they have to carry their paling and shingles for long distances on pack-horses. The ranges are so steep that it is a work of much difficulty to convey them to some accessible spot. However, the splitter in *this region seldom* meets with a hollow tree, and he takes *care to select such trees only as* will turn out from 10,000 to 20,000 palings, *and frequently a much greater number.*

The only destruction at present to be dreaded in these forests is fire. The scrub is so dense that it is difficult to penetrate far into it, and frequently fire is used to clear a track, and in its progress makes sad havoc.

Many of the deep ravines and sides of creeks in this locality abound with splendid specimens of native beech (Fungus Cunninghamii), some of which measure upwards of 100 ft. high, with a diameter of trunk from 5 to 8 ft. This timber is of great value, and ought to be strictly preserved. Great quantities of blackwood (Acacia Melanoxylon), of large dimensions and fine quality, are everywhere interspersed throughout these forests, mixed with sassafras trees (Atherosperma Moschatum) and dogwood (Pomaderris apetala), also of large size. Lomatia Fraseri also forms a goodly sized tree in the fern-tree gullies, along with Acacia decurrens, many of which have attained the height of 150 ft., with magnificent straight trunks of from two to three feet in diameter. The timber of this species is well adapted for staves for wine casks and other purposes.

Seeing that such large quantities of valuable timber abound in the valley of the Watts, and on the spurs adjacent, I would respectfully beg to recommend the reservation of every acre, wherever it would not interfere with settlement, for, as a whole, the timber in the locality of the Watts and ranges adjacent, is of far more value than the land, and it is rare to find such forests of sound timber in any other part of Victoria.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM FERGUSON, Inspector of State Forests.

Appendix No. III., page 135.

THE

LBOURNE ADVERTISER,

PORT PHILLIP, AUSTRALIA,

VRITTEN FOR, AND PUBLISHED BY JNO. P. FAWKNER.

Monday, January the 8th, 1838, Melbourne.

PRICE SIXPENCE. [Vol. I.

OR LONDON DIRECT.
fine fast sailing ship "Hartly's
n," 400 tons, will be ready to
wool early next month; the
part of her cargo being en-
she will meet quick dispatch.
ssel possesses very superior ac-
dation.
reight or passage apply to
W. F. A. Rucker.
n Street, 29th Dec.

FOR LAUNCESTON.
fast sailing cutter "Jemima"
ave for the above port on the
nuary, 1838.
Apply to W. F. A. Rucker.

GEELONG TRADER.
well-known schooner "Lap-
will sail regularly between the
Port and Melbourne, leaving
er place every tenth day.
freight or passage apply to the
on board, or to
W. F. A. Rucker,
Queen Street.

LOST,
the 17th December last, be-
Melbourne and the Ford of the
ater River, a lady's handsome
ar-drop. Whoever will bring
Ear-ring to the office of this
hall be handsomely rewarded.

WANTED,
od, serviceable cart mare.
Apply at this Office.
December, 1837.

FOR SALE.
Fit for breeding or for the butcher, 20 choice Pigs. Enquire at
Fawkner's Hotel.

ON SALE.
250 head of prime Cattle. These are adapted for breeding, being choice stock. A part are fit for the supply daily required by the butcher.
Apply to John P. Fawkner.
January 1st, 1838.

ALSO.
From one to thirty good, useful Horses: the greater number of these animals are quiet saddle-horses, and will carry a lady.
Enquire at the Office of this paper.

NOTICE.
From 100 to 2,000 feet of good Cedar, at sixpence per foot; 20,000 Shingles at 20s. per 1000; Window Sills of Sydney stone and large size, worked or rough. 2,000 5-feet split paling for sale, of V. D. Land manufacture, at 12s. per 100. They are ready for delivery. Orders on V. D. Land will be taken in payment of the above.
John P. Fawkner.

PORT PHILLIP PACKET.
This fine fast sailing Cutter will be kept as a regular Trader between this port and Launceston. Carries from 30 to 40 bales of Wool, and is confidently expected to arrive at this port on the 10th instant.
For particulars enquire of
Captain Akers.
January 1st, 1838.

ON SALE.

A quantity of superior New Zealand Pine in Log and in flooring Boards. Apply to

MR. HORATIO COOPER, Melbourne,
or to
MR. HUGH MCLEAN, Williams Town.

The undersigned has for sale at his Stores the following goods, to which he begs to call the attention of the public.

Flour, Tea, Sugar; Tobacco, Brazil and Negrohead; Tobacco Stems; Pork, Cheese, and Potatoes; Rice, Oats, Oatmeal, Spices, Raisins. Clothing of every description. Boots, Stock-keepers' light and strong Wellingtons and Shoes. Gentlemen's superior Riding Coats.

Wines—Port, Sherry, Claret, Sicilian, Red and White Cape, &c., &c.

Spirits—Brandy, Rum, and Gin, in case; Highland Whisky. Bottle Ale and Porter; Burton and Ashly's in hogsheads and barrels.

Sheep Wash, Turpentine, Linseed Oil, Paints, and Window Glass.

Timber of every description. Well seasoned, from Hobart and Launceston. New Zealand Pine.

Nails, Batten, Shingle, and Hurdle.

Shoemakers' Toe and Heel Springs. Leather, Sole, Kip, and Kangaroo.

Saddlery, Whips and Spurs. Spades and Shovels. Locks and Hinges. Gunpowder and Shot. Lady's dress Shoes.

HATS.

Best London Beavers and Gossamill (White and Black). Manilla Hats and Caps.

Bagging, Woolpack Needles and Twine, &c., as well as a variety of other articles too numerous for insertion.

W. F. A. RUCKER.
Queen Street, 29th December.

BLACKSMITH AND FARRIER,
Adjoining Fawkner's Hotel.

All work of the above branches performed quickly and neatly.

Horses shod—cash . 7s.
" credit . 9s.
All other work in proportion.

FIRST ESTABLISHED
in Melbourne. Fawkner's
plies to the Traveller and
all the usual requisites of
House and Hotel of the
quality, being mostly laid
first Mercantile House in
V. D. Land, in addition
there will be found mental
of a high order. There ar
7 English and 5 Colonis
Newspapers, seven Britis
Magazines. Three Quarte
Reviews up to July and Au

A very choice selection
including Novels, Poetry,
History, Philosophy, Chem

N.B. A late Encyclopædi
of any of these works will
the Lodgers at the above H

T. D. WEATHERLY take
opportunity to inform his
the Public that he supplie
with the best wheaten Br
lowest possible price, and t
wish it he allows one Mont

POETS' CORNE

1.

Oh! what a pure and sacred
Is beauty curtained from
Of the gross world, Illumin
One only Mansion with h

2.

Unseen by man's disturbin
The flower that blooms b
sea,
Too deep for sunbeams, d
Hid in more chaste obscu

PARTICULARS OF THE
OF CONSTABLE TO

The Bushranger Cumme
ing given information that
nall had murdered six bu
between Port Phillip and
Bay, the Governor-in-Chie
Bourke, sent Cummerford
point out where this act
perpetrated; in accordance
orders, W. Lonsdale, Esq.,
sent Cummerford under ch
sergeant, one soldier, and
stables, in the proposed
Cummerford did guide t

ıe himself, a shoemaker (name
m), and Dugnall had as he
murdered in cold blood and
ceping six human beings. The
ieclare that they found from
two bushels of human bones
l—some human teeth and also
s found unburnt, and a quan-
hoenails and buttons from the
of the murdered men. This
ut 210 miles from Melbourne.
way home they fell in with
ght the bone of a horse's head,
be Mr. Ebden's, which was
Dugnall and Cummerford on
ay home. One constable and
lier turned back for some tea
nd, and the sergeant, Tomkins,
soner came homewards; they
to cook before these men re-
and the sergeant gave his
to Tomkins while he made a
omkins, it does appear, culp-
t the firearms, and the prisoner
musket and shot Tomkins, so
died within three hours. The
ppeared, entered his left side,
ie out at the right breast, and
gonally across the right fore-
the bone. This coolblooded
plundered the packhorse, and
scaped, though pursued by the
t for some time. This took
n the Saturday, the 30th De-
. On January 1 he was taken
of Mr. W. Wedge's men, after
plundered [here the writing is
] of a double-barrelled gun,
ed to get a horse and threat-
e lives of several of the prin-
aziers of this district. He was
while trying to get a horse.
rford is a light, well-made
about nineteen; he has rather
assessing look and very mild
mall fine neck, and remarkably
pper head: the lower part is
all, and the chin recedes to-
the neck, so as to make a
ange appearance when looked
into.

We trust that the three men who prevented the atrocities meditated by this brutal wretch will receive their free and unconditional pardons. For we, in common with many of our fellow-colonists, hold that Incentive is, in such cases, the best Preventive. We have omitted much for want of space.

Errata in No. 1. For Cummerfield read Cummerford.

LIBRARY—FAWKNER'S.

Those of the subscribers to the above who took credit when they favoured this establishment with their support, are most respectfully informed that it is usual to pay up all arrears at the beginning of a new year.

J. P. FAWKNER.

8 January, '38.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

On Thursday, the 4th instant, the "Jemima" returned to Port, having lost an anchor. She reports the "Blossom" and "Tasmania Lass" as laying windbound at the Heads. Also the "Mary Robson" at Williamstown, owing to the strong southerly gales. The "Jemima" having borrowed an anchor, sailed again for Launceston. The morning the cutter "Industry," from Hobart Town. On Sunday, the 7th, arrived the "Tamar Bowden," from Launceston. Cargo, 600 sheep. "Jackson," she reports the "Henry" as about to sail for this port where she left, having commenced taking in her sheep.

By this arrival came a Hobart Town paper.

Date, January 2, 1838.

The mail per "Enterprise" schooner will close at noon on Tuesday first.

A wretch named Mooney has been committed for attempting to murder his wife. She lies in a dangerous state.

---

ished by the Proprietor, Peter C. Alcock, 50, Temple Court, Melbourne,
old by George Robertson, Melbourne; Gordon and Gotch, 121, Holborn
London; Gordon and Gotch, Sydney; W. A. Cawthorne, Adelaide;
ater, Brisbane; Watch and Son, Hobart Town; Watch Brothers and
all, Launceston.

But, apart from the strict interpretation of the Treaty, it seems very doubtful whether it would be a wise course on the part of the Australasian Colonies, which both as regards Emigration and Trade have more extensive relations with Germany than with perhaps any other Foreign Country, to place German products and manufactures under disadvantages in the Colonial markets.

Proceeding to the third question, whether, if the principle of allowing the imposition of Differential Duties were conceded, the Colonies could be permitted to impose such Duties without the express sanction of the Imperial Government in each particular case, you will be prepared, by what I have already said, to learn that I consider it open to serious doubt whether such absolute freedom of action could be safely given.

Her Majesty's Government are alone responsible for the due observance of Treaty arrangements between Foreign Countries and the whole Empire, and it would be scarcely possible for the Colonial Governments to foresee the extent to which the trade of other parts of the Empire might be affected by special Tariff agreements between particular Colonies.

It must, moreover, be anticipated that these differential agreements, being avowedly for the supposed benefit of certain classes of the community, would be liable to be affected by temporary political circumstances. The door having been once opened, each producing or manufacturing interest, and even individuals desirous of promoting any new enterprise, might in turn press for exceptionably favourable treatment under the form of Intercolonial reciprocity, while the real grounds for such changes as might be proposed would be intelligible only to those concerned with local politics.

It would appear, therefore, to be by no means clear that Her Majesty's Government could be relieved from the obligation of examining the particulars of each contemplated agreement, however limited; and while it would be very difficult for them to make such an examination in a satisfactory manner, a detailed inquiry of this kind could hardly fail to be irksome to the Colonies, and to lead to misunderstandings.

It remains for me, lastly, to ask how far it is expedient, in the interests of each Colony concerned, and of the Empire collectively, that the Imperial Parliament should be invited to legislate in a direction contrary to the established commercial policy of this country.

Her Majesty's Government are bound to say that the measure proposed by the Colonial Government seems to them inconsistent with those principles of Free Trade which they believe to be alone permanently conducive to commercial prosperity; nor, as far as they are aware, has any attempt been made to show that any great practical benefit is expected to be derived from reciprocal Tariff arrangements between the Australasian Colonies.

At all events I do not find anywhere among the papers which have reached me those strong representations and illustrations of the utility or necessity of the measure which I think might fairly be expected to be adduced as weighing against its undeniable inconveniences.

It is, indeed, stated in an Address before me that the prohibition of differential Customs treatment "operates to the serious prejudice of the various producing interests of the Australian Colonies." I understand this and similar expressions to mean that it is desired to give a special stimulus or premium to the Colonial producers and manufacturers, and to afford them the same advantage in a neighbouring Colony over the producers and manufacturers of all other parts of the Empire and of Foreign Countries as they would have within their own Colony under a system of Protective Duties. What is termed *reciprocity is thus* in reality protection.

It is, of course, unnecessary for me to observe that, while Her Majesty's Government feel bound to take every proper opportunity of urging upon the

, as well as upon Foreign Governments, the great advantages which lieve to accrue to every country which adopts a policy of Free Trade, ve relinquished all interference with the imposition by a Colonial ure of equal duties upon goods from all places, although those duties lly have the effect of protection to the native producer.

a proposition that in one part of the Empire commercial privileges e granted to the inhabitants of certain other parts of the Empire to the n and prejudice of the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, is an altogether question; and I would earnestly request your Government to con- at effect it may have upon the relations between the Colonies and this

Majesty's subjects throughout the Empire, and nowhere more than in sia, have manifested on various occasions of late their strong desire connection between the Colonies and this Country should be main- nd strengthened; but it can hardly be doubted that the imposition of tial Duties upon British produce and manufactures must have a ten- weaken that connection, and to impair the friendly feeling on both vhich I am confident your Government, as much as Her Majesty's nent, desire to preserve.

ve thought it right to state frankly and unreservedly the views of Her s Government on this subject, in order that the Colonial Government thoroughly aware of the nature and gravity of the points which have cided; but I do not wish to be understood to indicate that Her Majesty's nent have, in the present state of their information, come to any ab- nclusion on the questions which I have discussed.

objections which I have pointed out to giving to the Colonies a general f making reciprocal arrangements would not apply to a Customs Union uniform Tariff; and although such a general union of all the Colonies pears, impracticable, it may be worth while to consider whether the might not be met by a Customs Union between two or more .

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
KIMBERLEY.

Du Cane.

TASMANIA.

EDUM.

D KIMBERLEY'S Despatch, under date of the 13th July, 1871, on the of Intercolonial Reciprocity, has received the attentive consideration xcellency's Advisers.

satisfactory to find that the Secretary of State admits that, in the f Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in 1856, and of the n of Canada in 1867, Her Majesty's Government have assented to mpting Colonial products from the duties imposed on similar articles ported from Europe: and that, as regards the latest precedent, Lord ey is "not prepared to deny that the Australasian Governments are in citing it as an example of the admission of the principle of Differ- ntiles."

not easy to understand why the earlier precedents are not similarly ed as applicable to the recent demand for an admission of the same by the Legislature of New Zealand and Tasmania, to which may

But, apart from the strict interpretation of the Treaty, it se
doubtful whether it would be a wise course on the part of the Au
Colonies, which both as regards Emigration and Trade have more
relations with Germany than with perhaps any other Foreign Co
place German products and manufactures under disadvantages in the
markets.

Proceeding to the third question, whether, if the principle of all
imposition of Differential Duties were conceded, the Colonies coul
mitted to impose such Duties without the express sanction of the
Government in each particular case, you will be prepared, by wh
already said, to learn that I consider it open to serious doubt whether
solute freedom of action could be safely given.

Her Majesty's Government are alone responsible for the due ob
of Treaty arrangements between Foreign Countries and the whole
and it would be scarcely possible for the Colonial Governments to fo
extent to which the trade of other parts of the Empire might be af
special Tariff agreements between particular Colonies.

It must, moreover, be anticipated that these differential agreemen
avowedly for the supposed benefit of certain classes of the communit
be liable to be affected by temporary political circumstances. '
having been once opened, each producing or manufacturing interest,
individuals desirous of promoting any new enterprise, might in turn
exceptionally favourable treatment under the form of Intercolonial rec
while the real grounds for such changes as might be proposed would
ligible only to those concerned with local politics.

It would appear, therefore, to be by no means clear that Her
Government could be relieved from the obligation of examining the pa
of each contemplated agreement, however limited; and while it would
difficult for them to make such an examination in a satisfactory ma
detailed inquiry of this kind could hardly fail to be irksome to the
and to lead to misunderstandings.

It remains for me, lastly, to ask how far it is expedient, in the int
each Colony concerned, and of the Empire collectively, that the
Parliament should be invited to legislate in a direction contrary to
blished commercial policy of this country.

Her Majesty's Government are bound to say that the measure pro
the Colonial Government seems to them inconsistent with those prin
Free Trade which they believe to be alone permanently conducive
mercial prosperity; nor, as far as they are aware, has any attempt been
show that any great practical benefit is expected to be derived from re
Tariff arrangements between the Australasian Colonies.

At all events I do not find anywhere among the papers which have
me those strong representations and illustrations of the utility or nec
the measure which I think might fairly be expected to be adduced as w
against its undeniable inconveniences.

It is, indeed, stated in an Address before me that the prohibition o
ential Customs treatment "operates to the serious prejudice of the
producing interests of the Australian Colonies." I understand this and
expressions to mean that it is desired to give a special stimulus or pre
the Colonial producers and manufacturers, and to afford them the s
vantage in a neighbouring Colony over the producers and manufacture
other parts of the Empire and of Foreign Countries as they would hav
their own Colony under a system of Protective Duties. What is term
procity is thus in reality protection.

It is, of course, unnecessary for me to observe that, whilst Her M
Government feel bound to take every proper opportunity of urging

es, as well as upon Foreign Governments, the great advantages which
elieve to accrue to every country which adopts a policy of Free Trade,
ave relinquished all interference with the imposition by a Colonial
ature of equal duties upon goods from all places, although those duties
ally have the effect of protection to the native producer.
it a proposition that in one part of the Empire commercial privileges
be granted to the inhabitants of certain other parts of the Empire to the
ion and prejudice of the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, is an altogether
nt question; and I would earnestly request your Government to con-
hat effect it may have upon the relations between the Colonies and this
y.
r Majesty's subjects throughout the Empire, and nowhere more than in
lasia, have manifested on various occasions of late their strong desire
e connection between the Colonies and this Country should be main-
and strengthened; but it can hardly be doubted that the imposition of
ntial Duties upon British produce and manufactures must have a ten-
to weaken that connection, and to impair the friendly feeling on both
which I am confident your Government, as much as Her Majesty's
ment, desire to preserve.
ave thought it right to state frankly and unreservedly the views of Her
y's Government on this subject, in order that the Colonial Government
e thoroughly aware of the nature and gravity of the points which have
ecided; but I do not wish to be understood to indicate that Her Majesty's
ment have, in the present state of their information, come to any ab-
conclusion on the questions which I have discussed.
e objections which I have pointed out to giving to the Colonies a general
of making reciprocal arrangements would not apply to a Customs Union
a uniform Tariff; and although such a general union of all the Colonies
ppears, impracticable, it may be worth while to consider whether the
ty might not be met by a Customs Union between two or more
es.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
KIMBERLEY.

r *Du Cane.*

TASMANIA.

ANDUM.
RD KIMBERLEY'S Despatch, under date of the 13th July, 1871, on the
n of Intercolonial Reciprocity, has received the attentive consideration
Excellency's Advisers.
is satisfactory to find that the Secretary of State admits that, in the
of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in 1856, and of the
ion of Canada in 1867, Her Majesty's Government have assented to
xempting Colonial products from the duties imposed on similar articles
imported from Europe: and that, as regards the latest precedent, Lord
rley is "not prepared to deny that the Australasian Governments are
d in citing it as an example of the admission of the principle of Differ-
Duties."
is not easy to understand why the earlier precedents are not similarly
ised as applicable to the recent demand for an admission of the same
e by the Legislature of New Zealand and Tasmania, to which may

now be added that of South Australia. The lists of articles in the sections of Statutes appended to the Despatch comprise, in the main, the products and manufactures of the Provinces and Colonies therein named. And the Reciprocity Conventions contemplated by the reserved Bills of Tasmania and New Zealand would deal similarly with the products and manufactures of the Australasian Colonies.

There is, however, another example of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties by Her Majesty's Government which is not referred to by Lord Kimberley. The Acts of the Legislatures of Victoria and New South Wales which sanction the reciprocal importation across the Murray Border of goods, which are liable to Customs Duties on the wharves of Melbourne and Sydney, have received Her Majesty's assent, and constitute a recent and conspicuous precedent for legislation in favour of Intercolonial Reciprocity; and this example derives special importance from the fact that the Acts in question were passed in the exercise of powers to legislate on this point, specially conferred upon Victoria and New South Wales by the Imperial Statutes which granted to those Colonies their present Constitutions.

It would, therefore, seem that all the precedents that can be instanced of Imperial assent to Colonial Legislation on this point may be "cited as examples of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties."

When we come to the extent to which such Colonial Legislation would affect Her Majesty's Treaty obligations with Foreign Powers, it is admitted that there is but one Treaty in existence which contains a stipulation restricting the fiscal legislation of "Colonies and Possessions" of the British Crown; and that the Secretary of State is "advised" that the Article in question "may be held not to preclude Her Majesty from permitting"—to quote the language of the Despatch—"such a relaxation of the Law as would allow each Colony of the Australasian Group to admit any of the products or manufactures of the other Australian Colonies duty free, or on more favourable terms than similar products and manufactures of other countries."

From this we may infer that, while Her Majesty is bound to require that Differential Duties shall not be imposed upon imports into British Colonies from the United Kingdom and Foreign States, Her Majesty is not required by any Treaty to refuse the Royal Assent to Measures admitting the reciprocal importation between two or more British Possessions, duty free, of articles which the Colonial Legislatures have subjected to Customs Duties when imported from Europe.

Lord Kimberley's suggestion of the impolicy of placing "German products and manufactures under disadvantages in the Colonial markets," seems to touch a subject on which it may be said the Legislatures of Australasia are the legitimate, perhaps the best, judges.

Lord Kimberley's observations on the question of Colonial Differential Duties as affecting the general Imperial Policy seem to proceed upon a misconception of the object aimed at by the Australasian Governments, and of the motives which influence the advocates of the removal of Imperial restrictions on the fiscal legislation of the Colonies.

The object of the Tariff Conference held in Melbourne last year was to establish a Commercial Union of the Australias and New Zealand on the basis of a common Tariff, with a distribution of the Customs Revenue to the several Colonies according to population. That object was found to be, at that time, unattainable; and the Conference adopted a unanimous Resolution to the effect *that it* was desirable that the Colonial Legislatures should be freed from Imperial restrictions on their reciprocal fiscal arrangements.

Her Majesty's Government had intimated their readiness to assent to a Customs Union of two or more Colonies; but, when such an arrangement was found to be impracticable, the Governments represented at the Conference were

willing to rest content with the removal of the existing restrictions on Inter-colonial trade by Reciprocity Conventions.

It is difficult to apprehend the force of objections offered to this mode of treating the question when no objection is raised to a Customs Union, which would produce precisely analogous results on a much larger scale.

A Customs Union between all the Australasian Colonies would enable these Countries to impose, if it were thought desirable, protective duties upon imports from Europe, while Colonial products and manufactures were reciprocally interchanged duty free. How, it may be asked, can such a system be deemed legitimate and admissible, when a plan for carrying it into only partial operation by less direct means is held to be open to grave objections?

Her Majesty's Government are prepared, we are informed, to sanction an arrangement that would enable a group of six Colonies, if they were so minded, to establish absolute Free Trade among themselves in combination with Protection against all the world beside. But when two Colonies desire to be placed in a similar position by a Tariff Convention, "Her Majesty's Government are bound to say that the measure proposed seems to them inconsistent with those principles of Free Trade which they believe to be alone permanently conducive to commercial prosperity."

By Lord Kimberley's own showing there are precedents for the legislation now submitted for the Royal assent; and there are no legal obstacles to its recognition in the shape of Imperial Treaty obligations. It is only on an abstract theory of the superior advantages of a Free Trade policy that the Secretary of State objects to a proposal which seems to sanction Protection under the name of Reciprocity.

These are views which can find no acceptance with Colonial Legislatures under a system of Constitutional Government. The question they desire to solve is one directly affecting the interests of the communities for which those Legislatures are elected to make Laws. Its effect upon Imperial interests is almost inappreciable. The doubt whether "the imposition of Differential Duties upon British produce and manufactures might not have a tendency to weaken the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and to impair the friendly feeling on both sides," seems scarcely warranted by a fair consideration of the whole bearing of the application under discussion.

It may be observed that the Tariffs of the Australasian Colonies have, in effect, for some years past imposed duties on British manufactures either intentionally or incidentally protective.

Is it to be supposed that the "friendly feeling on both sides" which has survived the imposition of Protective or Prohibitory Duties on British manufactures would be "impaired" by a Reciprocity Convention,—for example, between Victoria and Tasmania,—which permitted the products and manufactures of those Colonies to be mutually exchanged duty free, or under a lower duty than similar articles imported from the United Kingdom? It may be suggested with far greater probability that "the friendly feeling on both sides" is more likely to be impaired by the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to relax a Law which imposes an irksome restriction on the fiscal legislation, and vexatiously intermeddles with the domestic taxation, of these self-governed Colonies.

Lord Kimberley seems to complain of the absence of "strong representations and illustrations of the utility or necessity of the measure." The unanimous Resolution of the Conference of last year, and the subsequent identical legislation of New Zealand, South Australia, and Tasmania, may be taken as a sufficient indication of the strength of the conviction of the Governments and Legislatures of Australasia of the urgent necessity, and by consequence in their judgment of the utility, of the measure.

As far as the Colony of Tasmania is concerned, the "necessity and utility

ON SALE.

A quantity of superior New Zealand Pine in Log and in flooring Boards. Apply to

Mr. Horatio Cooper, Melbourne,
or to
Mr. Hugh McLean, Williams Town.

The undersigned has for sale at his Stores the following goods, to which he begs to call the attention of the public.

Flour, Tea, Sugar; Tobacco, Brazil and Negrohead; Tobacco Stems; Pork, Cheese, and Potatoes; Rice, Oats, Oatmeal, Spices, Raisins. Clothing of every description. Boots, Stock-keepers' light and strong Wellingtons and Shoes. Gentlemen's superior Riding Coats.

Wines—Port, Sherry, Claret, Sicilian, Red and White Cape, &c., &c.

Spirits—Brandy, Rum, and Gin, in case; Highland Whisky. Bottle Ale and Porter; Burton and Ashly's in hogsheads and barrels.

Sheep Wash, Turpentine, Linseed Oil, Paints, and Window Glass.

Timber of every description. Well seasoned, from Hobart and Launceston. New Zealand Pine.

Nails, Batten, Shingle, and Hurdle.

Shoemakers' Toe and Heel Springs. Leather, Sole, Kip, and Kangaroo.

Saddlery, Whips and Spurs. Spades and Shovels. Locks and Hinges. Gunpowder and Shot. Lady's dress Shoes.

HATS.

Best London Beavers and Gossamill (White and Black). Manilla Hats and Caps.

Bagging, Woolpack Needles and Twine, &c., as well as a variety of other articles too numerous for insertion.

W. F. A. Rucker.
Queen Street, 29th December.

BLACKSMITH AND FARRIER,
Adjoining Fawkner's Hotel.

All work of the above branches performed quickly and neatly.

Horses shod—cash . 7s.
" credit . 9s.
All other work in proportion.

FIRST ESTABLISHED HOTEL
in Melbourne. Fawkner's Hotel sup
plies to the Traveller and Sojourn
all the usual requisites of a Boardi
House and Hotel of the very be
quality, being mostly laid in from th
first Mercantile House in Cornwal
V. D. Land, in addition to whic
there will be found mental recreatio
of a high order. There are provide
7 English and 5 Colonial Week
Newspapers, seven British Monthl
Magazines. Three Quarterly Britis
Reviews up to July and August, 183
A very choice selection of Book
including Novels, Poetry, Theolog
History, Philosophy, Chemistry, &c.
N.B. A late Encyclopædia. The u
of any of these works will be free
the Lodgers at the above Hotel.

T. D. WEATHERLY takes this earl
opportunity to inform his friends an
the Public that he supplies Famili
with the best wheaten Bread at th
lowest possible price, and to those wh
wish it he allows one Month's Credi

POETS' CORNER.

1.

Oh! what a pure and sacred thing
Is beauty curtained from the sight
Of the gross world, Illumining
One only Mansion with her light.

2.

Unseen by man's disturbing eye
The flower that blooms beneath th
sea,
Too deep for sunbeams, doth not l
Hid in more chaste obscurity.

PARTICULARS OF THE MURDE
OF CONSTABLE TOMKINS.

The Bushranger Cummerford ha
ing given information that one Du
nall had murdered six bushranger
between Port Phillip and Portlan
Bay, the Governor-in-Chief, Sir R
Bourke, sent Cummerford to P. P.
point out where this act had bee
perpetrated; in accordance with the
orders, W. Lonsdale, Esq., P.M., he
sent Cummerford under charge of
sergeant, one soldier, and two co
stables, in the proposed direction
Cummerford did guide the party

where he himself, a shoemaker (name unknown), and Dugnall had as he stated murdered in cold blood and while sleeping six human beings. The party declare that they found from one to two bushels of human bones calcined—some human teeth and also hair was found unburnt, and a quantity of shoenails and buttons from the clothes of the murdered men. This was about 210 miles from Melbourne. On the way home they fell in with and bought the bone of a horse's head, said to be Mr. Ebden's, which was shot by Dugnall and Cummerford on their way home. One constable and the soldier turned back for some tea left behind, and the sergeant, Tomkins, and prisoner came homewards; they stopped to cook before these men returned, and the sergeant gave his musket to Tomkins while he made a fire. Tomkins, it does appear, culpably left the firearms, and the prisoner seized a musket and shot Tomkins, so that he died within three hours. The ball, it appeared, entered his left side, and came out at the right breast, and cut diagonally across the right forearm to the bone. This coolblooded wretch plundered the packhorse, and finally escaped, though pursued by the sergeant for some time. This took place on the Saturday, the 30th December. On January 1 he was taken by three of Mr. W. Wedge's men, after having plundered [here the writing is illegible] of a double-barrelled gun, he wished to get a horse and threatened the lives of several of the principal graziers of this district. He was taken while trying to get a horse. Cummerford is a light, well-made youth, about nineteen; he has rather a prepossessing look and very mild voice, small fine neck, and remarkably large upper head: the lower part is very small, and the chin recedes towards the neck, so as to make a very strange appearance when looked closely into.

We trust that the three men who prevented the atrocities meditated by this brutal wretch will receive their free and unconditional pardons. For we, in common with many of our fellow-colonists, hold that Incentive is, in such cases, the best Preventive. We have omitted much for want of space.

Errata in No. 1. For Cummerfield read Cummerford.

LIBRARY—FAWKNER'S.

Those of the subscribers to the above who took credit when they favoured this establishment with their support, are most respectfully informed that it is usual to pay up all arrears at the beginning of a new year.

J. P. FAWKNER.

8 January, '38.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

On Thursday, the 4th instant, the "Jemima" returned to Port, having lost an anchor. She reports the "Blossom" and "Tasmania Lass" as laying windbound at the Heads. Also the "Mary Robson" at Williamstown, owing to the strong southerly gales. The "Jemima" having borrowed an anchor, sailed again for Launceston. The morning the cutter "Industry," from Hobart Town. On Sunday, the 7th, arrived the "Tamar Bowden," from Launceston. Cargo, 600 sheep. "Jackson," she reports the "Henry" as about to sail for this port where she left, having commenced taking in her sheep.

By this arrival came a Hobart Town paper.

Date, January 2, 1838.

The mail per "Enterprise" schooner will close at noon on Tuesday first.

A wretch named Mooney has been committed for attempting to murder his wife. She lies in a dangerous state.

Re-published by the Proprietor, Peter C. Alcock, 50, Temple Court, Melbourne, and sold by George Robertson, Melbourne; Gordon and Gotch, 121, Holborn Hill, London; Gordon and Gotch, Sydney; W. A. Cawthorne, Adelaide; G. Slater, *Brisbane; Watch and Son*, Hobart Town; Watch Brothers and *Burchall, Launceston.*

Appendix No. IV., page 229.

CORRESPONDENCE AS TO THE CREATION OF A CUSTOMS UNION AMONG THE COLONIES.

CIRCULAR.

Downing Street, 13th July, 1871.

SIR,

I HAVE had for some time under my consideration Despatches from the Governors of several of the Australasian Colonies, intimating the desire of the Colonial Governments that any two or more of those Colonies should be permitted to conclude agreements securing to each other reciprocal Tariff advantages; and reserved Bills to this effect have already reached me from New Zealand and Tasmania.

It appears that whilst it is at present impossible to form a general Customs Union, owing to the conflicting views of the different Colonial Governments as to Customs Duties, the opinion extensively prevails, which was expressed at the Intercolonial Conference held at Melbourne last year, in favour of such a relaxation of the Law as would allow each Colony of the Australasian Group to admit any of the products or manufactures of the other Australasian Colonies Duty free, or on more favourable terms than similar products and manufactures of other Countries.

At the same time it has not been stated to me from any quarter that the subject urgently presses for the immediate decision or action of Her Majesty's Government; and I trust, therefore, that any delay that may arise in dealing with it will be attributed to its true cause, namely, to the desire of Her Majesty's Government to consider the subject deliberately in all its bearings with a view to arrive at such a settlement as may not merely meet temporary objects, but constitute a permanent system resting upon sound principles of commercial policy.

The necessary consultations with the Board of Trade and with the Law Officers have unavoidably been protracted to a late period of the Session; and if Her Majesty's Government were satisfied that they could properly consent to the removal of the restrictions against Differential Duties, it would not be possible now to obtain for so important a measure the attention which it should receive from Parliament. It is by no means improbable that the introduction of a Bill to enable the Australasian Colonies to impose Differential Duties might raise serious discussions and opposition both in Parliament and in the Country, on the ground that such a measure would be inconsistent with the principles of Free Trade, and prejudicial to the commercial and political relations between the different parts of the Empire; and I feel confident that the Colonial Governments will not regret to have an opportunity afforded them of further friendly discussion of the whole subject, after learning the views of Her Majesty's Government upon it, before any final conclusion is arrived at. I will therefore proceed to notice those points which seem to Her Majesty's Government to require particular examination.

The Government of New Zealand appears from the Bill laid before the House of Representatives, and from the financial statement of the Treasurer, to have originally contemplated the granting of special bonuses to goods imported into New Zealand from the other Australasian Colonies. As, however, this expedient was not eventually adopted, I am relieved from the necessity of discussing the objections to such a mode of avoiding the rule against Differential Duties.

The proposal now before me raises the following questions; viz.,—

1. Whether a precedent exists in the case of the British North American Colonies for the relaxation of the rule or law now in force.

2. Whether Her Majesty's Treaty obligations with any Foreign Powers interfere with such relaxation.

3. Whether a general power should be given to the Australasian Governments to make reciprocal Tariff arrangements, imposing Differential Duties, without the consent of the Imperial Government in each particular case.

4. Whether on grounds of general Imperial policy the proposal can properly be adopted.

The Attorney-General of New Zealand, in his Report accompanying the reserved Bill, observes that its main provisions are almost a literal copy of provisions which have been for some time past in force in Canada and other North American Colonies; and I observe that in the various communications before me the argument is repeatedly pressed that the Australasian Colonies are entitled to the same treatment in this respect as the North American Colonies. It may be as well, therefore, to explain what these provisions actually are.

I enclose extracts from the Acts of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island of the year 1856; but I need not dwell upon them, because, as dealing with a limited list of raw materials and produce not imported to those Colonies from Europe, they are hardly, if at all, applicable to the present case; and I shall refer only to the Act passed by the Dominion of Canada in 1867 (31 Vict. cap. 7), which is the enactment principally relied upon as a precedent.

Schedule D. of this Act exempts from Duty certain specified raw materials and produce of the British North American Provinces; and the 3rd Section enacts, that "any other articles than those mentioned in Schedule D., being of the growth and produce of the British North American Provinces, may be specially exempted from Customs Duty by order of the Governor in Council."

This, which was one of the first Acts of the Legislature of the newly constituted Dominion in its opening Session, was passed in the expectation that, at no distant date, the other Possessions of Her Majesty in North America would become part of the Dominion; and the assent of Her Majesty's Government to a measure passed in circumstances so peculiar and exceptional cannot form a precedent of universal and necessary application,—although I am not prepared to deny that the Australasian Governments are justified in citing it as an example of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties.

With reference to the second question, as to the existence of any Treaty the obligations of which might be inconsistent with compliance by Her Majesty with the present proposal, the Board of Trade have informed me that this point could only be raised in connection with the terms of the Treaty between this Country and the Zollverein of 1865, extended through the operation of the "most favoured nation" Article to all other countries possessing rights conferred by that stipulation.

The 7th Article of that Treaty, which extends the provisions of previous Articles to the Colonies and Foreign Possessions of Her Majesty, contains the following provision:—

"In the Colonies and Possessions the produce of the States of the Zollverein shall not be subject to any higher or other Import Duties than the produce of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or of any other Country of the like kind." I am advised that this 7th Article may be held not to preclude Her Majesty from "permitting the Legislature of a British Possession to impose on articles being the produce of the States of the Zollverein any higher or other Import Duties than those which are levied on articles of the like kind which are the produce *of another British* Possession, provided such Duties are not *higher or other than the Duties* imposed on articles of the like kind being the *produce of the United Kingdom* of Great Britain and Ireland."

But, apart from the strict interpretation of the Treaty, it s
doubtful whether it would be a wise course on the part of the A
Colonies, which both as regards Emigration and Trade have mor
relations with Germany than with perhaps any other Foreign C
place German products and manufactures under disadvantages in th
markets.

Proceeding to the third question, whether, if the principle of al
imposition of Differential Duties were conceded, the Colonies co
mitted to impose such Duties without the express sanction of th
Government in each particular case, you will be prepared, by w
already said, to learn that I consider it open to serious doubt whethe
solute freedom of action could be safely given.

Her Majesty's Government are alone responsible for the due
of Treaty arrangements between Foreign Countries and the whol
and it would be scarcely possible for the Colonial Governments to
extent to which the trade of other parts of the Empire might be
special Tariff agreements between particular Colonies.

It must, moreover, be anticipated that these differential agreeme
avowedly for the supposed benefit of certain classes of the commun
be liable to be affected by temporary political circumstances.
having been once opened, each producing or manufacturing interest
individuals desirous of promoting any new enterprise, might in tur
exceptionably favourable treatment under the form of Intercolonial r
while the real grounds for such changes as might be proposed woul
ligible only to those concerned with local politics.

It would appear, therefore, to be by no means clear that Her
Government could be relieved from the obligation of examining the
of each contemplated agreement, however limited; and while it wou
difficult for them to make such an examination in a satisfactory
detailed inquiry of this kind could hardly fail to be irksome to the
and to lead to misunderstandings.

It remains for me, lastly, to ask how far it is expedient, in the
each Colony concerned, and of the Empire collectively, that the
Parliament should be invited to legislate in a direction contrary t
blished commercial policy of this country.

Her Majesty's Government are bound to say that the measure pr
the Colonial Government seems to them inconsistent with those pr
Free Trade which they believe to be alone permanently conducive
mercial prosperity; nor, as far as they are aware, has any attempt bee
show that any great practical benefit is expected to be derived from
Tariff arrangements between the Australasian Colonies.

At all events I do not find anywhere among the papers which hav
me those strong representations and illustrations of the utility or n
the measure which I think might fairly be expected to be adduced as
against its undeniable inconveniences.

It is, indeed, stated in an Address before me that the prohibition
ential Customs treatment "operates to the serious prejudice of th
producing interests of the Australian Colonies." I understand this a
expressions to mean that it is desired to give a special stimulus or p
the Colonial producers and manufacturers, and to afford them the
vantage in a neighbouring Colony over the producers and manufacture
other parts of the Empire and of Foreign Countries as they would ha
their own Colony under a system of Protective Duties. What is ter
procity is thus in reality protection.

It is, of course, unnecessary for me to observe that, whilst Her
Government feel bound to take every proper opportunity of urg

Colonies, as well as upon Foreign Governments, the great advantages which they believe to accrue to every country which adopts a policy of Free Trade, they have relinquished all interference with the imposition by a Colonial Legislature of equal duties upon goods from all places, although those duties may really have the effect of protection to the native producer.

But a proposition that in one part of the Empire commercial privileges should be granted to the inhabitants of certain other parts of the Empire to the exclusion and prejudice of the rest of Her Majesty's subjects, is an altogether different question; and I would earnestly request your Government to consider what effect it may have upon the relations between the Colonies and this country.

Her Majesty's subjects throughout the Empire, and nowhere more than in Australasia, have manifested on various occasions of late their strong desire that the connection between the Colonies and this Country should be maintained and strengthened; but it can hardly be doubted that the imposition of Differential Duties upon British produce and manufactures must have a tendency to weaken that connection, and to impair the friendly feeling on both sides, which I am confident your Government, as much as Her Majesty's Government, desire to preserve.

I have thought it right to state frankly and unreservedly the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, in order that the Colonial Government may be thoroughly aware of the nature and gravity of the points which have to be decided; but I do not wish to be understood to indicate that Her Majesty's Government have, in the present state of their information, come to any absolute conclusion on the questions which I have discussed.

The objections which I have pointed out to giving to the Colonies a general power of making reciprocal arrangements would not apply to a Customs Union with an uniform Tariff; and although such a general union of all the Colonies is, it appears, impracticable, it may be worth while to consider whether the difficulty might not be met by a Customs Union between two or more Colonies.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
KIMBERLEY.

Governor Du Cane.

TASMANIA.

MEMORANDUM.

LORD KIMBERLEY'S Despatch, under date of the 13th July, 1871, on the question of Intercolonial Reciprocity, has received the attentive consideration of His Excellency's Advisers.

It is satisfactory to find that the Secretary of State admits that, in the cases of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in 1856, and of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, Her Majesty's Government have assented to Acts exempting Colonial products from the duties imposed on similar articles when imported from Europe: and that, as regards the latest precedent, Lord Kimberley is "not prepared to deny that the Australasian Governments are justified in citing it as an example of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties."

It is not easy to understand why the earlier precedents are not similarly recognised as applicable to the recent demand for an admission of the same principle by the Legislature of New Zealand and Tasmania, to which may

now be added that of South Australia. The lists of articles in the sections of Statutes appended to the Despatch comprise, in the main, the products and manufactures of the Provinces and Colonies therein named. And the Reciprocity Conventions contemplated by the reserved Bills of Tasmania and New Zealand would deal similarly with the products and manufactures of the Australasian Colonies.

There is, however, another example of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties by Her Majesty's Government which is not referred to by Lord Kimberley. The Acts of the Legislatures of Victoria and New South Wales which sanction the reciprocal importation across the Murray Border of goods, which are liable to Customs Duties on the wharves of Melbourne and Sydney, have received Her Majesty's assent, and constitute a recent and conspicuous precedent for legislation in favour of Intercolonial Reciprocity: and this example derives special importance from the fact that the Acts in question were passed in the exercise of powers to legislate on this point, specially conferred upon Victoria and New South Wales by the Imperial Statutes which granted to those Colonies their present Constitutions.

It would, therefore, seem that all the precedents that can be instanced of Imperial assent to Colonial Legislation on this point may be "cited as examples of the admission of the principle of Differential Duties."

When we come to the extent to which such Colonial Legislation would affect Her Majesty's Treaty obligations with Foreign Powers, it is admitted that there is but one Treaty in existence which contains a stipulation restricting the fiscal legislation of "Colonies and Possessions" of the British Crown: and that the Secretary of State is "advised" that the Article in question "may be held not to preclude Her Majesty from permitting"—to quote the language of the Despatch—"such a relaxation of the Law as would allow each Colony of the Australasian Group to admit any of the products or manufactures of the other Australian Colonies duty free, or on more favourable terms than similar products and manufactures of other countries."

From this we may infer that, while Her Majesty is bound to require that Differential Duties shall not be imposed upon imports into British Colonies from the United Kingdom and Foreign States, Her Majesty is not required by any Treaty to refuse the Royal Assent to Measures admitting the reciprocal importation between two or more British Possessions, duty free, of articles which the Colonial Legislatures have subjected to Customs Duties when imported from Europe.

Lord Kimberley's suggestion of the impolicy of placing "German products and manufactures under disadvantages in the Colonial markets," seems to touch a subject on which it may be said the Legislatures of Australasia are the legitimate, perhaps the best, judges.

Lord Kimberley's observations on the question of Colonial Differential Duties as affecting the general Imperial Policy seem to proceed upon a misconception of the object aimed at by the Australasian Governments, and of the motives which influence the advocates of the removal of Imperial restrictions on the fiscal legislation of the Colonies.

The object of the Tariff Conference held in Melbourne last year was to establish a Commercial Union of the Australias and New Zealand on the basis of a common Tariff, with a distribution of the Customs Revenue to the several Colonies according to population. That object was found to be, at that time, unattainable; and the Conference adopted a unanimous Resolution to the effect that it was desirable that the Colonial Legislatures should be freed from Imperial restrictions on their reciprocal fiscal arrangements.

Her Majesty's Government had intimated their readiness to assent to a Customs Union of two or more Colonies; but, when such an arrangement was found to be impracticable, the Governments represented at the Conference were

illing to rest content with the removal of the existing restrictions on Inter-lonial trade by Reciprocity Conventions.

It is difficult to apprehend the force of objections offered to this mode of eating the question when no objection is raised to a Customs Union, which ould produce precisely analogous results on a much larger scale.

A Customs Union between all the Australasian Colonies would enable these ountries to impose, if it were thought desirable, protective duties upon im-orts from Europe, while Colonial products and manufactures were reciprocally terchanged duty free. How, it may be asked, can such a system be deemed gitimate and admissible, when a plan for carrying it into only partial opera-on by less direct means is held to be open to grave objections?

Her Majesty's Government are prepared, we are informed, to sanction an rangement that would enable a group of six Colonies, if they were so minded, establish absolute Free Trade among themselves in combination with Pro-ction against all the world beside. But when two Colonies desire to be placed a similar position by a Tariff Convention, "Her Majesty's Government are ound to say that the measure proposed seems to them inconsistent with those rinciples of Free Trade which they believe to be alone permanently conducive commercial prosperity."

By Lord Kimberley's own showing there are precedents for the legislation ow submitted for the Royal assent; and there are no legal obstacles to its cognition in the shape of Imperial Treaty obligations. It is only on an ab-ract theory of the superior advantages of a Free Trade policy that the Secre-ry of State objects to a proposal which seems to sanction Protection under ie name of Reciprocity.

These are views which can find no acceptance with Colonial Legislatures nder a system of Constitutional Government. The question they desire to olve is one directly affecting the interests of the communities for which those egislatures are elected to make Laws. Its effect upon Imperial interests is most inappreciable. The doubt whether "the imposition of Differential uties upon British produce and manufactures might not have a tendency to eaken the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and to npair the friendly feeling on both sides," seems scarcely warranted by a fair onsideration of the whole bearing of the application under discussion.

It may be observed that the Tariffs of the Australasian Colonies have, in ffect, for some years past imposed duties on British manufactures either in-entionally or incidentally protective.

Is it to be supposed that the "friendly feeling on both sides" which has rvived the imposition of Protective or Prohibitory Duties on British manu-ctures would be "impaired" by a Reciprocity Convention,—for example, etween Victoria and Tasmania,—which permitted the products and manufac-ures of those Colonies to be mutually exchanged duty free, or under a lower uty than similar articles imported from the United Kingdom? It may be ggested with far greater probability that "the friendly feeling on both ides" is more likely to be impaired by the refusal of Her Majesty's Govern-ent to relax a Law which imposes an irksome restriction on the fiscal legis-ation, and vexatiously intermeddles with the domestic taxation, of these self-overned Colonies.

Lord Kimberley seems to complain of the absence of "strong representa-ons and illustrations of the utility or necessity of the measure." The unani-ous Resolution of the Conference of last year, and the subsequent identical gislation of New Zealand, South Australia, and Tasmania, may be taken as sufficient indication of the strength of the conviction of the Governments nd Legislatures of Australasia of the urgent necessity, and by consequence in *heir judgment of the utility*, of the measure.

As far as the Colony of Tasmania is concerned, the "necessity and utility

of the measure" are sufficiently obvious. Our Customs Duties are f
for revenue purposes only. But when our nearest neighbours practical
against our producers and manufacturers their best and natural marke
comprehensive operation of an intentionally Protective Tariff, we see
in Reciprocity Conventions, which, while they would extend the basis
mercial operations between us and our neighbours, would in no way p
the interests of European producers and manufacturers, inasmuch
desired Convention would, for the most part, "deal with a limited lis
materials and produce not imported to these Colonies from Europe."

Lord Kimberley's treatment of this question indicates throug
natural anxiety to avoid a decision which might seem to commit Her M
Government to a departure "from the established commercial policy"
Mother Country. But, since His Lordship assures us that Her M
Government have not "come to any absolute conclusion on the q
which he has discussed," we may venture to hope that a firm but re
persistence in the course of legislation already adopted by New Z
Tasmania, and South Australia, will shortly secure for the Austr
Colonies that freedom from Imperial restrictions on their fiscal relatio
each other which the conciliatory policy of Her Majesty's Government
ready conceded to the Colonies of British North America.

JAMES MILNE WILSON.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 11th September, 1

His Excellency the Governor.

INDEX TO VOL. II.

VICTORIA.

"Argus," Victorian Newspaper, 134
"Australasian," Victorian Newspaper, 135
Ballaarat, 31, 56
Band of Hope and Albion Consols, 67
Batman, John, applies for Land at Port Phillip, 20
Baudin, Captain, French Explorer, 17
Beechworth, 144
Bendigo or Sandhurst, 69
Benevolent Asylum, Melbourne, 48
Campbell, Mr. William, 97
Chinese Quarters at Ballaarat, 68
Clubs in Melbourne, 51, 52
Clunes Gold-field, 56
Coaches, Victorian, 142
Collingwood, Suburb of Melbourne, 44
Country Gentlemen, 119
Country Houses, 115
Country Life, 122, 123
Cutting out Cattle, 86
Darling, Governor, 20, 25
Diggers' Licenses, 58
Edwards' Reef, 91
Emerald Hill, Suburb of Melbourne, 44
Esmond, Discoverer of Gold in Victoria, 57
Fawkner, Mr., early Settler, 26
Flinders, Captain, Explorer, 17, 23
Fitzroy, Suburb of Melbourne, 44
Free-Selecters, Mode of selecting Land, 110, 112
Gambling in Gold-fields, 77
Geelong, 37
Gipps Land, 81
Government House, Melbourne, 51
Great Extended Hustler's Tribute Mine, 73
Grimes, Mr., Surveyor-General of New South Wales, 17
Hargreaves, Discoverer of Gold in New South Wales, 57
Henty, Mr., first Colonist in Victoria, 22
Hovell, Mr., Explorer, 19
Hume, Mr., Explorer, 19
Imports and Exports, 161
Land Laws in Victoria, 95
La Trobe, Mr., Governor, 98
Legislative Assembly, 155
Legislative Council, 154
Lewes, Mr. R., Mayor of Ballaarat, 65
Literature, Colonial, 138
Long Tunnel Mine, Walhalla, 90
Lonsdale, Captain, Vice-Governor, 27
Lowe, Mr., his Opinion as to the Land Laws, 104
Lunatic Asylums, Melbourne, 50
Manners of the People, 124
Matlock, Gold Town, 93
Melbourne Banks, Magnificence of, 43
Melbourne, Foundation of, 37
Menzies' Hotel, 52
Miners' Habits, 78
Mining Companies, Number and Names, 74, 75
Mount Useful, Gipps Land, 91
Mueller, Dr. von, Botanist, 47
Murray, Lieutenant, first discovered Port Phillip, 17
Newspapers, Australian, 134
Oxley, Mr., Surveyor-General in New South Wales, 19
Palmer, Mr. Roundell, his Opinion of the Land Laws, 103
Patronage, Misuse of, 157
Port Phillip, Early History of, 15
Railway System, 139

Rama Yuck, 147
Rent, Pastoral, 112
Revenue, 160
Richmond, Suburb of Melbourne, 44
Ruaden, Mr. G. W., of Melbourne, 7, 16
Sale, Capital of Gipps Land, 87
Sandhurst or Bendigo, 69
Separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, 7
"Sydney Morning Herald," Sydney Newspaper, 134, 135
Trinity College, Melbourne, 46
University of Melbourne, 45
Verandah, The, 49, 71
Walhalla, Gold Town, 88
Wine, Australian, 145
"Winter's Freehold" Gold-mine, 65
Withers's, Mr., History of Ballaarat, 59
Woods Point Gold-field, 93
Wool, Staple of the Colony, 160
Women, 126
Yan Yean Water, 52
Yarra Yarra River, 30
Yering, Manufacture of Wine, 94
Young Men, 128

TASMANIA.

Allport, Mr., as to River Fish, 214
Annexation to Victoria, 234
Barron, a Convict, 192
Brady, a Convict, 175
Campbelltown, 209
Cash, a Convict, 175
Change of Name of the Colony, 165
Chudleigh Caves, 205
Collins, Colonel, Lieutenant-Governor, 170
Convict Labour, 180
Convicts, Numbers of, 189
Convict System, 170—182
Customs Duties, International, 226—233
Decrease of Trade, 223
Deloraine Railway, 201
Denison, Sir William, Governor, 166
Doherty, a Convict, 194
Dogs used to guard Convicts, 185
Dunn, a Convict, 195
Eagle Hawk Nest, 185
Early History, 163—170
Launceston, 201
Mineral Gold-field, 217
Mountain Rivers, 215
Convicts, 194
Fruit in Tasmania, 215
Future Prospects of the Colony
Gold, 217
Government House, Tasmania
Hobart Town, Capital of the C
210
Hops, 214
Howe, a Convict, 175
Launceston, Town so named,
Loyalty in Tasmania, 199
Markham, a Convict, 175
Maria Van Diemen, Island so
169
Melton, Town of, so named, 2
Population, 204
Port Arthur, 182
Rabbits, 182
Revenue, 220
Tasman, Abel Jan, 169
Tasman's Arch, 186
Tasman's Peninsula, 185
Van Diemen's Land, Island so
169
Victorian Tariffs, 215
Wages of Convicts, 178
Wages of Labourers, 202
Wilson, Mr., Premier, 217
Wool, 223, 224

WESTERN AUSTRALI

Aborigines, 242
Albany, Town of, 282
Cathedrals, 286
Certificate needed on leavi
Colony, 272
Coal, 250
Convicts, Condition of, 251,
270
Convicts, Effect of, 252
Convicts, Native, 262
Convicts, Petitions that they
sent out, 247, 248
Corroboree, Native Dance, 26
Emigrants, Allowance to, i
305
Emigrants cannot be sent
Government, 297
Eyre, Mr., Explorer, 248
Farming badly carried on, 26
Freemantle, Captain, of the
lenger," 240
Freemantle, Town of, 266
Wine Producers, 300
Future Prospects of Colony,
250

)56, 294
ıment, Form of, 279
, 246
aves, Mr., searches for Gold,

-Wood, 259
y to Perth, 284
George's Sound, 239, 249, 282
t, Mr., his Book on the Colony,

Grants of, 274
Modes of Sale, 275, 300
selected for Special Occupation,

er, Major, 239
Norcia, Roman Catholic Estab-
ment for Native Children, 243
astle, 288
l Bay, 257

Nuyt, Peter, afraid of Frogs, 285
Pearls, Fishery, 257
Perth, Capital of the Colony, 269, 286
Poisonous Shrub, 259
Population, 273, 306
Provisions, Price of, 296
Rottnest, 262
Sandal-Wood, 259
Schools of the Colony, 291
Sheep, Number of, 258
Stirling, Governor, 240, 247
Squatters, 289
Ticket-of-Leave Men, 287
Toodjay District, 249, 288
Wages, Rate of, 290
Weld, Governor, 260, 279
Wine, 309
Wool, Staple of the Colony, 258, 289

END OF VOL. II.

PRINTING OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER.

COLLECTION

OF

BRITISH AUTHORS

TAUCHNITZ EDITION.

VOL. 1307.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

AUSTRALIA
AND
NEW ZEALAND.

BY

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

COPYRIGHT EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LEIPZIG
BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
1873.

The Right of Translation is reserved.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME III.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

			Page
CHAPTER	I.	Early History	7
—	II.	Adelaide	25
—	III.	Agriculture	36
—	IV.	Wool	54
—	V.	Minerals	70
—	VI.	The Northern Territory.—Telegraph and Railway	82
—	VII.	Legislature and Government	90

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTIONS.

—	VIII.	Schools, Libraries, Poorhouse, Armies, and Church	99
—	IX.	Australian Legislatures	109
—	X.	Australian Sports	130

NEW ZEALAND.

—	XI.	Early History	143
—	XII.	Otago,—The Lake District	161
—	XIII.	Otago,—Dunedin	179
—	XIV.	John Robert Godley	191
—	XV.	The Canterbury Pilgrims	205
—	XVI.	*Marlborough and Nelson*	229

P

CHAPTER XVII. The Maoris . . . . . .
— XVIII. Wellington and the Central Government . . .
— XIX. Taranaki . . . . . .
— XX. Auckland . . . . . .
— XXI. The Auckland Lakes and Hot Wells . . .
— XXII. The Waikato . . . . . .
— XXIII. Conclusion . . . . . .

APPENDIX . . . . . .

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER I.

Early History.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA has a peculiar history of its own, differing very much from those of the other Australian colonies, though similar in some degree to that of New Zealand, which was founded after South Australia, and with aspirations of the same nature. New South Wales was taken up by Great Britain as a convict depôt, and grew as such till the free inhabitants who had followed and surrounded the convicts became numerous and strong enough to declare that they would have no more such neighbours sent among them. Van Diemen's Land, which is now Tasmania, and Moreton Bay, which is now Queensland, were occupied as convict dependencies to the parent establishment. Moreton Bay was still part of New South Wales when New South Wales refused to be any longer regarded as an English prison, and Van Diemen's Land did for herself that which New South Wales had done before. Even Port Phillip, which is now Victoria, was first occupied by convicts sent thither from the parent colony,—though it is right to say that the convict system never took root there, and that the attempt never reached fulfilment. On the same principle New South Wales sent an offshoot convict depôt to King George's Sound, which is now a part of Western *Australia,—an unhappy colony* which, in its sore distress,

as I have just explained, was destined to save itself from utter destruction by delivering itself to the custody of compelled immigrants, who could be made to come thither and work when others would not come. In this way all the now existing Australian colonies, except South Australia, have either owed their origin to convicts, or have been at one period of their existence fostered by convict labour. But South Australia has never been blessed,—or cursed,—with the custody of a single British exile.

In 1829, when Australian exploration was yet young, Captain Sturt, who had already travelled westwards from Sydney till he found and named the Darling River, and had done much towards investigating the difficult problem of the central Australian waters, received a commission from the government of New South Wales to make his way across to the Murrumbidgee River, and to discover by following its course what became of it. It was then believed by many, and among others by Captain Sturt himself, that the great waters of the continent, which had been reached but of which the estuaries were not known, ran into some huge central lake or internal sea. With the view of proving or of disproving this surmise Captain Sturt with a few companions started on his journey, carrying with him a boat in detached pieces, in which he proposed to solve the mystery of the river. For, it must be understood, none of those maritime explorers who had surveyed, or partially surveyed, the eastern, southern, or western coasts of the continent had discovered any river mouth by which it was supposed that these waters could escape to the sea. Sturt was very zealous and ambitious to make for himself a great name among Australian explorers,—as he has done. In his account of a subsequent journey,—

made into the interior after he had found that the river did not conduct him thither,—he thus describes his own feelings:—"Let any man lay the map of Australia before him and regard the blank upon its surface, and then let me ask if it would not be an honourable achievement to be the first to place foot upon its centre." This he did, subsequently, in 1845; but in 1829-1830, he and his companions made their way down the Murrumbidgee till that large river joined a still greater stream, which he first called the Murray. The upper part of this river had been crossed by Hovell and Hume in 1826, and had then been called the Hume. But the name given by Sturt is the one by which it will hereafter be known. He followed it till it was joined by another large river, which he rightly presumed to be that Darling which he had himself discovered on a former journey. Still going on he came to the "Great Bend" which the Murray makes. Hitherto the course of the wanderers down the Murrumbidgee and down the Murray had been nearly due west. From the Bend the Murray runs south, and from henceforth it waters a territory which is now a part of the province or colony of South Australia.

Sturt, when he had progressed for a while southwards, must have begun to perceive that that surmise as to a great inland sea was incorrect. For the waters both of the Murrumbidgee and the Darling he had so far accounted, and he was now taking with him down to the Southern Ocean the confluence of the three rivers. It is not my purpose in this book to describe the explorations of Australia, and I will not therefore stop to dwell upon the dangers which Sturt encountered. But it should be remembered that he was forced to carry with him all *provisions for his party*, that he had no guide except the

course of the waters which he was bound to follow, and that as he went he was accompanied along the banks by tribes of black natives, who if not absolutely hostile, were astonished, suspicious, and irascible. Why they did not surround and destroy him and his little party we can hardly conceive. As far as we yet know, no white man had been there before, and yet it appears from Sturt's account that the natives frequently evinced no astonishment whatever at firearms, looking on while birds were shot, and not even condescending to admire the precision with which they were killed.

He went on southwards till he entered a big lake,—now called Lake Alexandrina. There are indeed a succession of lakes or inland waters here, of which Lakes Alexandrina and Albert are very shallow, rarely having as much as six feet of water, which is fresh or very nearly fresh,—and the Coorong River, which is salt, and, although as much within the mouth as are the lakes, must be regarded as an inlet of the sea. Of Lake Albert and the Coorong River Sturt appears to have seen nothing, but he did make his way with extreme difficulty through the tortuous, narrow, and shallow opening of the river which takes the waters of the lake down to the sea in Encounter Bay,—and then perceived that for purposes of sea-borne navigation the great river of which he had followed the course must always be useless. "Thus," he says, "were our fears of the impracticability and inutility of the chain of communication between the lake and the ocean confirmed."

Having so far succeeded, and so far failed, he was called upon to decide what he would do next. He could see to the westward ranges of hills which he rightly conceived to be those which Captain Flinders had described

after surveying the coasts of Gulf St. Vincent and Spencer's Gulf. Flinders had called these hills Mount Lofty, and Sturt could perceive,—at any rate could surmise,—that there was a fertile, happy land lying between him and them. But he had not the means nor had his men the strength to go across the country. He could not take his little whale-boat out to sea, nor could he venture to remain on the shores of Encounter Bay till assistance should come to him from seawards. He had flour and tea left, and birds and kangaroo might be killed on the river banks. So he resolved to go back again up the river, and thus with infinite labour he returned by the Murray and Murrumbidgee, and made his way to Sydney.

The results of this journey were twofold. Though Sturt did not discover the land in which the colony of South Australia was first founded, and on which the city of Adelaide now stands, the history of his journey and the account which had previously been given by Captain Flinders, led to the survey of the land between the two gulfs and the Murray River. There stands a hill, about twenty miles from Adelaide, called Mount Barker; in honour of Captain Barker, who was killed by the blacks while employed on this work. The land was found to be good, and fit for agriculture; not sandy, as is so large a proportion of the continent, nor heavily timbered, as is a larger portion of it. The survey was made immediately on the receipt of Sturt's account, and the operations which were commenced with a view of planting the colony, were no doubt primarily due to him. And he solved the great question as to the Australian waters, proving, what all Australia now knows, to its infinite loss, *that the river* Murray,—the only considerable *outflow of Australian* waters with which we are as yet

acquainted,—makes its way into the sea by a mouth which is not suited for navigation. There is already much traffic on the Murray, and no doubt that traffic will increase;—but there is very little traffic indeed from the Murray to the seaports, even on the Australian coast, and it is not probable that that little will be extended. It is yet possible that on the north or north-western coast navigable rivers may be found. Just now men who have visited the northern shore are beginning to tell us that the Roper River and the Victoria River may by certain processes of blasting and dredging become serviceable, not only for inland but also for maritime navigation. But hitherto Australia has no river into which great ships can make their way, as they do on the open rivers of America, of Europe, and of Asia. The narrowness and shallowness,—or, as I may perhaps call it, the meanness,—of the mouth of the Murray is one of the great natural disadvantages under which Australia labours.

Tidings of the land between the Murray and the Gulfs came home, and then a company formed itself with the object of "planting" a colony, as British settlements were formerly planted in North America. The plan to be followed was that which came to be known as the Wakefield system, the theory of which required that the land should be sold in small quantities, at a "sufficient price," so that the purchasers should settle on their own lands, and hold no more land than they would be able to occupy beneficially for themselves and the colony at large. This theory of occupation was to be adopted in distinct opposition to that under which large grants of land had been made in Western Australia, —*the territorial estates so granted having been far too extensive in area for beneficial occupation.*

In establishing new homes for the crowded population of old lands it has been found almost impossible to follow out to any perfect success the theories of philanthropists. The greed of individuals on one side, and obstinacy and ambition on other sides, have marred those embryo Utopias in the prospect of which the brains of good men have revelled. Machinery, if the means and skill be sufficient, can be made to do its proposed work in exact conformity with the intentions of the projectors; but men are less reliable. They are, however, more powerful, each being the owner of a new energy; and though the Utopian philanthropist may be disappointed,—even to a broken heart,—the very greed and obstinacy of his followers will often lead to greater results than would have been achieved by a strict compliance with the rules of a leader, however wise, however humane, however disinterested he may have been. The scheme proposed for the colonization of South Australia was not carried out in strictness; but the colony is strong and healthy, and it may be doubted whether it would now be stronger or healthier had a closer compliance with the intentions of the founders been effected.

In 1834 an act was passed for founding the colony of South Australia. Under this act it was specially provided that the proceeds of the land should be devoted to immigration. This, however, was no necessary part of Mr. Gibbon Wakefield's plan. In his evidence given subsequently before a committee of the House of Commons in 1836, he thus speaks of his own scheme: "The object of the price is not to create an immigration fund. You may employ the fund in that way if you please, but the object of the price is to create circumstances in the colony which would render it, instead of a barbarous *country, an extension* of the old country, with all the

good, but without the evils of the old society. There is no relation,—it is easy to see one which is of no consequence, but I can see no proper relation,—between the price required for land and immigration." He repeats the same opinion in his book, called "A View of the Art of Colonization." This is written in the form of letters, and in Letter 55 he says: "So completely is the production of revenue a mere incident of the price of the land, that the price ought to be imposed, if it ought to be imposed under any circumstances, even though the purchase-money were thrown away." Again in the same letter he continues, speaking of the money which would arise from the sale of land: "It is an unappropriated fund which the state or government may dispose of as it pleases without injustice to anybody. If the fund were applied to paying off the public debt of the empire nobody could complain of injustice, because every colony as a whole, and the buyers of land in particular, would still enjoy all the intended and expected benefits of sufficient price upon new land. If the fund were thrown into the sea as it arrived, there would still be no injustice, and no reason against producing the fund in that way." This is a very strong way of putting it; but Mr. Wakefield meant to assert that the consideration of the use to which the fund arising from the sale of land might be applied, was no part of his plan. Let others decide as to that. He had seen that the grants of vast areas of land to men who had taken themselves out with a certain amount of capital and a certain number of fellow emigrants, had not produced colonial success. There was the terrible example of Western Australia before him. The land was not occupied, and was not tilled. Each *new-comer* thought that he should have a share of the *land*, rather than that he should perform a share of the

labour. I would not, however, have it supposed that I am an admirer generally either of Mr. Wakefield's system of colonization, as given in his book, or of his practice as carried out in New Zealand. He was right in maintaining that all land should be sold for a price so high as to prevent, at any rate for a time, the formation of large private estates in the hands of individuals, who would be powerless to use such estates when possessed. In almost all beyond that,—as in regard to his idea that English society, under the presidency of some great English magistrate, should be taken out to the young colony "with all the good, but without the evil,"—he is I think Utopian. Of his own doings as a colonizer I shall have to speak again in reference to New Zealand.

Mr. Wakefield's plan was by no means adopted as a whole by the Act of 1834, in conformity with which the new colony was to be founded. In 1831 an attempt had been made to obtain a charter for forming a company, by which the new colony was to be planted in strict accordance with Mr. Wakefield's principle. But this scheme broke down, and in 1834 the Act was passed. Under this Act it was provided that the land should be sold in small blocks,—no doubt at a "sufficient price,"—and that the money so realised should be applied to immigration. What the "sufficient price" should be Mr. Wakefield had never stated. Indeed it would then have been impossible, and is still equally impossible, that any price should be fixed as the value of a commodity, which value varies in accordance with climate, position, and soil.

The impossibility of fixing a price for land, and yet the apparent necessity of doing so, has been the greatest difficulty felt in arranging the various schemes of Australian colonization. At first sight it may seem easy enough. *Let the land be put up* to auction, and let the purchaser

fix the price. But when the work was commenced it was necessary to get new settlers on to the land, who knew nothing of its relative value, who could not tell whether they could afford to give 5*s.* or £5 an acre for it and then live upon it. These new-comers required to be instructed in all things, and in nothing more than as to the proper outlay of their small capitals. And the system of auction, when it did come to prevail in the sale of crown lands, was found to produce the grossest abuses, —I think I may say the vilest fraud. Men constituted themselves as land agents with the express purpose of exacting black mail from those who were really desirous of purchasing. "I will be your agent," such a one would say to the would-be purchaser. "I will buy the land for you, at a commission of a shilling an acre. You can buy it for yourself, you say. Then I shall bid against you." This system has prevailed to such an extent that the agency business has become an Australian profession, and men who did not want an acre of land have made fortunes by exacting tribute from those who were in earnest. As a rule, 20*s.* an acre has been the normal price fixed in these colonies generally,—though from that there have been various deviations. In South Australia proper,—that is in South Australia exclusive of the northern territory,—the Crown has never alienated an acre for less than 20*s.* an acre. Mr. Wakefield seems to have considered that 40*s.* an acre should have been demanded from the early settlers in the new colony,—but he would fix no sum, always adhering to his term of a "sufficient price."

The Act required that the money produced by the sale of lands should be employed in bringing immigrants into the country;—but this requirement has not been fulfilled. A public debt was soon accumulated,

d the colony decided that the proceeds of the land ould be divided into three parts—that a third should to immigration, a third to the public works, and a rd to the repayment of the public debt. But this angement has again gone to the wall, and the money oduced is now so much revenue, and is like other enue at the disposal of the House of Assembly. But Act of 1834 enjoined also that no convicts should er be sent to South Australia, and this enactment has ver been infringed. It also decreed that, as soon as population of the new colony should have reached ,000, a constitution, with representative government, ould be granted to it. This, too, was carried out with fficient accuracy. At the close of 1849 the population s 52,904, and in 1850 the British Parliament con- red on the colonists the power of returning elected embers to serve in the Legislative Council.

I should hardly interest my readers, if I were to ate upon all the success and all the failures which promoters of the South Australian plan encountered. t it is well that they should understand that there s a plan, and that the work was not done from nd to mouth,—that South Australia did not progress cidentally, and drift into free institutions, as was the se with the other Australian colonies. There was much th of success and of failure; but it may be said that attempt was made in a true spirit of philanthropy, d that the result has been satisfactory if not at first umphant. Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Hutt,—now Sir William utt,—Colonel Torrens, and Mr. Angas were chief among ose to whom the colony is indebted for its foundation. he first vessels sent out were dispatched by the South stralian Company, of which Mr. Angas was the chair- n. They arrived in 1836, but the new-comers knew

nothing of the promised land before them. At the bottom of Gulf St. Vincent, lying off a toe of the land, as Sicily lies off from Italy, is Kangaroo Island. It is barren, covered with thick scrub, and deficient in water. No more unfortunate choice could have been made by young settlers. But here the first attempts were made, and here still linger a few descendants of the first pioneers, who live in primitive simplicity together. They have a town called Kingscote, on Nepean Bay. Mr. Sinnett, in his account of the colony, says that he was there in 1860-61, and that then there were about half-a-dozen houses, chiefly occupied by the descendants and connections of one old gentleman. Such was the fate of the earliest settlement formed by the South Australian Company.

But Nepean Bay was soon relinquished as the future home of the would-be happy colonists. Later in 1836 Colonel Light arrived, sent out as the surveyor-general by the government at home, and Captain Hindmarsh as the first governor of the new colony. There was still much difficulty before a site for the new town was chosen, and apparently much quarrelling. Adelaide, which was to be the earthly paradise of perfected human nature, was founded amidst loud recrimination and a sad display of bitter feelings;—but the site was chosen, and was chosen well, and the town was founded. Captain Hindmarsh, however, was recalled in 1838, as having failed in his mission, and Colonel Light died in 1839. Captain Hindmarsh was replaced by Colonel Gawler, who went to work with great energy in making roads and bridges, —and running the colony into debt over and above the funds on which it was empowered to draw. The colony was insolvent, and they who had advanced cash on bills drawn by the governor were for a while without their

noney. It seemed as though the great attempt would nd in failure. The colony, with a revenue of only £30,000, had attained an annual expenditure of £150,000 nd a public debt of £300,000.* Such was the condition f South Australia when Captain, now Sir George Grey, ucceeded Colonel Gawler. Under his influence the ex- enditure was checked, and money was lent by the British Parliament. From that time forward the colony lourished. The debt was repaid, and Elysian happiness as initiated.

The real prosperity of South Australia commenced ith the discovery of copper at the Burra mines in 1845. s I will say something of the great wealth which has ccrued to the colony from her copper in a following hapter, I will only remark here that as gold produced he success of Victoria, so did copper that of South ustralia. But the gold in the former was very nearly uinous to the success of the latter. In 1851 began the ush of diggers to the Victorian gold-fields, and so great as the attraction that for a time it seemed that the hole male population of South Australia was about to esert its home. I will again quote Mr. Sinnett: "Shipload fter shipload of male emigrants continued to leave the ort during many consecutive months, while thousands ore walked or drove their teams overland; the little- odden overland route becoming the scene of active affic,—the principal camping places being every night ghted up by the numerous camp-fires of parties of avellers. At the same time that the men went, the oney went with them. The banks were drained of oin, and trade partially ceased. Scores of shops were losed, because the tradesmen had followed their customers the diggings. The streets seemed to contain nothing

* *I take these figures from* Mr. Sinnett's work.

but women; and strong feelings were entertained that no harvest would be sown, and that, allured by the more glittering attractions of the gold colony, the small landed proprietors, who formed so important a section of our society, would permanently remain away, selling their land here for whatever trifle it would fetch." This is a strongly drawn picture of the state of all Australian society at the time. There was one general rush to the gold-fields, and men for a time taught themselves to believe that no pursuit other than the pursuit of gold was worthy of a man's energies. South Australia had no gold-fields, and therefore the current of emigration was all away from her. For a time the gloom was great. But the runagates soon found that everything was not bright in the rich land,—and they returned to their homesteads, many of them with gold in their hands. Though there was great terror in the colony when the exodus was taking place, the opinion is now general that South Australia gained more in wealth than it lost by the discovery of the Victorian gold.

South Australia is at present possessed of a representative government,—as are all the other Australian colonies, except Western Australia. But during the early years of her existence she, as well as the others, was subject to government from our Colonial Office at home. There was from the first a feeling averse to this, which no doubt greatly assisted in producing the troubles by which the early governors were afflicted. They who had been instrumental in founding the colony were hearty Liberals, attached to religious freedom, altogether averse to Established Churches, and anxious for self-rule. For men coming out in such a spirit, but coming out nevertheless with the aid and furtherance of the home government, there were of course trials and crosses. They

esired to rule themselves,—as the Pilgrim Fathers had one in Massachusetts. But the office in Downing Street ould not relinquish its authority to colonists who might visionary, and were certainly ambitious. On the other and, men who were disposed to devote their time and rtunes to a system of philosophical colonization were ot to feel that their scheme should not be made sub- ct to the interference which a convict colony might obably require. There were troubles, and those two st governors, Captain Hindmarsh and Colonel Gawler, ad hot work on their hands. Colonel Robe, who in 345 succeeded Captain Grey as governor, and who as military man felt that he was governing the colony on behalf of the Crown rather than on that of the colonists, ave great offence,—especially by providing State endow- ent for religion, a point as to which the founders of e colony had been particularly sensitive. But a good me was coming. When 50,000 inhabitants had settled emselves on the land, then would those inhabitants be ntitled to govern themselves; and then any governor ho might be sent to them from the old country would no more than that appanage of royalty which serves a binding link between the parent country and its fspring. Then they would make laws for themselves; en they would not have State endowment for clergymen ore than for doctors or lawyers;—then would their lysium have truly been initiated.

The work of governing the colony had indeed been mmenced with some little attempt at double govern- ent. There was a Board of South Australian Commis- oners in London, and when Captain Hindmarsh came t as governor, there was appointed a certain member this Board to *act as resident* commissioner in Adelaide, *d to report direct to the* commissioners at home. Colonel

Gawler and his successor Captain Grey held, however, the joint offices of governor and resident commissioner,—so that very little came of the arrangement as a check upon the power of Downing Street. In 1842 the office of resident commissioner was altogether abolished, and the Act of Parliament by which this was done provided for the appointment of a Legislative Council of eight, the whole of which, however, was to be nominated by the Crown. In 1850,—when the requisite population had been achieved, the colonists were allowed to elect two-thirds of the Legislative Council, the number of councillors being raised from eight to twenty-four. But this did not long satisfy the cravings of the people for self-government. In other Australian colonies,—especially in the neighbouring colony of Victoria,—demands for free constitutions were being made at the same time; and what colony could have a better right to be free than South Australia, established, as she had been, on philosophical and philanthropical principles?

The Council gave way to the people, and the governor gave way to the Council; but they did not at first give way enough. In 1853 they passed a bill,—subject to confirmation at home,—creating two houses of parliament, of which the Lower House,—to be called the House of Assembly,—should be elective. The members were to be elected for three years, subject of course to dissolution by the governor. But the members of the Legislative Council, to consist of twelve members, were to be appointed for life by the governor. It should be remembered by all who desire to study the form of government and legislative arrangement in these colonies, that members of the Upper House are nominated by the *Crown*,—and therefore, in fact, by the minister of the *day*,—in New South Wales and Queensland, but are

elected by the people in Victoria and South Australia. In 1853, however, when the Council in South Australia was sitting, with the view of framing a new constitution for the colonies, the question was still unsettled as to many of these colonies. Queensland had not commenced her career. In New South Wales it had been decided that the existing Legislative Council should pass a constitution, but that it should be one under which the future Upper House of the colony should be nominated by the Crown; and an Act to this effect was passed accordingly on 21st December, 1853. No doubt the proposed action of the sister colony was well known and well discussed in Adelaide, the party of the government feeling that a constitution which was supposed to suit New South Wales might well suit South Australia; and the colonists themselves feeling that, however willing the old-fashioned people of New South Wales might be to subject themselves after the old-fashioned way to government nominations, such a legislative arrangement was by no means compatible with the theory of self-rule, under which they had come out to the new country. A petition against the bill was sent home,—a petition praying that the assent of the Crown, for which it had as a matter of course been reserved, might not be given to it. The petition was supposed to represent the feeling of the colony, and the bill was therefore sent back for reconsideration. The Legislative Council was dissolved, and a new Council elected and nominated,—with sixteen elected and eight nominated members. This Council was obedient to the will of the people, and passed the constitution which is now in force. The new Legislative Council was to be elective, and not nominated; and the Governor was to be without the power of dissolving it. It was to consist of eighteen members, six of whom

should retire every four years,—so that when the arrangement came to be in full force, as it is now, every member would have a seat for twelve years. The elections were to be made by the country at large. At each election any man possessed of the franchise for the Upper House would vote for any six candidates he pleased, and the six having the majority of votes would come in as returned by the entire colony. When speaking in a future chapter of the acting legislature of the colony, I will give my reasons for disapproving of this form of election. It was adopted, and having the general approval of the colony, was confirmed by the Crown at home, and is now the law of the land. The second chamber was to consist, and still does consist, of thirty-six members, to be elected for three years each. An elector for the Council must possess a £50 freehold, or a leasehold of £20 per annum, or occupy a dwelling-house valued at £25 per annum. Manhood suffrage prevails in reference to electors for the Lower Chamber, it being simply requisite that the elector's name should have been six months on the roll, and that he shall be twenty-one. A member of the Council must be thirty-four years old, born a subject or naturalised, and a resident in the colony for three years. The qualification of a member for the Legislative Assembly is the same as that for an elector.

This constitution was proclaimed in the colony in October, 1856, and the first parliament elected under it commenced its work on April 22, 1857. Thus constitutional government and self-rule were established in South Australia. With such a parliament responsible ministers were, as a matter of course, a part of the *system*, and on 24th of October, 1856, five gentlemen *undertook* the government of the colony as chief secre-

ary, attorney-general, treasurer, commissioner of crown ands and immigration, and commissioner of public orks. From that day to the period of my visit to the olony, — April, 1872, — there had been no less than wenty-four sets of ministers; but the cabinet remained he same, with the five officers whom I have named.

CHAPTER II.

Adelaide.

ADELAIDE is a pleasant, prosperous town, standing n a fertile plain, about seven miles from the sea, with line of hills called the Mount Lofty Range forming a ackground to it. On 31st December, 1871, the city roper contained 27,208 inhabitants, and the suburbs, o called, contained 34,474, making a total of 61,682 ersons either living in the metropolis, or so closely in s neighbourhood as to show that they are concerned n the social and commercial activity of the city. On ne same date the entire population of the colony was 89,018. Adelaide alone, therefore, contains very nearly third of the life of the whole community of South ustralia. This proportion of urban to rural population, —or I may perhaps better say of metropolitan to non-netropolitan, — is very much in excess of that which enerally prevails in other parts of the world.

The same result has come of the immigration to the ther great Australian colonies, though not quite to the ame extent. The population of Melbourne and its uburbs up to the beginning of 1872 was 206,000, and hat of the colony was 755,000. The population of ydney and its suburbs was 136,000, and that of New outh Wales 500,000. In each case the population of *he one city with its suburbs* is between a third and a

fourth of that of the entire colony, and in each case the proportion of urban to rural population is unusually high.

It may, perhaps, be taken as a rule,—though a rule with very wide exceptions,—that the produce of a country comes from the industry of those who live out of the metropolis, and that they who live in the metropolis exercise their energies, and make or mar their fortunes, in the management of that produce. Politicians, lawyers, merchants, government officials, and even retail dealers, with the concourse of people who are got together with the object of providing for them, form a community which can hardly be said to be, itself, productive, though it gives to the products of a country very much of the value which they possess, and which they would not possess without such metropolitan arrangement. I do not know that any political economist has as yet cared to inquire what proportion of the population of a community should be metropolitan,—so that the affairs of the community might be ordered in the very best manner. Nor could such inquiry be made with any exact result, as the circumstances of countries and of towns vary very greatly; but the proportions of population as shown in the Australian cities above named cannot be taken as showing a healthy state of things. It goes towards proving that what we may perhaps call the pioneer immigration into these colonies has been checked,—a fact of which we have much other proof. The men who are here, and the men who come afresh, prefer the city, and eschew a life of agricultural labour. The nomadic race of miners will rush after tidings of gold, and will form communities of their own; but the fields of Australia, the vast territories of the continent which we would fain see bearing crops of wheat and Indian maize,

as do the vast prairies of the central States of America, do not entice the population. It will be said, and said truly, that if a people can find a living in a city, with all their wants supplied to them by caterers near at hand, why should such a people encounter the hardships of the backwoods,—or bush, as it is called in Australia? Why should not a man stay in town, if he can live in town? We all feel that as regards any individual man, the argument is good;—but we feel at the same time that cities without country to feed them cannot long be continued; and that a community with extensive means of management, and sparse powers of production, is like a human body without arms or legs. What is the use of the best stomach which nature ever gave to a man without the means of filling it?

It seems to be the case that immigrants coming to the colony stick too closely to the towns,—and are unwilling to encounter the rough chances of agricultural or pastoral life, as long as any means of living is open to them in the cities. The evil, if it be an evil, must cure itself as rural wages advance in proportion to city wages. In the meantime, it is worthy of remark,—and of speculation as to the causes of the fact,—that the city populations of Australia are excessive. As the excess in Adelaide is greater than elsewhere, I have raised the point while speaking of the capital of South Australia.

Perhaps no city, not even Philadelphia, has been laid out with a stronger purpose of regularity and order than has been shown in the founding and construction of Adelaide. Adelaide proper, as distinguished from North Adelaide,—which has been allowed to deviate somewhat from *the good* manner of the parent city,—*stands in exact conformity* with the points of the com-

pass. The streets all run north and south, or east and west. There are five squares,—or open spaces so designated,—one in the centre, and the other four at certain fixed intervals. At the extremities of the town, on the northern, southern, eastern, and western sides there are four terraces. That, however, on the eastern side has been allowed to take a devious course, as the city to the south is longer than it is at the north. But there is a precise regularity even in this irregularity. This terrace on the map of the town takes the form of a flight of steps, for nothing so irregular as a sloping or diagonal line has been permitted in the arrangement of the streets. To me the Quaker-like simplicity of such urban construction never renders easy any practical conception of the topography. I find it quite as easy to lose my way in Philadelphia or Adelaide as I do in the old parts of Paris, or in the meandering lanes of such a city as Norwich. I forget which is north and which west, and what set of streets run at right angles to what other set. I never was able to find my way about Adelaide. But for a man with a compass in his pocket, a clear calculating brain, and a good memory, the thing must be very easy. The northern half of the town is the West End. About midway on the Northern Terrace is Government House, and opposite to it is the Adelaide Club. The Houses of Parliament are close, on the same terrace. King William Street, the High Street of the town, runs at right angles from the North Terrace to Victoria Square, which is the centre of the city. Here, in King William Street, is congregated the magnificence of Adelaide,—comprising the Town Hall, the Public Offices, the Post Office, and various banks, and many of the most money-making shops.

The one building in Adelaide on which the town

ides itself,—and of which at the same time the is half ashamed because of the expense,—is the fice. I was gratified by finding that the colonies y were disposed to be splendid in their post- rather than in any other buildings,—for surely no other public building so useful. At Brisbane, was there, they were building a fine post-office. lney they had nearly completed a magnificent ice, of which I have spoken in its proper place. bourne I found a very large post-office indeed, gh, as I thought, one not very convenient to the And here at Adelaide the Post Office is the t edifice in the town. It is really a beautiful g, with a large centre hall, such as we had in as long as we could afford ourselves the luxury. e built up our hall, compelled by exigencies of nd money,—compelled as I think by a shabby to space and money. It will be long before the ies of Adelaide will be driven to perpetrate a architectural meanness,—for surely such a post- vill be more than ample for the population for year to come. I went over the building, and g something of post-offices, I regret to say that angements might have been improved by con- n with English officials. As regarded the building ilding, it is a credit to Adelaide, and would be ament to any city in Europe. The government are not magnificent,—but are pleasant, com- s, and sufficient. The Town Hall is a fine room, ms a portion of a very handsome building. In xuries as town-halls, large public concert-rooms, ball-rooms, and the like, the Australian cities beat *our own*. I do not say that there is any *n edifice on* the Australian continent as St.

George's Hall at Liverpool,—but then neither is there any town with half the number of inhabitants that Liverpool contains. Adelaide itself has less than 30,000, and I doubt whether there be any town in England with double that number which has such a chamber for public purposes as that of which I am speaking. I am sure there is none with four times the number that has a theatre so pretty, so well constructed, and so fit for its purpose as the Adelaide Theatre. Even little Perth with its 6,000 souls has a grand town-hall. In almost every municipality,—even in those of the suburbs of such a town as Adelaide,—halls are erected for public purposes, for speeches, balls, concerts, and the like. In this respect our children in Australia take after their cousins in the United States. In regard to banks also Adelaide flourishes greatly. I must not name any one in particular, lest it be thought that I am making return for accommodation given; but, such was their grandeur, that I felt of them generally that the banking profits in South Australia must be very great, or such edifices could not have been erected.

On the farther or southern side of the square are the Law Courts, as to which I was informed that that intended for the Supreme Court was not used as intended, being less convenient than an older building opposite to it. I did not go into either of them.

Adelaide is well provided with churches,—so much so that this speciality has been noticed ever since its first foundation. It was peculiarly the idea of those who formed the first mission to South Australia, that there should be no dominant Church; — that religious freedom should prevail in the new colony as it never *had* prevailed up to that time in any British settlement; *and that* the word dissent should have no meaning, as

e should be nothing established from which to dis-
e. In spite of all this the Church of England has
med a certain ascendancy, partly from the fact that
eral and worthy Englishwoman, now Lady Burdett
tts, endowed a bishopric at Adelaide; but chiefly
the indubitable fact that they of the Church of
land who have flocked into the colony have been
er in wealth and intelligence than those of any other
d. It would be singular indeed had it not been so,
ng that the country from which they came had for
uries possessed an established and endowed Church.
the very fact that the Church of England boasted
itself even in this colony a kind of ascendancy, and
other fact that the colony had been founded with
determination that there should be no such ascend-
, have together created great enmity among the
sects. While I was in Adelaide a motion was be-
parliament,—as to which I heard the debate then in
ress, — for taking away the right of precedency
nging by royal authority to the present bishop.
Houses had passed a bill, with the purpose of
ng away from the prelate the almost unmeaning
ilege of precedence. It had been reserved by the
rnor, with undeniable propriety, for the decision of
government at home. The Secretary of State for
colonies had returned a dispatch, intended to be
conciliatory, stating that the Crown would be happy
onsider any proposition made by the colony, but
the legislature of the colony could not be permitted
nnul the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to
t honours. But the matter was again argued as
gh a great injury had been inflicted. It was well
erstood by all men that in the event of a vacancy
e bishopric no successor would be appointed by the

Crown; and that any future bishop,—appointed as he must be by a synod of the Church,—would have conferred on him by his appointment no privilege of walking out of any room before anybody else. But such is the feeling of the colony in regard to religious freedom, and such the feeling especially in the city of Adelaide, that a politician desirous of popularity felt, not without cause, that a stroke of political business might be done in this direction. Of all storms in a teacup, no storm could be more insignificant than this. That the present bishop, who has the good word of everybody, should be allowed to wear to the last the very unimportant honour conferred upon him, would have seemed to be a matter of course. He has, since, resigned the right. It was, however, thought worth while not only to fight the question, but to re-fight it. The matter is worthy of notice only as showing the feeling of the people on the subject. I may here remark that Adelaide has been called especially a city of churches, so strong has been the ambition of various sects to have it seen publicly that their efforts to obtain places of worship worthy of their religion have been as successful as those of their sister sects. The result has tended greatly to the decoration of the town. Among them all, the Church of England is, at the present moment, by no means the best represented. A cathedral, however, designed by Butterfield, is now rising as fast as its funds will permit.

All round the city there are reserved lands, of which I may best explain the nature to English readers by calling them parks for the people. These reserves are of various widths in different parts, but are full half a mile wide on an average. They are now being planted, and are devoted to air and recreation. I need hardly

explain that they cannot as yet rival the beauty and the shade of our London parks:—but that they will do so is already apparent to the eye. And they will have this advantage,—which, indeed, since the growth of the town towards the west belongs also to our London parks,—that they will be in the middle, not on the outside, of an inhabited city. As Adelaide increases in population, these "reserves" will be in the midst of the inhabitants. But they will have also this additional advantage,—which we in London do not as yet enjoy, in spite of efforts that have been made,—that they will not be a blessing only to one side or to one end of the city. They will run east and west, north and south, and will be within the reach of all Adelaide and her suburbs. There are here also public gardens,—as there are in every metropolis of the Australian colonies. The gardens of Adelaide cannot rival those of Sydney,—which, as far as my experience goes, are unrivalled in beauty anywhere. Nothing that London possesses, nothing that Paris has, nothing that New York has, comes near to them in loveliness. But, as regards Australian cities, those of Adelaide are next to the gardens of Sydney. In Melbourne the gardens are more scientific, but the world at large cares but little for science. In Sydney, the public gardens charm as poetry charms. At Adelaide, they please like a well-told tale. The gardens at Melbourne are as a long sermon from a great divine,—whose theology is unanswerable, but his language tedious.

I have said that the city has a background of hills called the Mount Lofty Range,—so called by Captain Flinders when he made his first survey. The only pretension to landscape beauty which the city possesses is derived from these mountains. It was indeed said many years ago by one much interested in Adelaide, that she

was built on a "pretty stream." The "stream" is called the Torrens, after one of the founders of the colony, but I utterly deny the truth of the epithet attached to it. Anything in the guise of a river more ugly than the Torrens it would be impossible either to see or to describe. During eleven months of the year it is a dry and ugly channel,—retaining only the sewer-wards property of a river. In this condition I saw it. During the other month it is, I was told, a torrent. But the hills around are very pretty, and afford lovely views, and charming sites for villa residences, and soil and climate admirably suited for market gardens. As a consequence of this latter attribute Adelaide is well supplied with vegetables and fruit. By those who can afford to pay the price already demanded for special sites, beautiful nooks for suburban residences may still be obtained.

The city receives its water from an artificial dam constructed about eight miles from it, but the reservoir used when I was there had been deemed insufficient for the growing needs of the town. A larger dam, calculated to hold innumerable gallons, had been just finished as far as the earthworks were concerned, and was waiting to be filled by the winter rains. A tunnel had been made through the hillside for its supply,—so that it might water Adelaide and all her suburbs for generations to come. But generations come so quickly now, that for aught I can tell Adelaide may want a new dam and infinitely increased gallons before one generation has entirely passed away. If it be so, I do not doubt but that the new dam and all the gallons will be forthcoming. While speaking of water, I must acknowledge that during three months of the year water is a matter of vital consideration to the inhabitants of Adelaide. I was not there in December, January, or

February; but from the admission of inhabitants,—of Adelaideans not too prone to admit anything against their town,—I learned that it can be very hot during those three months. I liked Adelaide much,—and I liked the Adelaideans; but I must confess to my opinion that it is about the hottest city in Australia south of the tropics. The heat, however, is not excessive for above three months. I arrived in the first week of April, and then the weather was delightful. I was informed that the great heats rarely commence before the second week in December. But when it is hot, it is very hot. Men and women sigh for 95 in the shade, as they, within the tropics, sigh for the temperate zones.

But in all respects such as that of water,—in regard to pavements, gas, and sewers, in regard to hospitals, lunatic asylums, institutions for the poor, and orphanages,—the cities of Australia stand high; and few are entitled to be ranked higher than Adelaide. I had an opportunity of seeing many of these institutions, including the gaol inside the city and the gaol outside; and I saw some of them under the auspices of one who was perhaps better entitled to judge of them than any other man in the colony. It seemed to me that they were only short of absolute excellence. When I remembered how small was the population, how short a time had elapsed since the place was a wilderness, how limited the means, how necessarily curtailed were the appliances at the command of what we should call such a handful of men,—and when I remembered also what I have seen in our own workhouses at home, what I have heard of some of our own gaols, what but a few years since prevailed in many of our own lunatic asylums,—I could not but think *that the people* of Adelaide had been very *active and very beneficent.* Of course every new town

founded has the advantage of all the experience of every old town founded before it. It is easier for a new country, than for an old country, to get into good ways. No man has visited new countries with his eyes open without learning so much as that. But, not the less, when the observer sees 60,000 people in a new city, with more than all the appliances of humanity belonging to four times the number in old cities, he cannot refrain from bestowing his meed of admiration. I will now finish my remarks about this town with saying that no city in Australia gives one more fixedly the idea that Australian colonization has been a success, than does the city of Adelaide.

CHAPTER III.

Agriculture.

I HAVE said that Adelaide has been called a city of churches. It has also been nicknamed the Farinaceous City. A little gentle ridicule is no doubt intended to be conveyed by the word. The colony by the sister colonies is regarded as one devoted in a special manner to the production of flour. Men who spend their energies in the pursuit of gold consider the growing of wheat to be a poor employment. And again the squatters, or wool-producers of Australia, who are great men, with large flocks, and with acres of land at their command so enormous that they have to be counted, not by acres, but by square miles, look down from a very great height indeed upon the little agriculturists,—small men, who generally live from hand to mouth,—and whose original occupation of their holdings has commonly been supposed to be at variance with the *squatters'* interests. The agriculturists of Australia *generally* are free-selecters, men who have bought bits

here and bits there off the squatters' runs, and have bought the best bits,—men, too, whose neighbourhood, for reasons explained before, has not been a source of comfort to the squatters generally. In this way agriculture generally, and especially the growing of wheat-crops for sale, has not been regarded in the colonies as it is certainly regarded at home. The farmers of South Australia are usually called "cockatoos,"—a name which prevails also, though less universally, in the other colonies. The word cockatoo in the farinaceous colony has become so common as almost to cease to carry with it the intended sarcasm. A man will tell you of himself that he is a cockatoo, and when doing so will probably feel some little justifiable pride in the freehold possession of his acres. But the name has been given as a reproach, and in truth it has been and is deserved. It signifies that the man does not really till his land, but only scratches it as the bird does.

Nevertheless,—and in spite of any gibes conveyed in the words farinaceous, cockatoo, or free-selecter,—South Australia is especially blessed in being the one great wheat-producing province among the Australian colonies. The harvest of 1870-71,—which was, no doubt, specially productive, but is quoted here because it is the last as to which, as I write, I can obtain the statistics,—gave 6,961,164 bushels of wheat, which, at 5*s.* 3*d.* a bushel, the price at which it was sold in Adelaide, produced £1,827,305. In the same year, that is, up to 31st December, 1871, which would take the disposal of the crop above mentioned,—for wheat, it must be remembered, in Australia is garnered in our spring, and not in our autumn,—104,000 tons of bread-stuff *were exported, and* sold for £1,253,342. So that *the colony consumed* not a third of the breadstuffs which

it produced. The population of the colony up to 31st December, 1871, was 189,018 persons. So that the value of the breadstuffs exported in that year was something over £6 12*s.* 6*d.* a head for every man, woman, and child within it. With such a result, South Australia need not be ashamed of being called farinaceous.

It must not, however, be supposed that the year above quoted shows a fair average. The following table will give the amount of wheat produced, with the area from which it was produced, the average crop per acre, and the value per bushel, together with the amount of breadstuff and grain exported for the year above named, and the four preceding years:—

WHEAT PRODUCED.		AREA UNDER WHEAT.		AVERAGE CROP PER ACRE.	
Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Acres.	Year.	Bsh. lb.
1866-7	6,561,451	1866-7	457,628	1866-7	14 29
1867-8	2,579,894	1867-8	550,456	1867-8	4 40
1868-9	5,173,970	1868-9	533,035	1868-9	9 42
1869-70	3,052,320	1869-70	532,135	1869-70	5 43
1870-71	6,961,164	1870-71	604,761	1870-71	11 30

VALUE PER BUSHEL.		VALUE OF BREAD-STUFFS AND GRAIN EXPORTED.	
Year.	s. d.	Year.	
1866-7	4 5	1867	£1,037,085
1867-8	7 1	1868	568,401
1868-9	5 0	1869	890,343
1869-70	5 3	1870	470,828
1870-71	5 0	1871	1,254,444

In the following year, 1871-72, the decrease of production was very great. There were 692,508 acres under wheat-crops in the colony. The produce was only 3,967,079 bushels, and the average produce per acre 5 bush. 44 lbs. What was the amount of wheat exported up to the end of 1872 I am unable to say. In reference to the above table, I must call attention to the fact that the exported articles of which the value is given *are not* only breadstuffs, but breadstuffs and grain, and *the sums* named as their value are, therefore, in excess

of the real value of the wheat. But the other grain exported is very little. In the year 1871 the total value of the agricultural exports was £1,254,444, whereas the value of the breadstuffs was £1,253,342, leaving the value of all other grain at £1,102. The amount is not sufficient materially to affect the comparison made in the above table. Of this wealth of wheat sent away from South Australia, the other Australasian colonies, including New Zealand, consume the greatest quantity, New South Wales being the best customer. In 1867, when the average produce of the last harvest had exceeded fourteen bushels to the acre, Great Britain was the largest buyer. The price realised was only 4*s.* 5*d.* a bushel, and it was worth while to send it home;—but, generally, South Australia is the granary of the colonies around her. She sends supplies also, small indeed in amount, to Cape Town, the Mauritius, and New Caledonia, and even to India and the ports of China.

So far I have ventured to say what South Australia does in producing wheat, but I dare not venture to say what she might do. English farmers will not think much of a system of farming which does not produce an average crop of above ten bushels to the acre,—nor will he think much of an average price of 5*s.* 4*d.* a bushel. The English farmer could hardly pay his rent, and manure and crop his land, and get in his harvest and take it to market, with a total gross result of £2 13*s.* 4*d.* an acre, —more especially as he would only repeat his wheat crop once in every four years. The answer to this is, of course, that the circumstances of the farmer in the two countries are very different. In South Australia the farmer pays no rent, does not manure his land, pays but little wages either for getting his crop in or out of the land, and grows wheat every year, instead of once in

four years. The operations of the two men are distinctly different, and must continue to be different. But it may be well worth while to inquire whether the South Australian farmer might not learn a lesson in his business which would greatly increase its profits.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the cockatoo of South Australia is a very bad farmer,—and that he is so because he has hitherto been able to make a living by bad farming. With reference to the amount of produce, it must be admitted at once that the existing combination of soil and climate in the colony, though it has shown itself to be favourable to the growth of wheat in a country of vast area, is not only unfavourable to heavy crops, but is prohibitory in regard to a high average. Every now and then an average produce of fourteen bushels to the acre may be obtained, as in 1864 and 1867,—and there are districts in the colony in which the produce has on such years exceeded twenty bushels to the acre. In 1867 the average in the Robe district was twenty-three bushels to the acre. But there are, at any rate at present, sources of injury to the wheat crop which make the business of farming very precarious. In one year the red rust will almost destroy the crop, in another year,—as happened during the harvest-time of 1872,—the year last past,—a cloud of locusts will come and eat up wheat and grass throughout the country. That the red rust may be conquered by skill in farming at some future time is probable. And it is not impossible that altered circumstances of soil and climate, produced by population and cultivation, may be unfavourable to the locusts. With the drawbacks as they at present exist, the average produce of wheat must continue to be small. But it might probably be very much higher than it is.

Nearly two-thirds of all the cultivated land of the

ony are under wheat every year. In 1870-71 there
e 959,000 acres under cultivation in the colony; of
se, 200,000 acres were under crops other than wheat;
,000 were fallow, or laid down with artificial grasses;
l 605,000 were under wheat. So that every acre of
tivated land is expected to bear wheat twice in three
rs. With us the best approved rotation of crops
uires the land to give wheat only once in four years.
in fact the expectation and practice of the regular
katoo farmer demands a crop of wheat every year
m his land. The figures above given include, of
rse, cultivated land of all kinds,—and in all hands.
ere are agriculturists in South Australia who are en-
vouring to give the soil a chance of being permanently
ductive, and who sow wheat at any rate not more
n every other year. There are, too, growers of vines,
potatoes, and hay,—all of whom add their quota to
total of cultivated acres, and deduct materially from
favourable side of the above figures. The ordinary
katoo knows nothing of the word fallow, and attempts
produce nothing but wheat. Year after year he puts
his seed upon the same acreage, and year after year
takes off his crop. He is the owner of a section of
d which may be something between one hundred and
hundred acres,—which is his own, though he has
probably as yet paid for it the entire price. He does
work without any attempt to collect manure, or to
e back to the land anything in return for that which
takes from it. He even burns the stubble from his
d, finding it to be easier to do so than to collect it,
t it may rot, and then be ploughed in. He ploughs
land, sows it, and then takes off his crop by a machine
led a *stripper, which as it* passes over the land drags
corn out of the ear, leaving all the straw on the

ground;—so that the corn is, as it were, threshed as it is taken off the ground. His labour, therefore, is very small. This last manipulation of the grain,—which would be impossible in England, where the climate demands that the grain should become dry before it can be taken from the ear,—is made practicable in South Australia by the great heat prevailing when the wheat is cut. The effect of all this is deleterious both to the man and to the land. The man has but one farming occupation,—that of growing wheat. He ploughs, and reaps, and sells; and ploughs, and reaps, and sells again. He employs his energies on the one occupation, with no diversification of interest, and with nothing to arouse his intelligence. Consequently the South Australian cockatoo is not a pushing or a lively man,—though it should be acknowledged on his behalf that he is orderly, industrious, and self-supporting. But the effect on the land is worse than that on the man,—for the land clearly deteriorates from day to day. No practical farmer will require figures to make him believe that it is so;—but the figures show it. The yield of wheat in South Australia has always been poor, but it has greatly fallen off. In six years, from 1860-61 to 1865-66, it averaged about twelve bushels an acre, and in the six subsequent years it averaged only nine bushels an acre.

The farmer usually owns the land. The system of tenant-farming is by no means unknown in the colony, but it is not popular either with tenant or landlord. The landlord obtains none of those side-wind advantages from his position as owner,—advantages over and above the rent,—which are so valued in the possession and are so dear to the imagination among ourselves. There is *neither* political power nor political prestige attached to *such* ownership. It has no peculiar grace of its own as

it has with us. The privileges of a squirearchy are quite unknown in the colonies, or if they exist at all, belong to great graziers and squatters,—or to men who hold large tracts of land in their own hands, and not to those who let their acres. There are game laws,—for the protection of birds in the close season,—but there are no game laws on behalf of the landowner. There is nothing picturesque attaching to the receipt of rural rents, no audit dinners, no dependency grateful alike to the landlord and to the tenant, no feeling that broad acres confer a wide respect. What percentage can a man get for his money if he let land to farmers, and what security will he have for his income? Those are the considerations, and those only, which bear upon the question. As well as I could learn details on the subject,—as to which no accurate information can be obtained because the arrangement is not sufficiently general to produce it,—a landlord may let cleared and enclosed land, worth for sale in the market about £6 an acre, for 10*s.* an acre;—and he may thus obtain, if he get his rent, something more than nine per cent. for his money. This would do very well as a speculation, if he were sure or nearly sure to get it, as are our landlords at home. But when bad years come the tenants do not pay. It is regarded almost as a matter of course that the payment of agricultural rents is to depend on the season. If the land refuse her increase, why is the loss to fall on the tenant harder than on the owner? The owner, no doubt, has the law on his side; but the tenant understands very well that when the land is barren, the law will be barren also. Unless his rent be remitted in such years, or at least in part remitted, he simply gives up his holding and goes elsewhere,—with his children and his plough, or without *his plough if the landlord* or other creditor should have

seized it. The result is that the landlord is satisfied to remit half the rent in bad years, and the whole rent in very bad years. The further and final result is that the system of letting land to tenant farmers is unpalatable and unprofitable,—and therefore unusual.

The farmer therefore owns the land. He has bought it probably on credit, beginning simply with savings made from two or three years of labour, and owing the price, or the greater part of it, to the government. I will presently say a word as to the system of deferred payments for land which prevails. His homestead is too frequently bare and ugly, without garden or orchard or anything like an English farmyard around it; but it is substantial, and it is his own. The price of the land has probably been something between 20*s.* and 40*s.* an acre,—and he calculates that by growing wheat under the existing agricultural circumstances around him, he can live, and bring up his family, and free himself from his debt within ten years. If he be steady and industrious he can do so,—and he does do so. He does not confine his industry to his own farm; but in shearing-time he shears for some large squatter, or he keeps a team of bullocks and brings down wool to the railway station or to the city, or perhaps he takes a month's work at some gold-digging,—for even in South Australia there are gold-fields, though they be not prominent among the resources of the colony. In this way he lives and is independent;—and who will dare to find fault with a man who does live, and becomes independent, and makes a property exclusively by his own industry? His life is not picturesque, but he cares nothing for that. His children go to the public school,—at which he pays perhaps 2*s.* a week for three of them,—and they have plenty to eat and drink. His wife has plenty to eat and drink,

and has a decent gown, and material comforts around her. He has plenty to eat and drink, and a decent coat if he cares for it. And he is nobody's servant. Nevertheless he is a very bad farmer, and unless he mend his ways soon the land which he now ploughs will cease to give him the plenty which he desires. It may not improbably come to pass that a considerable portion of the land occupied by farmers for the purpose of growing wheat, will, under the present system, cease altogether to give sufficient increase on the seed to pay even for the labour of ploughing and reaping. In that case it will go back to pastoral purposes and the farmer will remove elsewhere,—as has already happened in certain districts of the colony. But, though the area is immense, the area which will produce wheat is limited; and thus the well-being of South Australia may be much affected, unless a less wasteful use be made of the land.

The laws under which land has been sold in South Australia have been altered frequently,—as has been the case in all the colonies. The free-selecter, of whom I have been speaking, probably bought his land from the Crown at some price varying from 20*s.* to 40*s.* an acre, and was allowed four years,—or latterly five years,—to pay the sum, being charged interest at the rate of five per cent. Before entering upon his land he had only to pay one year's interest in advance. He has thus been enabled to buy his land with money produced by the crops he has grown. In other words, he has paid simply a rent for a term of years, and at the end of that term the land has become his own. And this system, though never as far as I am aware clearly expressed in words, seems to have been the ruling policy as to the alienation of agricultural land in all the Australian colonies. If *the new settler will* come and live upon the land, will

till it and fence it, and pay for its use, during a sufficient time to prove that he is in earnest as to the use of it, the land shall be his. The idea of drawing from the land the funds required for government, so that taxation should be unnecessary, which was once dear to the minds of many colonists, has gradually faded away. Great as has been the possession of the land, it has not been a source of wealth available for any such purpose. If only it could be used to attract serviceable immigrants, if only it could be equitably distributed among men who would really use it,—not take it for the purpose of bargaining and gambling with it,—if only it could be converted into homes for people who would accept such homes and thus become a nation, the land would then have done all that it should be expected to do. This seems to have been the real gist of Mr. Wakefield's scheme, and to this theory all the land ministers of the various colonies have been tending; though, as it seems, their progress thitherwards has for the most part been an unconscious progress. But in this attempt to bestow the land there has still been the necessity of exacting Mr. Wakefield's "sufficient price." The land, if absolutely given, would be worthless. If it were to be had for nothing, it would be worth nothing. There must be a price upon it such as shall in some degree fix its value, and induce settlers to use with some economy and discretion that which can only be obtained for a stipulated sum of money. But the fund so raised has never been a source of wealth to a colony, and the colonies now cease to look for wealth in that direction. If the money raised will suffice to pay for surveys, to make roads, in any way to prepare the land for those *who* are to come and take it, all will be done that should *be* expected. "For a term of years you shall pay the

colony such a rental as will enable the colony to make its land serviceable to you;—and then it shall be yours." Such, in fact, are the terms offered to free-selecters.

When I was in South Australia a new land bill was under the consideration of parliament,—as, indeed, I found new land bills either just in operation or under consideration wherever I went in the colonies. The matter has been one which has required many changes, and as to which no two colonies have been able to agree. As I think it probable that the bill proposed to the South Australian parliament will become law, I will endeavour to explain that instead of referring in detail to the law existing at this moment;—premising that here, in this chapter, it is my purpose to refer to the proposed measure only as far as it relates to the sale of lands to intending farmers, or free-selecters.

I must first explain that South Australia is a country peculiarly subject to drought,—more so than are the other colonies,—and is especially so subject in the interior. This is a fact so well acknowledged, that all who know the colony are aware that wheat can only be grown in certain parts of it. In order that the government might have some guide to tell it what portions of the land it would be expedient to throw open to agriculturists, and from what portions it would be expedient to exclude them as being unfit for agricultural purposes, a line has been drawn. The surveyor-general, Mr. Goyder, has drawn an arbitrary line across the map of South Australia, which is now known as Goyder's line of rainfall. It is anything but a straight line. It runs from a point on the eastern confines of the colony somewhat south of the city of Adelaide, in a direction north-west nearly as high as to the top of Spencer's Gulf. Then *with irregular curves it comes* south half way down the

Gulf, which it crosses below Moonta and Wallaroo, and then runs north by east till it loses itself in unknown deserts. North of this line, or rather beyond it, no farmer should locate himself. South of this, or within it, he may expect sufficient rain to produce wheat. Of course, Mr. Goyder gives no guarantee as to precise accuracy, but I found it to be admitted in the colony that the line had been drawn with skill and truth. North again of the dry and rainless region is a tropical country, which is subject to the usual conditions of tropical latitudes;—but on that Mr. Goyder's line has no bearing, and of that district I shall not speak in attempting to describe the agricultural condition of South Australia as now existing. All land within Goyder's line not hitherto sold, will, by the proposed law, which is called the "Waste Land Alienation Act," be opened to purchase, and on that land would-be farmers in South Australia are invited to locate themselves. The lands will be thrown open to selection, and will be purchasable on a credit of sixteen years, at an interest which is computed to amount to $3\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. per annum for that term. The settlement of the price to be paid will be in this wise:—The government will fix the upset price of all the areas offered for sale at what is supposed to be the present maximum value of the best land in the area,—which, for the sake of illustration, we may call £2 an acre. I was informed that £2 an acre is in fact the price at which the majority of the land will probably be first offered. It will then be in the power of any would-be purchaser to take it at that price. If there be no such purchaser, the commissioner of lands will, on the part of the government, reduce his demand by 5*s.* to 35*s.*, and then to 30*s.*, then to 25*s.*, and if necessary to 20*s.*,—at intervals of perhaps a fortnight. Below 20*s.*

n acre the price will not be reduced. According to he nature of the land will be the desire of purchasers o buy it at 40*s.*; or to wait till it be offered at 30*s.*, or t 20*s.* It is impossible not to see that even this plan is open to the machinations of "land agents;"—land sharks, I have heard them sometimes uncourteously called. The land agent, whose special business it is to know who are disposed to buy this or that section of land, will offer to renounce his own intention of buying, we will say at 30*s.*, on receiving 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre on completing the purchase for his victim at 25*s.* The victim will feel himself obliged to pay the black-mail, as hundreds of victims have done, and the land shark,—I hope he will excuse my discourtesy,—will receive a very large payment, for which he will perform no service whatever.

And the payment of the money is to be arranged in this wise. On making his application for the land, at any fixed price,—say 30*s.* an acre,—the applicant will pay into the Treasury 10*s.* per cent. on the whole purchase-money. Presuming the land in question to be 200 acres in extent, the price would be £300, and he would pay down £30 as interest in advance for three years;—and would then be allowed to go in upon the land, and occupy it. He must effect certain improvements, and cultivate a certain portion, and must either live on it himself or by deputy. If he have not done so at the end of three years, he forfeits his £30. If he have done so, he pays another £30, and goes on for another three years. These payments are in place of interest, so that at the end of the six years he will have paid no part of the principal. He may then pay the whole principal, if he has it, and the land will be his; or he may postpone the payment for ten years, paying

2s. each year for each pound of the purchase-money, with interest at the rate of 4 per cent. for the further credit given. The payment for these last ten years would average something under £40 per annum, but would recur yearly. The purchaser of the 200 acres would thus pay £30 as advanced rent on entrance; £30 again as advanced rent after three years; a rental of £40 a year annually for ten years further; and then the freehold would be his own.

The selecter may buy under this bill any amount from 1 acre up to 640 acres;—but in cases in which the land lies untowardly for division into exactly 640 acres, he may select as much as 700. If he should attempt to select more, to make applications in other names, or to defraud the land commissioner as land commissioners have been defrauded in all the colonies since the alienation of public lands commenced, terrible is to be the example made of that would-be free-selecter. All the money advanced by him for first payment or payments will be forfeited to the Crown.

The new land bill which I have attempted to describe does not vary very much from that now in operation. Its chief objects are, perhaps, to extend the area of land opened for selection, and to obviate the existing necessity of personal residence. No doubt the proposed terms are somewhat easier than the present to the proposed selecter. I think, however, it is obvious that the terms offered are such as should be attractive to men with small capitals, who are able to work with their own hands. To such I say again, that the South Australian "cockatoo," though he be a cockatoo, is an *independent* man, living on his own freehold in plenty, and knowing no master.

On the other hand, I would not advise farmers to ry South Australia with the intention of having their ork done for them by paid labourers. Wheat at 5*s.* 4*d.* bushel will not pay for labour at the rate of 22*s.* a week, which may be quoted as about the rate at which rural labour may be obtained. When it is wanted throughout the year, as it would be wanted by any grower of wheat intending to farm his land as land is farmed at home, the labourer is paid about £40 per annum, and also receives his diet, which is worth to the farmer about £18 per annum, making a total of £58 per annum. Twenty-two shillings a week throughout the year amounts to £57 15*s.* per annum. No doubt the South Australian free-selecter does pay something in wages during his harvest, unless he be specially blessed in the matter of sons who can work; but he pays wages at no other time, and then the demand is higher,—rising probably to 5*s.* a day, or 4*s.* with diet. For this expenditure he provides himself by wages earned by himself in the manner I have already explained.

In writing of the agricultural products of South Australia, I should be wrong not to mention the vineyards of the colony. On 31st December, 1871, there were 5,823 acres under vines, which during that year had produced 896,000 gallons of wine, being at the rate of 154 gallons to the acre. I was informed that South Australia produces more wine than any other colony, but have no figures by me which would enable me to test the accuracy of the information. There can be no doubt that the climate is admirably suited for the growth of the grape, but the cultivation of it has not hitherto proved to be remunerative. It seems, indeed, to be retrograding. In the year ended 31st March, 1871, there were 6,127 acres bearing vines. In the subsequent year

the number had been reduced to 5,823,—from which it appears that 304 acres of vineyard had been grubbed up.

I cannot say that I liked the South Australian wines. They seemed to me to be heady, and were certainly unpalatable. I came across none that I thought comparable to the Victorian wine of the country made at Yering. I was told that I was prejudiced, and that my taste had been formed on brandied wines, suited to the English market. It may be so;—but if so, the brandied wines suited to the English market not only suit my palate, but do not seem to threaten that a second or third glass will make me tipsy. The South Australian wines had a heaviness about them,—which made me afraid of them even when I would have willingly sacrificed my palate to please a host.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the making of wine is an art which, as far as we know, has not been learned quickly in any country. The perfection to which Spanish, German, and French wines are now brought, has probably come as much from observation and experience as from the peculiarity of soils or climate. There are many who believe that Italian, Greek, and Hungarian wines will soon rival those of France. If so, the wines of Australia and the United States will probably do the same, when the cultivation and manufacture shall have been long enough in existence for experience and skill to have been created.

In the meantime the one thing desirable in reference to Australian wines, is that the people of the country should drink the produce of the country, not only because it is wholesome, but also because it is cheap. The *usual* drink now consumed at public-houses is brandy,—

led,—which is a villainous, vitriolic, biting com-
of deadly intoxicating qualities, and is sold at
e glass. Though I found the South Australian
o be "heady,"—drinking it after the fashion in
wine is drunk,—it is a beverage absolutely inno-
comparison with the spirits which the publicans
nd it can be sold with profit at *2d.* a glass,—the
eing a small, false-bottomed tumbler, about as big
ordinary claret-glass at home. The wine can be
y the grower fit for use at *2s. 6d.* a gallon, and the
in the hands of the publican would run to twenty-
obblers" of wine. This would give a profit satis-
, we may suppose, even to an Australian publican.
bler is the proper colonial phrase for a drink at a
house. It would be very desirable that the men
country should acquire a taste for drinking their
roduce. As men have done so in all vine-growing
es, they will probably do so in South Australia,
hen that time shall come the growing of grapes
profitable.

eady the acreage under vines is very large. It
be remembered that grape-growing,—as is also
owing,—is an agricultural pursuit requiring great
, and that the produce from the acre is very large.
ver with a hundred acres of vines on his hands
obably as great a stake in his vineyard as a farmer
thousand acres of wheat has in his farm. In
Australia the acreage under vines exceeded that
d to gardens, orchards, potatoes, lucerne, or artifi-
asses. I annex a table, showing the number of
nder cultivation in South Australia in the year
31st March, 1871, with the number devoted to
lass of growth,—premising with reference to the
mention of wheat, that cereals throughout all the

colonies are grown for forage for cattle. They are cut green, and made into hay, and then stacked.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA, YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1871.

Total average under cultivation . . . . . 957,482 acres.

	Acres.		Acres.
Wheat	604,400	Flax	18
Barley	22,474	Potatoes	3,37[illegible]
Oats	6,184	Orchards	2,76[illegible]
Peas	3,713	Gardens	4,13[illegible]
Hay	139,807	Vines	6,18[illegible]
Wheat, cut green for forage	2,598	Other crops	81[illegible]
Lucerne	3,441	Fallow land	153,9[illegible]
Permanent artificial grasses	3,712		

The proportion of wheat to that of any other crop grown,—which is so great as to make all the other cereals sink into utter insignificance,—shows very plainly what the South Australian farmer regards as his special business.

CHAPTER IV.

Wool.

WHATEVER interests may for the moment be uppermost in the thoughts and words of Australian legislators and speculators, wool still remains and for many years will remain the staple produce of the country at large. In Victoria, indeed, wool is for the present second to gold. And in South Australia wool is second to wheat. The wheat grown in South Australia during eleven years up to 1871 has fetched an average of £1,283,630 per annum, whereas the wool exported from the colony,—in which is included a small amount exported from South Australian ports but grown in other colonies,—has fetched an average of £987,194 per annum. The wool *produced* has, in fact, been worth no more than three-*fourths* of the wheat grown. But the produce of a coun-

try which is exported always receives more attention than that which is consumed at home. Who thinks anything of the eggs that are laid around us, or of the butter made? In calculating the wealth of the country, who reckons up the stitching of all the women, or even the ploughing and hedging and ditching of the men? The calico and cutlery and cloth which we export, and the ships which take these things away, are to our eyes the source of our commercial wealth. I remember being told in America that in the year before the war the hay produced in the single State of Maine had been worth more than all the cotton exported from all the cotton States in that year. South Australia is perhaps in a safer condition than any other of the Australian colonies, because she can feed herself. But not the less on this account does she regard wool as the staple of the country. It is the business of Australia to supply fine wools to the world, and South Australia thinks that she performs her part of that business very well. South Australian farmers simply live comfortably and die in obscurity by growing wheat; but South Australian squatters make splendid fortunes or are ruined magnificently by growing wool.

In the last two years things have been going well with the wool-growers; but for some years before that things were not going well, and there was much magnificent ruin. Owing to the drought to which the country is subject, and to the very limited rainfall in the large northern pastoral districts, squatting,—which is always precarious,—is perhaps more precarious in this colony than in others. In 1865 there was a great drought. In 1864 very little rain fell in the districts north of Goyder's line, and in 1865 none fell. When 1866 came many of the South Australian squatters were ruined,—and others

were broken-hearted. The records of this time are terrible to hear. It was not so much that sheep were perishing from want of water. The wells did not run dry, and in that district no squatter trusts to surface water for his sheep to drink. But there was not a blade of grass, and the animals were starved. The owners did not know in what direction to stir themselves. Hundreds of thousands of sheep were driven south in order that they might find pasturage as they wandered. It must be understood that a squatter may drive sheep anywhere over unpurchased land, — that is, over land which is simply leased by other squatters from the Crown. But he is bound to give notice of the coming of his flocks, and to move them along at the rate of not less than six miles a day. It has not been an uncommon thing in any of the colonies for small squatters, when short of grass, to have their sheep driven about over hundreds of miles,—say in a wide-spread circle, so that at last they should be brought home again,—in order that thus they might be fed. In ordinary years this is not regarded as a thoroughly honest kind of grazing. It is difficult to prevent the usage, as the owner, though he must give notice of the coming of his sheep, is not bound to explain why they are on the road. They may have been sold and be travelling to the purchaser, or they may have been sent out for sale. But though the practice cannot be stopped, it is known and understood, and the large squatters who are the sufferers are often indignant. But in 1865-66 the larger the flocks were, the more urgent was the necessity which compelled the owner of them to send them forth, lest they should be starved at home. Mob after mob of wretched animals streamed down from the then barren plains, 300 miles north of Adelaide, to the southern districts near the sea and

round the lakes,—perishing by the way, or doomed to perish when they got there. Those who started first,—whose owners, either by themselves or their servants, had been the first to see the necessity of going,—were saved. I heard one squatter's overseer tell how he had taken some 10,000 sheep down to the sea-side and brought them all back again. When I suggested to him, before his tale was at an end, that he had lost many of them,—I had heard more then of what had been lost than of any that were saved,—he answered me with indignant pride. He at that time had been a hero. But there are few such heroes. As the mobs followed, one upon the heels of another, the grass disappeared before them. They were driven hither and thither, till they died; but there was no grass. And it is easy to conceive the sort of welcome which these intruders would receive at such a time,—how the shepherds would be desired to move on, and do their six miles a day whatever might become of them afterwards, how hated they would be, coming with their flocks like locusts upon a country that was bare enough at that time even without such strangers! And the life of those who followed their flocks week after week and month after month could not itself have been very pleasant. Among Australian graziers young men are accustomed to this work. It is no uncommon thing that a flock of sheep,—they call them mobs in Australia,—perhaps four or five thousand strong, should have to travel six hundred miles, either being brought home by a purchaser, or taken to some city for sale. There must be necessarily five or six men to accompany them, with seven or eight horses, and probably a cart. They kill their own meat as they go; but they carry their flour and tea, and perhaps a tent. They enter no houses and *spend little or no money.* They travel on their six miles

a day;—and though their work be very tedious, it is endurable as long as each day's work is a portion of a successful commercial operation. But at this terrible time there was no idea of commerce. As they went along, the country was strewed with the bodies of the useless animals, and the only effort was to move on to some district giving still sufficient grass to keep the flock alive. Thousands were slaughtered to reduce the numbers in the scanty herbage, and I heard of one flock owner who at last adopted the course of drowning a thousand in the sea. In Adelaide a large flock was offered to a merchant, who was also a squatter, at 1*s.* a head. He offered 6*d.* for them, and rejoiced afterwards that his bidding was not taken. At that time sheep were simply an encumbrance. There was imposed on each owner the duty of trying to save his property, but without the hope that he should succeed in doing so. It was a bad time then in South Australia, for in the same year,—the season of 1865-66,—the wheat crop was also low. But the price of wool was high;—and therefore, though many squatters fell,—they who were already weak on their legs, or in debt,—the strong men won their way through, and survived their losses.

After that came a great depression in the price of wool, and the colony was again at a low ebb. In March, 1866, unwashed South Australian wool fetched 1*s.* 2½*d.* a pound. In March, 1869, it fetched 8*d.* In looking at the difference between these times, the reader must remember that the squatters' liabilities were the same with the low price as they had been with the high. The normal squatter generally owes money to his banker or merchant, for which he pays some rate of interest varying from 8 to 11 per cent.,—and not unfrequently a percentage even higher than that. I have endeavoured

in the former volume to explain his condition in this respect. With unwashed wool at 1*s.* 2*d.* or 1*s.* 3*d.* a pound not only will his interest not trouble him, but his debt will diminish apparently without any effort on his own part. But with wool at 8*d.* his debt, if it be at all heavy, will grow. The sum he realises from his wool will not pay the expenses of his men, keep himself, and pay his interest. After a year or two with such a result the merchant will feel that he is becoming insecure and will foreclose. Then the squatter is no longer a squatter, but takes probably to the care of sheep for some more fortunate man. In March, 1869, 8*d.* a pound was the price for unwashed or greasy South Australian wool; in 1870 it was 8½*d.*; in February, 1870, it was again 8*d.* These had been three bad years, and many men were either ruined, or on the brink of ruin; but in July, 1871, it had risen to 11*d.* a pound; in September, 1871, to 1*s.* 0½*d.*; and in March, 1872, it was as high as 1*s.* 2*d.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* Twenty thousand sheep is by no means a large flock. On the contrary a squatter with no more than 20,000 is a small man. But a difference of 6*d.* in the pound on unwashed wool from 20,000 sheep amounts to about £3,000. It will be exactly that sum if each sheep give 6 lbs., which is a high but not an excessive average for unwashed wool. The expense of maintaining a run with 20,000 sheep, including the cost of the squatter's own home, may be put at £2,000 per annum, being £100 for every thousand sheep. It will at once be seen how rich the poor man may at once become by such a change in the circumstances of the wool trade. And it will be seen also how speculative and precarious such a business must be. The wool-grower of Australia watches the price list for England with an intense and natural *anxiety*. He can do little or nothing to regulate

the market. He cannot understand why it is that the fluctuations should be so great. But he obeys the market, too often with an implicit confidence which it does not deserve. When prices are high he increases his flocks,—and with his flocks he increases his debt also. He is almost negligent how much he may owe if wool be high. The temptation is so great that if his credit be good he will almost assuredly increase his flock to the bearing capability of his run. Three years of high prices will, perhaps, make him a rich man. But a fall again,—a speedy fall,—will bring him to the dust. It must be remembered that many of these men are dealing not with 20,000 sheep, but with more than five times that number; sometimes with more than ten times that number. When the large squatter really owns his flocks,—when he owes nothing to his merchant,—then even at the worst of times, with wool even at 8*d.*, he does well; and in that condition, when wool rises he becomes a millionaire. Things, as I write now, are all rose-coloured with the squatters;—but it may well be that before these words are published there shall come a change.

I went about two hundred miles north of Adelaide, so that I might get outside of Goyder's rain-line, and see something of the country in which rain is so scarce. I cannot say that the country is attractive to a visitor. There is very little to gratify the eye, and almost nothing to satisfy the taste. The South Australian free-selecter makes for himself a plentiful and I hope a happy home;—but he does not surround himself with prettiness or even with neatness. The greatest part of our journey, however, was beyond that free-selecter's limits, through a country that was brown, treeless, and absolutely uninteresting. I was frequently told that the run through which I was passing was excellently well adapted for

sheep, and that the squatter who owned it was doing well. But I saw no grass and very few sheep. A stranger cannot but remark, throughout the pastoral districts of Australia, how seldom he sees sheep as he travels along. As in this country they do not carry above one sheep to ten acres, and as the animals would hardly be observed if each sheep maintained solitary possession of his own ten-acred domain, the result is not wonderful. But the traveller expects to see sheep and is disappointed. It may be that he will also expect emus and kangaroos, and he will generally be disappointed also in regard to them. Kangaroos I certainly have seen in great numbers, though by no means so often as I expected. An emu running wild I never did see. Tame emus round the houses in towns are very common, and of emus' eggs there is a phlethora. On this journey I saw hardly any living animals. We went with four horses, at about six miles an hour, through a brown ugly district, which was bounded, nearly the whole way, by low hills, and on which there is no sign that timber has ever grown there. We put up for the night at the station of a non-resident squatter, in seeking which we lost our way in the dark. For an hour or so I felt uneasy, thinking that we should have to "camp out," without any preparation made for such a pic-nic;—but at last we were attracted by lights, and a party of us who had gone forth on foot reached the house. We met there a young man who was waiting for a companion, with whom he intended to make his way from the centre of Australia to the western coast. It seemed that his party would be lamentably deficient in means for such an expedition, and that he had hardly the energy for such an undertaking. In this work of Australian exploring men have to carry flour and tea with them, and to be satisfied to live upon flour and

tea,—to protect themselves from the blacks,—to run the risk of failing water,—and to be constant, from month to month, without excitement to keep their courage warm. Our new acquaintance seemed to be going because he might as well go as let it alone;—but it may be that under that deportment were hidden all the energies of a Marco Polo, a Columbus, a Sturt, or a Livingstone. We fared sumptuously at the absent squatter's station, and went on our way the next morning.

I had not then seen a salt-bush country, though I subsequently passed through such a region in a part of New South Wales, of which I said a few words in speaking of that colony. Here, in the salt-bush of South Australia, there was not a blade of grass when I visited it. The salt-bush itself is an ugly grey shrub, about two feet high, which seems to possess the power of bringing forth its foliage without moisture. This foliage is impregnated with salt, and both sheep and cattle will feed upon it and thrive. It does not produce wool of the best class,—but it is regarded as being a very safe food for sheep, because it rarely fails. At the period of my visit the country was in want of rain; and I was assured that when the rain, then expected, should fall, the surface of the ground would be covered with grass. I can only say that I never saw a country more bare of grass. But for miles together,—over hundreds of square miles, —the salt-bush spreads itself; and as long as that lives the sheep will not be starved. Sometimes this shrub was diversified by a blue bush, a bush very much the same as the salt-bush in form, though of a dull slate colour instead of grey. On this the sheep will not feed. There is also a poisonous shrub which the sheep will eat,—as to which there seemed to be an opinion that it

was fatal only to travelling sheep, and not to those regularly pastured on the country.

The run which I visited bears about 120,000 sheep,—and they wander over about 1,200,000 acres. For all these sheep, and for all this extent of sheep-run, it is necessary to obtain water by means of wells, sunk to various depths from fifty to one hundred and twenty feet. The water can always be found,—not indeed always at the first attempt, but so surely that no land in that region need be deserted for want of it. The water when procured is invariably more or less brackish;—but the sheep thrive on it and like it. The wells are generally worked by men, sometimes by horses; but on large runs, where capital has been made available, the water is raised by wind-mills. Such was the case at the place I visited. The water is brought up into large tanks, holding from 30,000 to 60,000 gallons each, and from these tanks is distributed into troughs, made of stone and cement. These are carried out in different directions, perhaps two or three from each tank, and are so arranged that sheep can be watered from either side. If therefore there be three such troughs, the sheep in six different paddocks can be watered from one tank,—the well being so placed as to admit egress to it from various paddocks, all converging on the same centre. In this way 10,000 sheep will be watered at one well. As these paddocks contain perhaps 40 square miles each, or over 25,000 acres, the animals have some distance to travel before they can get a drink. In cold weather they do not require to drink above once in three days;—in moderate weather once in two days;—in very hot weather they will lie near to the troughs and not trouble themselves to *go afield* in search of food. On the run *which I visited there* were twenty of these wells, which,

with their appurtenances of tanks, and troughs, and wind-mills, had cost about £500 each;—and there had been about as many failures in the search of water, wells which had been dug but at which no water was found;—and these had not been sunk without considerable expenditure. It may therefore be understood that a man requires some capital before he can set himself up as a grower of wool on a large scale in South Australia.

The state of the meat market in England is already affecting the South Australian squatter very materially,—as also the squatters in the other colonies. I left England in May, 1871, and at that time Australian meats had only begun to make their way in the London markets. In speaking of the Queensland meat-preserving companies as I found them in August and September, 1871, I spoke almost with doubt of the trade;—for there was doubt when I was in Queensland. But when I was in South Australia in April, 1872, the trade was established, and squatters were already calculating that the carcase should not in future be made to give way altogether to the wool. Meat, which is in round figures 10*d.* a pound in London, costs but 2*d.* a pound in South Australia. Then arises the question whether meat can be carried half-way round the globe in a good condition, or whether its nature makes it impossible that good mutton should be imported from Australia as well as good wool. That bad mutton may be imported,—that is, mutton which has been changed from good to bad by processes of cooking and packing previous to exportation,—we have known for some time. That any Australian meat has as yet reached the English market in a state that would enable it to compete with English meat, *I do not* believe. I feel sure that none has done so. *But* every mail during the latter months of my sojourn

in Australia brought out tidings that the trade was on the increase,—so that when I left the colonies sheep were worth 3*s.* or 4*s.* a head more for butchers than they were twelve months earlier, when I arrived at Melbourne. Three shillings a head is certainly not much on a sheep in England,—where the animal at twelve months old may be worth from £3 10*s.* to £4. But in Australia, where 10*s.* a head is even now a good price, the difference is very large. When I reached Melbourne in July, 1871, I was told at a meat-preserving company that they could not afford to give more than 6*s.* a sheep. All that goes home to England is, after all, but a morsel to the markets of that little island; but to this wide continent the preparation of that morsel is most important.

In the district of which I am speaking the sheep are all "paddocked,"—that is to say, kept in by fences,—so that shepherding is unnecessary. I hope that I have already made clear to my reader the difference between shepherding sheep and paddocking sheep. I found that brush fences had been made at the rate of about £23 a mile. A brush fence, made of loose timber and wood, is not so neat as a wire fence, but it is equally serviceable for sheep;—and when fences have to be made by hundreds of miles, the difference in expenditure is considerable. A wire fence that will keep in sheep and lambs, can hardly be put up for less than £40 a mile. Five wires would suffice for sheep, but the lamb requires a lower wire to restrain his innocence. Nothing, I think, gives a surer proof of the wealth of the Australian colonies generally, than the immense amount of fencing that has been put up within the last ten years. A run of twenty miles square, or containing 400 square miles,

equal to 256,000 acres, is by no means excessive in size, though it is about as big as a small English county. The squatter who intends to paddock his sheep instead of hiring shepherds to go about with them, has to divide his area into perhaps twenty different paddocks. Should he do this, with the smallest possible amount of distance of partitions, he would have to make 240 miles of fencing. At the station which I visited we had come again upon timber, though the country was by no means thickly wooded. But when there is no timber near, the cost of fencing is more than doubled.

It is of course understood that the normal squatter is a tenant of the Crown. In Victoria the great wool-growers now own for the most part their own lands;—and the purchase of pasture-lands has become general elsewhere under the pressure of the free-selecter. But the genuine squatter is he who sits upon government land for which he pays a rent to the colony; and in South Australia such is still the condition of the larger wool-growers. Outside of Goyder's range,—which is the South Australian squatter's proper region, the rental varies according to the value of the land and the nature of the pasture. A computation is made of the number of sheep the land should carry, and the squatter is charged *6d.* a sheep on the best land, *4d.* on the second best, and *2d.* a sheep on the poorest. If he should keep more sheep than the number computed, he pays at the same rate for the excess. But for the number computed he must pay, even though he should not keep so many. I found that this arrangement gave satisfaction even to the squatters,—a result which has certainly not been common in the Australian colonies generally. On runs *within* the line of rainfall, this rule as to the rate at *which* sheep are pastured does not prevail, but such

runs have generally been purchased, and are the freehold property of the wool-growers, or are occupied as commonage by the owners of neighbouring freeholds.

I feel it to be impossible to describe with accuracy the effect upon pastoral speculators of a rise in the price of wool amounting to 80 per cent., the whole difference going to profit. My readers may perhaps be able to imagine the present condition of the squatter's mind. "Non secus in bonis Ab insolenti temperatam Lætitia," are words which not unfrequently rise to the minds of the observer. It is, however, very much to the advantage of the colony at large that this prosperity should be continued. When wool is low every interest in Australia is depressed. Even mining shares do not go off so readily under the verandahs when the pockets of the squatters are not full of money.

I also visited a large cattle-station in the south of the colony, on the eastern side of the lakes. It belongs to a rich Scotch absentee landowner who sits in our parliament, and I will only say of it that I think I ate the best beef there that ever fell in my way. Like other things beef must have a best and a worst, and I think that the Portalloch beef was the best. I heard that there was beef as good,—perhaps even better,—up at a large cattle-station far north; but the information reached me from the owner of the northern station who was with us at Portalloch. As I found his information on all other subjects to be reliable, I am bound to believe him in this. If it be so he must be the very prince of beef-growers. On the road from Adelaide to the lakes,—on the lake side of the Mount Lofty hills,—we stayed a night at the little town of Strathalbyn. Afterwards, on my route back to Victoria, which I made by steamer *from Port Adelaide to* Macdonnel Bay, and thence over-

land across the border, I stayed also at the little town of Gambier-Town, under Mount Gambier. I mention these places because they were the cleanest, prettiest, pleasantest little towns that I saw during my Australian travels. I would say that they were like well-built thriving English villages of the best class, were it not that they both contained certain appliances and an architectural pretension which hardly belong to villages. When the place in question is dirty, unfinished, and forlorn,—when the attempt at doing something considerable in the way of founding a town seems to have been a failure,—the appearance of this pretension is very disagreeable. But at Strathalbyn and Gambier-Town there had been success, and they had that look about them which makes a stranger sometimes fancy in a new place that it might be well for him to come and abide there to the end. They are both in South Australia. Perhaps I was specially moved to admiration because the inns were good.

The country around Mount Gambier is very pretty, and un-Australian. There are various lakes,—evidently the craters of old volcanoes,—lying high up among hills. And among them and about them the grass is green, and the ferns grow wild,—much to the disgust of the owners of the land, upon whom they have lately come as a new infliction. And the trees stand about in a park-like fashion. The country here was some time since given up to agriculture, and the Gambier-Town people were proud of their wheat. But the grass grows again now,—artificial grass, and a large herd of Lincoln sheep is in fashion,—partly from the increased price of mutton, but chiefly because at this moment the long *coarse* staple of the Lincoln wool is high priced. The weight of wool given by these sheep is very much greater

than that of the Merino. Squatters say just at present that the Lincoln sheep pay better than the Merino, where the land will carry the former. I doubt, however, whether this state of things will last.

I was told, when in the neighbourhood, that the farmers from Gambier-Town had gone across the border into Victoria, tempted by the terms on which free-selecters there were allowed to buy land. Many no doubt had done so, settling themselves in the western district of that colony. But when I was again in Victoria, I was told that there was another exodus of farmers commencing, and that men were going back to South Australia under other temptations offered by the South Australian laws. Considering the condition of the population and its sparseness, considering also the great blessing of settled prospects, I could not but feel daily how great was the pity that there should be six different sets of Australian laws for the people of the six colonies. There are in all about 1,700,000 of them, and they agree to be united on no subject.

I will venture here to allude to a matter very far removed indeed from the general scope of this book. Before leaving England a friend of mine had put into my hand a volume of ballads, which had been sent home to him from Australia, called "Bush Ballads, or Galloping Rhymes." He told me that the author had been a young Scotch gentleman who had gone out young, but had not done well. He had taken to a sporting life, and had then fallen into a sad melancholy, and had—died. I read the ballads and was greatly struck by their energy. It was evident that the writer of them had lived out of the literary world, and that he had lacked that care and spared himself that labour which criticism and study will *produce, and which* are necessary to finished work;

—but of the man's genius there could be no doubt. There was one called "Britomarte," which alone entitled him to be called a poet. I found that he had lived in this neighbourhood, near to Mount Gambier, and that he had been well loved by many friends. For a while he was in the South Australian parliament, but parliamentary work had not suited him. He was given to the riding of racers,—and was prone to write about horses and the race-course. In the literary traces which I found of him in the neighbourhood, there was but scanty allusion to other matters, except to racing, and to the melancholy, thoughtful, solitary, heart-eating life which a bushman lives. His horse had been his companion when he was alone,—and when he got back to the world horses were his delight. They are seldom safe companions for a man prone to excitement. I heard wondrous tales of the courage of his riding. As a steeplechase rider he was well known in Melbourne;—but few seemed to have heard of him as a poet. It is as a poet that I speak of him now. His name was A. L. Gordon.

CHAPTER V.

Minerals.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA is a copper colony. Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland are pre-eminently golden. Tasmania is doing a little business in gold, but by no means enough to give her importance. Western Australia has lead-mines, though as yet she has derived but little wealth from them; she also is waiting for gold, hoping that it may yet turn up. South Australia is undoubtedly auriferous. Not only have specks of gold

been found as in Western Australia, but diggers have worked at the trade, and have lived upon it, and the industry is still continued. At a publican's house I saw bottles of gold, which he made it a part of his trade to buy from diggers. At a certain bank in Adelaide I saw a cabinet with drawers half full of gold, which it was a part of the business of the bankers to buy from publicans, or other intermediate agents. But this was all digger's gold, not miner's gold,—gold got by little men in little quantities from surface-washing. Of gold mines proper there are none as yet in the colony. That there will be such found and worked up in the northern territory, within the tropics, is now an opinion prevalent in Adelaide. Whether there be ground for such hope I have no evidence on which to form an opinion; but should this be the case, the northern territory will probably become a separate colony. Of this, however, I shall have to speak again in another chapter. Up to the time of my visit to Adelaide gold to the value of three-quarters of a million sterling had as yet been found in South Australia. This, of course, is as nothing to the produce of the three eastern colonies, and therefore South Australia is not hitherto entitled to consider herself as a golden land.

But what she has wanted in gold she has made up in copper. And in some respects the copper has, I think, been better than gold, as affording a more wholesome class of labour. There is less of gambling in the business,—less of gambling even among the shareholders and managing people, and infinitely less temptation to gamble among the workmen. The fact that the metal must be dealt with in large quantities, that vast weights must be moved, and that heavy machinery must be employed, that *no man* can find enough to support him-

self for six months by a stroke of luck and carry it away in his waistcoat pocket, gives a sobriety to the employment which the search after gold often lacks. It is quite true that latterly the great gold discoveries of Australia have needed works as ponderous, shafts as deep, and machinery as costly, as any other description of mining enterprise; but, nevertheless, the enormous wealth which may be represented by a small quantity has a direct tendency to create a speculative spirit in the minds of all employed. The miner who earns his £2 10s. a week by blasting a quartz reef may work as steadily, and certainly does work as hard, as he who is picking up coal or copper-bearing dirt, but he is conscious all through that it is gold upon which he is working, and his imagination, aroused by the richness of the metal he is seeking, is ever pushing him on to personal speculation;—till the goal before his eyes is not the few hundred pounds which he certainly could save by industry as a miner, but the fortune which he might possibly make by some happy circumstance in his favour as a speculator. The circumstance now and again does occur; but the result is not always happy. There is much less of such incentive to gambling among copper mines;—though it is not altogether absent, for copper mines are also worked upon tribute.

Tho Kapunda copper-mine is the oldest in the colony, having been discovered in 1843, by two gentlemen engaged in squatting operations. It was considered to be a great day in the colony when the first ore was raised from this mine on January 8, 1844. The Kapunda mines are still worked; but their celebrity was soon eclipsed by the famous Burra Burra mine, and has now been altogether cast into the shade by the mines at Wallaroo and Moonta. I did not visit Kapunda, but

was told that the town itself is prosperous and well ordered.

The Burra Burra copper-mines, if not the next discovered in South Australia, were the next of any magnitude, and were for some years the great source of South Australian mining wealth. They have had a much wider fame than those of Kapunda. They are about ninety miles nearly due north from Adelaide, and they have the advantage of a railway for the whole distance. The one great railway of the colony runs from Adelaide to Kooringa, the name of the town close to which the Burra Burra mines are situated, with a branch to Kapunda, of which place I have already spoken. Copper therefore may be said to have made the existing railways of the colony. The copper at Burra Burra was first found by a shepherd, named Pickitt, in 1845. What became of Pickitt I never heard; but two companies were at once formed for the purchase from the government of 20,000 acres under special survey. This was the land in which the copper was known to lie, but its exact whereabouts was still a mining mystery. Of these two companies one was called the Nobs, as being specially aristocratic; the other, which was plebeian, were the Snobs. They combined, as neither could raise sufficient money alone, and the government could not or would not grant a special survey under a fixed amount which either separately was unable to pay. The land was then divided, and the two companies drew lots. The Snobs got the northern portion and all the copper, and the Nobs were driven to resell their moiety for pastoral purposes. Where the copper did lie, it lay absolutely on the surface. There was as it were a rock of copper, so that deep sinking was not necessary. During the first six years of the mine's history 80,000 tons of ore were

shipped to England, giving a profit of nearly half-a-million sterling. The company had begun with a capital of only £1,500 over and above the sum expended on the purchase of the land. Those were the palmy days of the Burra Burra mines, of which we used to hear much in England.

In 1851 the miners, attracted by the new gold of the next colony, rushed away to the Victorian gold-diggings, and the Burra Burra were almost deserted. But after a time the men returned, and English miners were got over from Cornwall, and the success was continued. In 1859, 1,170 persons were employed there. But gradually the surface copper was worked out, and the great attraction of other and still richer mines at Wallaroo and Moonta paled the ineffectual fire of Burra Burra. For a time the works were almost ceased. When I visited the place in 1872 new operations under a new management had commenced, and many in the colony believed that a complete recuscitation would take place. There were, however, not a great number of hands employed, and the works going on,—which were on a large scale,—seemed to be preparatory to copper production rather than themselves productive. There are three towns adjacent to these mines, Kooringa, which I have already named, Redruth, and Aberdeen. Thrown together they make one broken, meandering, unfinished street, which is by no means tempting to the ordinary traveller. It is hard to say how these things arrange themselves; but the wealth of the great Burra Burra mine certainly has not succeeded in making a great Burra Burra city.

But Wallaroo is now the greatest name in South Australian copper-mines, and Moonta is second to it. Between *Gulf St.* Vincent and Spencer's Gulf there lies a large

outstretching territory, bearing nearly as close a semblance to a man's leg as does Italy, called Yorke's Peninsula. At the top of this, at the part of the leg farthest from the foot, close on the shore of Spencer's Gulf, and therefore on the outside of the leg, is Wallaroo. Here, previous to 1860, a squatter held a station for sheep, which even for that purpose was by no means encouraging. As a spot to be inhabited by men and women nothing could be more dreary or unfortunate. There was no water, and even the wells when dug gave forth water so brackish that it could not be used. The vegetation was stunted and miserable. The ground was sandy and barren. Here, on 17th December, 1859, a shepherd, named Boor, found a piece of copper, and brought the tidings to his master. Within a few months £80,000 had been advanced for working copper mines by a mercantile firm in Adelaide. The squatter was in the way to become a very rich man, and the shepherd had become a mining hero. In the very next year another shepherd, named Ryan, found another piece of copper at a place called Moonta, about ten miles from Wallaroo, on the same sheep station,—and this was at once worked by the same persons. This other shepherd was also enriched, and the squatter became a millionaire. Perhaps few mines were ever opened in which there has been a quicker, and at the same time a steadier, mercantile progress, than in those of Wallaroo and Moonta.

There are five distinct towns, all created by these mines, standing within ten miles of each other, containing together about 17,000 inhabitants;—and previous to 1860 there was no house in the district but a wretched cottage, hardly better than a hut. The two townships laid out by government are Kadina, near to the Wallaroo mines, *and Moonta, close* to those bearing that name.

But these mines had the inestimable benefit of
near the sea;—and now there is a third town,
Port Wallaroo, from which the copper is shipped,
both to Kadina and to Moonta by railway. Port
roo is a thriving harbour, and is perhaps the larg
the five, as here are built the smelting works at
the ore is turned into copper. For a time the or
sent over to Swansea and was smelted there,—but
two companies became rich and powerful, smelting
were opened, and the copper is now sent to Engla
bars. But the miners do not live either at Kadin
Moonta Town, or at Port Wallaroo. They have
habitations for themselves round the very mouths
shafts, and in this way two other vast villages
sprung up, called Wallaroo Mines and Moonta
Very singular places they are,—consisting of grou
low cottages, clustering together in streets, one
being added on to another as the need for them
not built with any design such as is usual in the
of new countries, but created by the private ente
of the inhabitants,—and in fact put up in opposit
the law. The surface is government land lease
specially for mining purposes and not for building
poses. No one is entitled to build on it. There ar
townships, duly laid out in accordance with the
close by, on which any one may build who desi
live there, purchasing his lot for the purpose i
proper way. But the workman's need to be nea
work has been too strong for the law, and these t
much bigger than the towns of the townships p
have established themselves.

In no instance is the centralizing tendency o
government in young countries and amidst scanty
lations more visible than in their management of

towns; and it never struck me more forcibly than at Wallaroo and Moonta. It is either necessary, or the government thinks that it is necessary, that everything should be arranged for the new-coming inhabitants, and that they should be called upon to manage nothing for themselves. Roads and bridges are made from the taxes. The land is divided out into its sections by the government. Any comer may buy his section at a certain price, and may build his house,—but he must deal with the government officers and must build his house according to specification. The idea, no doubt, is not only compatible with freedom of action, but is intended to encourage it, and springs from a theory of democratic equality. It is the duty of the government to see that one man does not ride over another, that the smallest and the poorest may have their share of the public wealth of the community,—that as far as possible there shall be no very small men and no very big men. The Utopian politician travels as far as he can away from the despotism of patriarchal rule, but he travels in a circle and comes back to it. The minister, though he be chosen by the people, becomes a despot; and like other despots, he is forced to rule so that he may please his favourites. The favourites of the minister in a democratic community are they who can support him in parliament; and on their behalf he finds himself too often forced to read the law either this way or that. In these mining townships the land sold for building had been sold with certain protective privileges. They who bought were not only entitled to keep shops, but were encouraged to buy land by the assurance that no shops should be kept by others within a certain distance outside the township. Consequently no miner's wife can buy an ounce of tea, or a yard of ribbon, or a delf cup,

without going out of the bigger concourse of people to the lesser to make her purchase; nor can the miner, if he fancies that the prices at Kadina or at Moonta are too high for him, try the question by opening a rival shop for himself in his own immediate locality. In these large mining villages nothing can be bought and nothing sold. In reality the man when he has constructed a house has not even a house to sell. He should have built it in the official town if he desired to avail himself of his property.

The matter is mentioned here chiefly because I thus get an opportunity of alluding to general interference of government in matters which with us are altogether beyond its scope. No doubt such interference is necessary in new communities. Government must do more when nothing has already been done, than it can do with an old established nation. It must make roads. It must apportion the land. It must take upon its shoulders for awhile the duties which fall afterwards upon local officers. But the tendency is to centralize power, and to put a privilege of interfering into the hands of individuals, which privilege can be and is improperly used for political purposes, and which to an observer from an old country seem to be antagonistic to liberty. I do not know that the miners at Wallaroo and Moonta suffer very much from their restricted rights. I do not think that they know that they suffer at all. But I groaned for them in spirit when I found that not one among them could put up a penn'orth of barley-sugar for sale in his own cottage windows. Such restriction would very quickly create a rebellion in England.

I went down a mine at Wallaroo, finding it always to be a duty to go down a shaft on visiting any mining locality,—and I came up again. But I cannot say that

I saw anything when I was down there. The descent was 450 feet, and I felt relieved when I was once more on the surface. I walked below among various levels, and had the whole thing explained to me;—but for no useful purpose whatever. It was very hard work, and I think I should have begged for mercy had any additional level been proposed to me; as it was, I went through it like a man, without complaint,—and was simply very much fatigued. As I rose to the air I swore I would never go down another mine, and hitherto I have kept my vow. I found that miners working for simple wages could earn about £1 18*s.* a week, and that men on tribute would realise something more,—perhaps about £2 5*s.* The "tribute" men undoubtedly worked harder, as they were toiling on their own behalf, reaping the advantage of their increased labour. In speaking of the Victorian gold mines, I have endeavoured to explain the system of tribute,—by which the miner is enabled to share both in the profit and in the risk of the speculation. No doubt the result in the raising of copper is the same as in the finding of gold; but the transaction is by no means equally speculative. The man who works for gold on tribute may find none, and be called upon not only to work on, but also to defray expenses. Whereas the miner on tribute in a copper mine does not go into the affair till it is known that the copper is there. According to the percentage of ore which is extracted, his earnings will be higher or lower;—but his earnings are assured, and, as the result of the arrangement, by working harder than he would otherwise work he simply earns more than he would otherwise earn.

At the Wallaroo mines I found a set of black natives employed on the surface work, at regular wages of 4*s.* 4*d.* a day, or 26*s.* a week. There were about ten of

them, and I was told that they had been there for three months, and had been as regular in their attendance as white men. This was the only instance I found in Australia in which I myself came upon any number of these Aborigines in regular and voluntary employment. I have seen a man at one station and a woman at another as to whom I have been told that they were regarded as part of the regular establishment,—but it always seemed that their work was of a fitful kind. I learned also that in one or two of the colonies, in Western Australia and in Queensland, they are drilled and used as policemen for the control of their own countrymen;—but such service as this I can hardly regard as steady, regular work. Here the experiment was said to have answered for the period that I have named. I came across one of these men, who was supposed to be a little ill, and therefore not on duty at the moment. He was dressed in a very genteel manner,—with clothes softer and finer than a white miner would wear even when on a holiday. He was very gentle and civil, but not very communicative. He bought clothes with his money, he said, and food,—and the rest he put away. He did not resent the impertinence of my inquiries, but was not quite willing to gratify my curiosity. My desire was to learn whether he had realised the advantage of laying up and permanently possessing property. I doubt whether he had, although he did mutter something as to putting away his wages. He seemed much more willing to talk about the cold in the head under which he had been suffering than of his general condition in life.

At the smelting works of Wallaroo men were earning higher wages than in the mines;—something like an average of £2 10*s.* a-week;—but their hours of labour were longer. The miners work day and night by shifts

of eight hours each. The smelters work also throughout the twenty-four hours,—but they work only in two sets. I should think that twelve hours by a furnace must be worse than eight below ground. The smelters, however, probably do not keep at it during the whole time. The smelters I found had, almost to a man, come from Wales, whereas so many of the miners were Cornishmen as to give to Moonta and Wallaroo the air of Cornish towns.

Coal for the smelting is brought from Newcastle, in New South Wales; but the inferior ore is sent to other smelting works at Newcastle,—so that the ships which bring the coal may go back with freights. The copper therefore is sent to the European markets, not only from Port Wallaroo, but also from Newcastle.

When I was in the colony in April, 1872, copper, which in April, 1871, had been worth only £74 per ton, rose to £105,—so that the happy owners of mines in a working condition were revelling in a success not inferior to that of the squatters. Copper and wool were both so high that the fortune of the colony was supposed to be made. I found that there were no less than 70 "reputed" mines in the colony at the close of the year 1870, of which 38 were reported to have been then at work. But sundry even of these 38 were not supposed to be remunerative. Many of the 70 so-called "reputed" mines are mere mining claims, which are held under government as possible future speculations. Those which are distant from the sea and distant also from railways cannot be worked with a profit, let the ore be ever so rich. The cost of the carriage destroys the wealth of the copper. At present when men talk of the mining wealth of South Australia they allude to Wallaroo and Moonta.

I have said that these places are joined together by a railway,—*but they* are not joined to any other place

by rail. The traveller to Wallaroo is forced to go
Adelaide either by coach or by steamer round the G
I was taken there by one of the great copper mi
authorities of the colony, and we elected to go by co
in order that I might see something of the country.
coach was a mail-coach, with four horses, run
regularly on the road every day;—but on our re
journey we were absolutely lost in the bush,—co
coachman, horses, mails, passengers and all. The
was trying a new track, and took us so far away
the old track that no one knew where we were. At
we found ourselves on the seashore. Of course it
be understood that there was no vestige of a road
pathway. Travellers are often "bushed" in Austr
They wander off their paths and are lost amidst
forests. In this instance the whole mail-coach
"bushed." When we came upon the sea, and no
could say what sea it was, I felt that the adventure
almost more than interesting.

CHAPTER VI.

The Northern Territory.—Telegraph and Railway.

THERE are not a few in the colonies who de
that South Australia, as a name for the colony w
uses it, is a misnomer. Nearly the whole of Victor
south of nearly the whole of South Australia. Adel
is considerably to the north of Melbourne, and but
little to the south of Sydney. Consequently those foo
English people at home are actually making the stupi
mistakes! Letters have been addressed to Melbou
New South Wales, South Australia. The story is
current, and is often told to show the want of geograph
education under which the old country suffers. I h

ot, however, been able to trace the address to later ears, and at any time between 1837 and 1851 the etails as given by the letter-writer were only too correct. Melbourne did belong to New South Wales, and certainly as in the most southern district of Australia. But if he name South Australia was bad, or falsely describing he colony, when first given, it is infinitely worse now. When the proposed confines of the young settlement lay round Spencer Gulf, and Gulf St. Vincent, and Encounter Bay, which armlets of the sea break up into the land rom the eastern extremity of the Great Australian Bight, —as the curve in the sea line of the southern coast of he continent is called. The new colonists had settled hemselves, or, when the name was chosen, were propos- ng to settle themselves, at the centre of the south coast, nd the name was fair enough. But since those days outh Australia has extended herself northwards till she as made good her claim up to a line far north of that hich divides Queensland from New South Wales, and ow she is supposed to run right through the continent p to the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Indian Ocean, so hat she thoroughly divides the vast desert tracts of Western Australia from the three eastern colonies, Queens- nd, New South Wales, and Victoria. As far as area is oncerned, she is at present as much northern as southern. n some of our maps the northern half of these territories s separated by a line from the southern, as though it ere a separate colony;—but it has had no name of its wn yet given to it; its lands are at the disposition of he government of South Australia; its very few inhabit- nts are subject to South Australian laws; and it is in ct a part of South Australia. It contains over 500,000 quare miles; but, with the exception of one or two very *mall settlements on the* coast, it has no white popula-

tion. The Aborigines who wander through it have been little disturbed, and nothing was known of it till the great enterprise of running a telegraph wire through it from south to north had been conceived and commenced. Now the northern territory has come into fashion, men talk about it in the colonies, and it is becoming necessary that even here in England the fact should be recognised that there is such a land, which will probably before long demand to be instituted as a separate colony.

The telegraph posts and wires by which the Australian colonies are now connected with Great Britain are already an established fact. This line enters the Australian continent from Java, at a point on the northern coast called Port Darwin. At Port Darwin there is a small settlement called Palmerston, around which land had been sold to the extent of 500,000 acres when I was in the colony, and this has been selected as the landing-place of European news. The colonisation of the northern territory is thus begun,—and there can be little doubt but that a town, and then a settlement, and then a colony, will form themselves.

When the scheme of the telegraph was first put on foot the colony of South Australia undertook to make the entire line across the continent,—the submarine line to Java and the line thence on to Singapore and home to Europe being in other hands. It was an immense undertaking for a community so small in number, and one as to which many doubted the power of the colony to complete it. But it has been completed. I had heard, before I left England in 1871, that an undertaking had been given by the government of South Australia to finish *the* work by January 1, 1872. This certainly was not *done*, but very great efforts were made to accomplish it,

and the failure was caused by the violence of nature rather than by any want of energy. Unexpected and prolonged rains interfered with the operations and greatly retarded them. The world is used to the breaking of such promises in regard to time, and hardly ever expects that a contractor for a large work shall be punctual within a month or two. The world may well excuse this breach of contract, for surely no contractor ever had a harder job of work on hand. The delay would not be worth mention here, were it not that the leading South Australians of the day, headed by the Governor, had been so anxious to show that they could really do all that they had undertaken to perform, and were equally disappointed at their own partial failure.

The distance of the line to be made was about 1,800 miles, and the work had to be done through a country unknown, without water, into which every article needed by the men had to be carried over deserts, across unbridged rivers, through unexplored forests, amidst hostile tribes of savages,—in one of the hottest regions of the world. I speak here of the lack of water, and I have said above that the works were hindered by rain. I hope my gentle readers will not think that I am piling up excuses which obliterate each other. There is room for deviation of temperature in a distance of 1,800 miles, —and Australia generally, though subject specially to drought, is subject to floods also. And the same gentle readers should remember,—when they bethink themselves how easy it is to stick up a few poles in this or another thickly inhabited country, and how small is the operation of erecting a line of telegraph wires as compared with that of constructing a railway or even a road,—how great had hitherto been the difficulty experienced by explorers in simply making their way across the continent,

and in carrying provisions for themselves as they journeyed. Burke and Wills perished in the attempt, and the line to be taken was through the very country in which Burke and Wills had been lost. The dangers would of course not be similar. The army of workmen sent to put up the posts and to stretch the wires was accompanied by an army of purveyors. Men could never be without food or without water. But it was necessary that everything should be carried. For the northern portion of the work it was necessary that all stores should be sent round by ships, and then taken up rivers which had not hitherto been surveyed. If the gentle reader will think only of the amount of wire required for 1,800 miles of telegraph communication, and of the circumstances of its carriage, he will, I think, recognise the magnitude of the enterprise.

The colony divided the work, the government undertaking about 800 miles in the centre, which portion of the ground was considered to be most difficult to reach. The remaining distances, consisting of 500 miles in the south and 500 in the north, were let out to contractors. The southern part, which was comparatively easy as being accessible from Adelaide, was finished in time, as was also the middle distance which the government had kept in its own hands. But the difficulties at the northern end were so great that they who had undertaken the work, failed to accomplish it, and it was at last completed by government,—if I remember rightly somewhat more than six months after the date fixed. The line did not come into immediate working order, owing to some temporary fault beyond the Australian borders.

The importance of the telegraph to the colonies cannot be overrated, and the anxiety it created can only be understood by those who have watched the avidity

with which news from England is received in all her dependencies. Australia had hitherto been dependent on one arrival monthly from England,—and on a very little credited monthly dispatch reaching her shores viâ New York, San Francisco, and New Zealand. The English monthly mail touches first at King George's Sound, in Western Australia, but thence there are no wires into the other colonies. The mail steamer then passes on to Melbourne, while a branch boat takes the mails to Adelaide. As the distance to Adelaide is considerably shorter than to Melbourne, the English news generally reaches that port first, and is thence disseminated to the other colonies. That happens once a month. Then comes, also once a month, the so-called Californian telegrams, not unfrequently giving a somewhat distorted view of English affairs. This is now changed for daily news. We who have daily news,—as do all of us in England every morning at our breakfast table,—are sometimes apt to regard it as a bore, and tell ourselves that it would be delightful to have a real budget on an occasion after a month of silence. The only way to learn the value of the thing, is to be without it for a time. In the single item of the price of wool in the London market, the Australian telegraph will be of inestimable value to the colonies. When the scheme was first brought forward there was a question whether the line through the Australian continent should be made by the joint efforts of the colonies or by the energy of one. South Australia is justly proud of herself, in that she undertook the work, and has accomplished it.

The telegraph line has certainly been the means of introducing the northern territory into general notice; and now a much larger project has been formed,—which, if it be *carried out, will* certainly create a new colony on

the northern coast. The proposition is to make a railway along the telegraph line, a railway from Adelaide right across Australia, over the huge desert of the continent, to Port Darwin! Who will travel by it? What will it carry? Whence will the money come? How will it be made to pay? And as it cannot possibly be made to pay,—as far as human sight can see,—what insane philanthropists or speculators will be found able to subscribe the enormous sum of money necessary for such a purpose? These are of course the questions that are asked. The distance to be covered by the new line is very nearly 1,800 miles, and the money said to be necessary for it is £10,000,000,—ten millions! There are no inhabitants in the country,—at any rate none who would use a railway, and at the distant terminus there is no town,—not as yet a community of 200 white inhabitants.

I soon found that the railway was but a portion of the plan,—and indeed the smaller portion of it. The scheme is as follows:—The parliament of South Australia is to pass a bill authorising the formation of a small preliminary company, which company shall be empowered by the colonial legislature to make over no less than two hundred millions of acres in freehold to the shareholders of the proposed railway company. The small company is to give birth to a large company, the residence of which is to be in London, and this large company is to consist of shareholders who will subscribe the money needed for the railway, and take the land as bought by their money. The great object of the promoters, who, when I was in Adelaide, were chiefly gentlemen having seats in the parliament of the colony, was to open up to human uses an immense tract of country which is at present useless, and in this way to spread the reputation and increase the prosperity of the colony at large. Then

can be no doubt that population would follow the railway, as it has always followed railways in the United States. The pastures would be opened to sheep; and contingent advantages are of course anticipated,—such as mineral fields of various kinds. Within 250 miles of the southern end copper exists in large quantities, and the expense of carriage alone suspends its extraction. At the Port Darwin end, on the northern coast, gold has been found, and they who are hopeful declare that a few years will see the richest gold-fields of Australia near the banks of the Victoria and the Roper Rivers A world of hopes rises to the mind of the sanguine proprietor as the largeness of his scheme endears it more and more to his heart, till he sees the happiness of thousands and the magnificence of himself in the realisation of his project.

That such a railway should be made on the speculation of trade returns is impossible; but if the South Australian parliament be in earnest, and if the colony will give her land,—land which she has at present in such abundance that she cannot use it,—it may be that funds sufficient for commencing the railway will be produced. It is proposed that the land shall be given as the line is made,—so many acres for every mile of railway. The entire territory contiguous to the line is not to be given. The land is to be divided into blocks, of which alternate blocks are to be surrendered, and alternate blocks retained, by the government, so that the new owners of the territory may be constrained as to price and other terms of sale. Of course the company would fail in selling if it charged more than the government, or proposed terms less advantageous than those offered by the government. But there seem to lack two ingredients for the thorough success of such a scheme,—a town at the

end, such as was San Francisco when the railway was proposed across the Rocky Mountains from Chicago to that city, and a wheat-growing country for its support such as California,—and such as Oregon is, and the Utah territory.

I do not believe that I shall live to see a railway made from Adelaide to Port Darwin, or even that younger men than I will do so. The greatness of many accomplished enterprises is now teaching men to believe that everything is possible; and they who are sanguine are falling into the error,—directly opposite to that of our grandfathers,—of thinking that nothing is too hard to be accomplished. I cannot believe in the expenditure of £10,000,000 on the construction of a railway which is to run through a desert to nowhere. But I do believe in the gold-fields and pastures of Port Darwin, and in the beauties of the Roper and Victoria Rivers; and, hot though the country be, I think that another young colony will found itself on the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

CHAPTER VII.

Legislature and Government.

With some small variations the scheme as to parliament and executive government is the same in South Australia as in the other colonies. There are king, lords, and commons,—or in other language, Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Assembly. The most remarkable variation is to be found in the mode adopted for getting together the Legislative Council or House of Colonial Lords,—which mode I regard as the worst ever *yet invented* for summoning a chamber of senators. In

England our House of Peers is hereditary, the Crown having the power to add to its number as it pleases,—and thus, at any rate, the country does acquire the services of a body of legislative magnates without any trouble to itself. It is a great thing to be a peer, and the peers as a rule live up to the position which the country assigns them. In the United States the senators of the National Congress are elected from their different States by a complicated machinery which certainly effects its object, by bringing the leading politicians of the day into the Upper House, and by conferring on that House dignity and reputation. In some of our colonies, in New South Wales for instance, and in Queensland, the members of the Upper House are nominated by the Crown,—or rather, in fact, by the responsible ministers of the day, who are accountable for the selections which they make, and who confer the honour on men anxious and for the most part able to take a part in public affairs. As one party becomes stronger than another in the colony, so does the minister of one party have more frequent opportunities of introducing his friends into the Legislative Council than the ministers of the other party,—and the preponderance of public opinion is represented by the Upper as well as by the Lower Chamber. In other colonies, as in Victoria and South Australia, the members of the Legislative Council are elected by the people,—but the manner of doing so is different. In Victoria the whole colony is divided into provinces, and each province periodically elects its members. Even then the interest felt is not very great, as I endeavoured to explain, when speaking of the Victorian legislature,—but the provinces do in some sort identify themselves with their own members; and, though the political feeling *in the matter is mild*, it exists and has its influence.

In South Australia the members of the Upper Chamber are elected by the colony at large, and therefore when elections come round, no political feeling is excited.

This Upper House consists of eighteen members. Every fourth year six members retire, in February, and the votes of the entire colony are taken as to the election of their successors,—so that the members are elected for twelve years. There is a property qualification for voting,—£20 leasehold, £25 household, or £50 freehold. Very slight interest is taken in the elections,—as might be expected from such a scheme. The distances in the colony are enormous, and each district feels that as the election is to be made by the colony at large, its own effect must be very small. When the result of a national election is of extreme importance to parties,—as is the case with the election of a President in the United States,—the country can be awakened to the work; but no political animation can be aroused by the national importance by sending six members to the Upper House. As a consequence men do not vote except in the towns, and do not vote there with any regularity. At the election of 1869, 4,468 votes only were cast, by a body of 15,773 electors. Certain members who have long been in the House keep their seats when the day for their reelection comes round, because no one cares to disturb them; but every now and then some obscure but ambitious, and probably absolutely unfit individual, puts himself forward, and is elected to the scandal of the House,—because there has been no interest felt in the matter. The expenditure of a few hundred pounds would almost certainly carry an election,—not because a few hundred pounds have much *force in* the colony, but because the amount of *antagonistic force* used is very small. I look upon this as

the very worst plan yet adopted for maintaining the existence of a legislative chamber.

The Lower House consists of seventy-two members, who are elected by thirty-six districts,—two members for each district. They sit for three years,—or would do but for dissolutions. Manhood suffrage, with vote by ballot as a matter of course, prevails; but residence for six months is required for an elector,—so that the nomad tribe of wandering vagrants who call themselves workmen, but are in truth beggars, is excluded. The competition for seats in the House of Assembly is sufficiently lively to show that a seat is desired, but it is not very keen. At the time of the election for the House of Assembly in 1870, there were 39,647 men in the colony entitled to be electors, but only 17,233 voted.

I found the ballot to be generally popular,—because it tended to make things quiet at elections. Sir James Fergusson, the governor of the colony,—who as a Conservative member for a Scotch county and as one of the Conservative government at home, cannot have loved the ballot here, in England,—thus expresses his opinion on the subject to the Secretary of State: "I am bound to state that the ballot is generally and remarkably popular in the colony. To the people of the colony it appears to give entire satisfaction." I am bound to report this as the opinion which I found to prevail among almost all classes as to the use of the ballot in Australia. I give my evidence unwillingly, because I myself very much dislike the ballot for English use, and believe that a mistake is made by those who argue that because it suits the colonies, therefore it will suit ourselves. With us the object is secrecy, which I think should not be an object, and which I think *also will* not be obtained. In the *colonies secrecy is not desired*, but tranquillity is felt to

be a blessing. It is clear that the ballot does assist in producing tranquillity.

But it may be questioned whether even tranquillity at elections is to be regarded as an unmixed blessing. Apathy is certainly not desirable, and it may be that tranquillity will show itself to be akin to apathy. Men are always eager as to that in which they are truly interested, and real human eagerness will produce excitement and noise. Broken heads are bad things, but even broken heads are better than political indifference. They who have framed the Australian constitutions and have selected the modes of election for the legislative chambers of the colonies, have had before their eyes an idea of human political excellence which has never hitherto prevailed, and never will prevail till that good time comes which we call the millennium. They have desired to produce great vitality in the electors without any excitement at the elections. Men are not to rush to the polls,—certainly not to go thither under stress of fear, or bribery, or drink; but all men are to walk there in orderly strings, under the pressure of a high sense of national duty. They are to be debarred from the interest of personal contest by the ballot and other means,—but are nevertheless to be constant in voting. The ballot, and the other means, are successful for the required ends,—but the people are indifferent as to the results. It is the boast of Australian politicians that the elections are quiet. They are often too quiet. If it be the case, as a great man once said, that any first six men caught walking through Temple Bar, would make as good members of parliament as any other six men, the South Australian scheme of voting for members of the Legislative Council may be good,—but under no other theory.

I doubt whether South Australia can boast that its

parliament contains its best men. Neither do members of the government or members of parliament in any of the Australian colonies have that relation to the country at large which they certainly hold in England. In England the Premier is the head man of his country for the time; and, in common estimation with us, a member of parliament is felt to be a man who has achieved honourable distinction. It is not so in the Australian colonies generally, and certainly is not so in South Australia specially. Prime ministers there have succeeded each other with wonderful celerity. The first parliament with responsible government was opened in Adelaide, on April 22nd, 1857,—not yet sixteen years ago as I write,—and since that date twenty-seven different ministries have been formed. I found that no less than six of these combinations had been made by Mr. Ayres, who was the chief secretary or head of the government when I was in Adelaide,—but even he has succumbed again. There is, however, always this comfort to be extracted from such speedy reverses,—that a quick return of triumph may be expected. When last I heard of the colony Mr. Ayres was out; but very probably he may be again in before this is published.

The real work of government is done in South Australia by the Governor in Council with a cabinet of five. Of these one always sits in the Legislative Council, and the other four are supposed to have seats in the House of Assembly. The constitution requires that no minister shall be in office above three months without a seat either in the Upper or in the Lower House.

The debates are fairly well conducted,—at any rate without riot or that personal abuse and continual appeal to the Speaker which I have witnessed elsewhere. There is *much useless and quite* vapid talking,—members mak-

ing speeches without even an attempt at a new point or a new argument, to which no one listens, but which are endured with patience. It is understood that when a gentleman has taken the trouble to get a seat, and is willing to sacrifice his time, he should be allowed to air his voice, and to learn by practice to speak with fluency. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Childers have taught colonial legislators the possible results of such lessons; and why should any man throw away a chance? I heard a debate on the great question of cab-lamps,—whether legislation should content itself with requiring simply cabs to be lighted at nights, or whether it should extend the precaution to other vehicles,—on which subject two-thirds of a full House were eloquent. I heard impassioned eloquence on the question whether the excellent Bishop of Adelaide should be allowed to retain his right of walking out of the room before other people,—a right which as it came from the Crown, the parliament could not take from him, but which he gracefully abandoned when it gave annoyance to scrupulous politicians. Their minds were much excited on this question. And I heard another debate as to the Governor's salary, carried on with much energy. The Lower House, with hot parliamentary zeal expressed in fervid words, decided on cutting off £1,000 a year from the salary of future governors. But the measure of retrenchment, though essentially a money measure, was lost, because no seconder could be found for it in the Upper Chamber.

There was another great debate when I was in the colony,—of which, however, I only heard a small portion, and it gave rise to an incident which I will mention as giving an idea of the feeling displayed towards the House. It was decided, as a new measure, that there should be after-dinner sittings,—and on a certain evening there was

n after-dinner sitting. There was a spirited debate, which as conducted with a fair amount of parliamentary anima-ion. One of the leading Adelaide newspapers, giving s history of the affair on the following morning, de-cribed the speakers in round terms of having been—unfit or parliamentary work, because they had dined. On the ollowing day one of the gentlemen attacked brought the natter forward on a question of privilege, and there nsued a debate in which it was at any rate shown that ne accusation was altogether groundless. But nothing as done. No one seemed seriously to think that the riter of the article, or the editor, proprietor, or printer f the paper, should be punished for the insinuations ade. On the next morning the newspaper in question diculed the complaining members for having adopted ne only meaning of the words of the article which they ould bear. I could not but think that had the "Times" "Daily Telegraph" accused the House of Commons being generally unfit for its duties because it had—ined, that the House of Commons would in some way ave made its displeasure felt. But I was anxious to now why such an unwarranted attack should be made one of the leading newspapers of the colony upon the rliament of the colony,—and I received information on e subject. The newspaper in question had to report e debates, and disliked the trouble and expense of eeping reporters in the gallery late into the evening.

Few countries can, I think, show a more favourable count of their public financial matters than that ex-bited by South Australia. Custom duties are the only xation to which her people are subject, and the amount id by them in that shape averages no more than 25*s.* head. On the 31st December, 1871, the population as 189,018, and the duties levied in 1871 had amounted

to £234,980. The total revenue in that year had been £785,489, and the total expenditure £759,339. But the revenue so stated is made up of various sums, which have no reference whatever to taxation. It includes the gross amounts received from the post-office, from the railways, from the telegraph offices, and from the water-works;—whereas the total of the expenditure includes the expenses of those establishments. The revenue includes also the money carried to the public credit for the sale and lease of lands, which I find estimated for 1872 at £145,000. The public debt amounted to £1,944,600 on the 31st December, 1871, which had been chiefly,—I believe entirely,—expended on public works. One hundred and thirty-three miles of railway had been opened in the country, the working of which in 1871 had cost £88,000,—and which had produced £111,000 by its traffic, thus giving £23,000 as dividends on the cost, and paying about a quarter of the interest on the total of the public debt.

In what I have said it will, I fear, be thought that I have intended to depreciate the parliament of the colony. I have not sought to do so, but I am merely giving my personal impressions of what I heard and saw. Parliaments, like puddings, should be judged by the proof of their results, as shown in the eating. One of the main works of all parliaments is so to adjust the financial affairs of the country entrusted to it, that the people shall not suffer from over-taxation, that the public credit shall be maintained, and that a sufficiency of revenue shall be collected to insure the safety and general well-being of the community. If this be adequately done, a parliament need certainly not be ashamed of its doings. And this is adequately done in South Australia.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTIONS.

CHAPTER VIII.

Schools, Libraries, Poorhouse, Armies, and Church.

I CAN imagine that it must be difficult for those who have never visited a British colony to realise life as it there exists,—to realise in the first place the difference between colonial life and life at home, and then the likeness. The likeness is very close. The same language is spoken, and the same laws prevail for the protection of life, property, and character. This is the case also in the United States, but the people of the United States can hardly be said to be like Englishmen. In the Australian colonies the British mode of thinking prevails as to education, politics, and social position; whereas, in the United States, the ideas of the people at large are not our ideas. In the States all the institutions of the country tend to the creation of a level, to that which men call equality,—which cannot be attained, because men's natural gifts are dissimilar, but to which a much nearer approach is made in America than has ever been effected in Europe. In Australia, no doubt, and especially in Victoria, there is a leaning in the same direction; but it is still so slightly in advance of that which prevails among ourselves as to justify an observer in saying that the colonies are rather a repetition of England than an imitation of America. When there is any divergence from the old *John Bull* proclivities, it is towards the

American side; but the divergence is not great, and to many leading colonists the idea of any divergence is altogether distasteful.

In the States it is the theory of the people that the education of the young should be paid for by the people at large, and rates in the different States are collected for this purpose. Though the parent be in good circumstances, he probably sends his children to the public or common schools; and it is only when he is ambitious in regard to education, or when he is imbued with old-world notions in regard to his children, that he pays for special education for them. The consequence is that the common schools are very good; that the level of education is very high; but that exceptional elevation above the level is comparatively rare. It may be said that the custom of paying for education out of the taxes prevails in the colonies, and that the same practice is growing up in England;—but the theory has been hitherto different, and indeed the custom also. It has, up to the present time, been the intention of those who have legislated in regard to the education of the people in the Australian colonies that parents should pay for the teaching of their children, and that only the destitute should be educated at the cost of the State. In the colonies it is no doubt the fact that but few of the parents are destitute, and that, nevertheless, by far the greater proportion of the cost of the schools is borne by the taxpayers. But this condition of things has arisen from the determination of the colonies that the education shall be good, although the sparseness of the population, joined with the enormous area over which it is spread, and the comparatively high rate of remuneration required for teachers, must make good education very expensive. *Though* the parents of the children pay as much as is

a week for each, with certain abatements if there be many in family or if the parents be poor, the amount thus realised goes but a little way towards defraying the expense of the schools. They are paid for chiefly by the State, as in America. Nevertheless, the system and the intention, and even the practice, have not been American.

I insist upon this, holding myself a strong opinion, that the less that is done for a people by what we call the government, the better for them. Government after all is not heaven, and cannot pour manna on us. For what it gives us it must take the price from us. And though at the first starting of an enterprise government may manage affairs well, through the zeal and personal pride of the starters, it is ever apt, as years run on, to become stagnant and even retrograde. Its servants want the stimulus which personal interest gives, and not unnaturally hate the trouble of moving forward. In this matter of schooling it seems to me just that they who enjoy it should pay for it,—and that those who cannot pay should be regarded as exceptional. In Australia such inability is happily exceptional, and there, in accordance with the theory prevailing in five out of the six colonies, the schools will gradually become self-supporting, and independent of taxation as the population advances.

It must, however, be admitted that a very small advance has been as yet made to this condition of things. In New South Wales the public schools cost altogether £191,599 per annum, of which £142,008 is paid from the public revenues, and only £49,581 by scholars' fees. The scholars, including those at private schools throughout the *colonies, average* one in seven of the whole po-

pulation. The average cost of each scholar at the public or common schools is about 60*s.* per annum.

In Victoria the public schools cost altogether £238,980 of which £149,328 is paid from the public revenue, and only £89,652 by the scholars' fees. The scholars, including those at private schools, average one in five of the population. The average cost of each scholar at the public schools is about 38*s.* per annum. The closer population of the Victorian towns, and the lesser distances to be traversed in the rural districts, account for the larger proportion of their scholars and for the lesser expense of their schools. I am, however, informed that a bill has now passed both the Houses of the Victorian Parliament,—though I doubt whether certain amendments were not still unsettled when the news left the colony,—under which education is to be not only compulsory and secular, but also free to all.

I should weary the reader were I to give him details of the schools of the other colonies;—but the system is the same in all of them, and similar results are effected. The traveller will often hear complaints, especially from squatters, of the wild, untaught savagery of "bush children,"—that is, of the children of free-selecters, cockatoos, and small farmers. This almost necessarily savage condition of children born and brought up beyond the reach of schools, is one of the arguments used against free-selection, by gentlemen who have many arguments with which to back their views in that matter. It is fair, however, that the general condition of the colonies in regard to education should be judged of by figures, and not by individual instances of deficiency. Free-selecters do not customarily settle themselves so far away from rising settlements as to be out of the way of schools; of course there are cases in which they do so, and in-

stances of families brought up beyond the reach of teaching;—but the normal condition of these people in regard to education is, I think, healthy. That of the Australian colonies generally certainly is excellent.

I feel that in speaking of the educational instruction of the colonies generally, I am bound to mention the public libraries and mechanics' institutes, which I found, either in the one shape or the other, in almost every town which I visited. And it must be remembered that an Australian town contains very frequently a smaller population than an English village. A collection of three hundred or four hundred people will possess itself of a collection of books for its own use, and does absolutely use them,—to the excessive thumbing of many of them. Macaulay's Essays, Dickens's novels, some of Scott's novels, Tennyson, and Pilgrim's Progress, seem to be in most constant demand. I found that at many of these libraries, —for the mechanics' institutes were in fact not often more than libraries,—the books were bought direct from London, and sometimes at much higher prices than should be given for them. But there they were,—and there was ample evidence of their general use.

The poorhouse, or workhouse as it used to be called, —though never deserving the name,—or union, is an institution of which most of us know something in Great Britain and Ireland. It is peculiarly British and Irish, and in its immense development among us tells much both for and against our civilisation and prosperity as a people. Every man, woman, and child who cannot,—or indeed who will not,—obtain support by work, is to be housed, fed, and clothed at the public expense. It is a *grand institution; but that* there should be so wide a *need for it, is very lamentable.* In the colonies there is *o poor-law. It does not* follow that there should be no

poor,—nor that the poor should be without relief. which we do by means of our parish unions, is do Australia by benevolent asylums and hospitals. the hospitals and the benevolent asylums are supp chiefly from the revenue. In New South Wales Victoria their cost is as follows:—.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Hospitals,—		
From government . . .	£16,004	
From voluntary contributions	11,273	
		£27,277
Benevolent Asylums,—		
From government . . .	3,953	
From voluntary contributions	1,994	
		5,947
Total		£33,224

VICTORIA.

Hospitals,—		
From government . . .	£70,820	
From voluntary contributions	23,448	
		£94,268
Benevolent Asylums,—		
From government . . .	33,975	
From voluntary contributions	7,702	
		41,677
Total		£135,945

Besides these there are orphan asylums and lu asylums. The hospitals are, of course, chiefly use the presumed object of relieving cases requiring me and surgical aid, but I have included them with benevolent asylums, as I found that they supplied door relief. The latter institutions, small as they ar in fact supply the need of poorhouses, and as the a *figures* will show, are mainly supported out of the rev *In* regard to the accommodation, the stranger vi *them* is only tempted to ask whether it is not too *Much* as they who are tender-hearted will desir

the sufferings incident to poverty removed from individuals by unsparing charity, there can be no doubt even on their minds that such benevolence tends to beget the evils which it relieves. It takes from the industrious what it gives to the idle. The defence to be made for such a benevolent asylum as that at Melbourne is to be found in the fact that its comforts, comfortable as they are, attract at present only the old and sick. As yet there has not arisen a class in the colony willing to submit to discipline for the sake of bed, board, and clothes.

It must not, however, be conceived that there is no idle class in Australia. When describing the troubles which the squatters undergo in Queensland, I said a few words about the pastoral vagrants of the country, —men who, with all their worldly possessions fastened on their backs in a "swag," wander about the country under the pretence of looking for work, but in truth eating the bread of idleness. I need not here repeat my opinion respecting that "Institution." These men, however, rarely trouble the benevolent asylums of the colonies till they have become objects of charity from physical infirmities. The life they live, as they wander from one station to another in the bush, has all the sweets of liberty, and the hospitality which they demand is unfortunately rarely refused to them.

I must not finish my remarks on Australia without speaking of her armies. The reader will of course understand that at this time England has withdrawn all her troops from these colonies, and that no British red-coat is now to be seen in any Australian town. The subject *is a very sore one to many* a loyal Australian, who had *taught himself to believe* that the glory of his connection *with the British empire* had departed from him when he

was no longer blessed with the sight of an English soldier. It must, however, be also understood that the British government does maintain a fleet in the Australian waters, the head-quarters of which are in Sydney harbour. In New South Wales and Victoria the colonists have already acknowledged the expediency of commencing the formation of armies of their own by the enrolment of volunteers. In speaking of Sydney I have described the fortifications by which its harbour is defended, and of the zeal with which the colony generally is prepared to take up the battles of the mother country. In 1870,—I regret that the joint delay incidental to the publication of government statistics and to the writing of new books compels me to use the accounts of so remote a period,—New South Wales was prepared to defend herself, and if necessary to attack her enemies with, 3,436 volunteers, including 233 members of a naval brigade; and spent on this force and on the construction and maintenance of her fortifications £31,361 14*s.* 2*d.* At the same time Victoria supported 3,988 volunteers, and spent on their maintenance, and on the "purchase of warlike stores," construction of gun-carriages, &c., £39,253 14*s.* 7*d.* In Hobson's Bay harbour, off Williamstown, there is a training ship for young sailors; and the colony possesses an enormous double Monitor,—if that be the right phrase,—called the "Cerberus," given by England, and capable, as every Victorian believes, of blowing into infinite space any number of an enemy's vessels, should an enemy's vessel ever dare to enter the harbour.

No thoughtful friend of the colonies will doubt the wisdom of thus preparing, not for war, but for those contingencies which war in other regions might produce. The Australias have no neighbours desirous of dominion over them, as have the Canadas, and are perhaps as

removed from danger of invasion as any country on the earth; but we can hardly tell as yet what powers of invasion the coming years may produce, and it is well that every growing people should habituate itself to the work of self-defence.

It must of course be understood that in the Australian colonies as they at present exist, no one Church is allowed to hold itself as superior in rank to any other Churches. In each of the colonies there has been a distinct expression of a political determination that all Churches shall be equal before the law,—that the privileges and status of the Wesleyan or Roman Catholic shall be equal to those of a member of the Church of England, and those of the Jew equal to those of the Christian. Perhaps there is no matter on which the mind of the colonists has been expressed with more clearness than on this. To the visitor who passes quickly through the colonies, or perhaps to an unobservant resident, it will appear that this theory has not been able to carry itself out, and that something of the ascendancy of the Church of England has planted itself in Australia; but this conception will have been produced only by externals. The members of the Church of England have their bishops, and their bishops are called "My Lord." The bishops, deans, and canons of the Church frequent Government Houses, and are seen in the best society. Not unfrequently they are men of private fortune, and have of course that tendency to be noticed which wealth produces. They are in fact noticeable men, living in bigger houses than clergymen of other denominations,—as a rule, probably, better educated. They are intimate with the leading men of the colonies, who more generally belong to the Church of England than to other denominations, and thus, without intention, impress the minds of people with

an idea of their ascendancy. But, as a fact, there is no ascendancy of one Church over another, in the Australian colonies. Where one sect is more numerous than another, or pays its clergy better than another, or has more handsome churches or a more zealous operation, that is due to its own internal circumstances, and by no means to any favour conferred by the laws, or endowment produced from the sources of the country at large.

Belonging to the Church of England myself I am more prone to speak of that than of any other, and not the less so from a conviction that its work is done with admirable zeal. I think that a great mistake has been made, and is at present made at home, in reference to the success of the Church of England in the colonies, and to the manner of life of its ministers.

The other day,—about Christmas, 1872,—I cut the following paragraph from the "Times" newspaper: "There are colonial bishops whom everybody, from the Prime Minister to a Metropolitan curate, takes a particular pleasure in depreciating. It must be confessed that they seem to prefer the pavement of Pall Mall to either Africa or America or Polynesia, whichever may be the scene of their triumphs, if any." It may be said that no allusion is here specially made to the bishops of Australia and New Zealand, but the sentence is pronounced,—will at any rate be understood to have been pronounced,—against colonial bishops generally; and the bishops of Australia and New Zealand are, I think, more numerous than those of all the other colonies put together. During a short part of the fifteen months that I spent in the colonies two of these bishops were absent, then one was absent, and, if I remember rightly, during a part of the time the whole number were at their posts. If we take any other profession the members of which are employed in ed

ur country, shall we find a more constant attendance, he army for instance, or in the navy? It may be to this also, that nothing can be more essential to equate performance of the duties of colonial epis- than that intimacy with the doings of the Church ne, which can only be maintained by occasional o the old country. Having seen the self-sacrificing, ent, and pre-eminently successful work of such s Bishop Perry in Victoria, Bishop Short in South lia, and Bishop Hale in Western Australia,—hav- ard records of the work done by Bishop Tyrrell of stle, and of the present Bishop of Lichfield when Zealand, and knowing that as regards the majority se men they have devoted private fortunes to the —instead of making fortunes out of their work, as rld looks to do at large,—I think it incumbent on assure such readers as my words may reach, that hould find out the facts of the case before they r granted those accusations against colonial bishops, score of diocesan inactivity, which have now be- general in men's mouths. Of American and African al bishops I am not now speaking. But as regards ost numerous section of our colonial bishops the is unfounded, and public opinion has, I think, nisled.

CHAPTER IX.

Australian Legislatures.

I have gone along with my work through the nt Australian colonies I have said a few words as legislatures and forms of government in each. have done rather with the view of describing the f action and the manner in which the colonies

rule themselves, than of depicting the different chambers or the style of speaking, or the bearing of the members who sat in them. I do not think that we in England have paid very much attention to these parliaments, or even to the characters and political fitness or unfitness of the ministers. To those who sit in the Colonial Office in Downing Street the names of certain Australian statesmen are no doubt familiar,—and now and again, they who are diligent in reading their newspapers learn that a change of ministers has been made at Melbourne, and that Mr. O'This has given way to Mr. MacThat. It is the same, to a much greater degree, in regard to India, as to which enormous dependency,—the most populous and important that ever belonged to a nation, and conferring a higher political prestige on the ruling race than has ever been conferred by any other subject people,—no Englishman at home can be got to interest himself in the slightest degree unless he be actually concerned in the government of it. No doubt the same apathy prevailed at Rome as to the Provinces, and among the Spaniards of Spain as to the western world over which the kings of Spain held dominion. They who live at the centre of a circle think only of the centre. To those who are half-way removed from the centre to the circumference so much of the area of the circle is of importance as lies between their line and the centre,—to which they ever look wistfully. They who dwell on the outside, think much of the outside, but do so still with a consciousness that they are but outsiders. In those colonies of which I have written men are often loud in abuse of the tyranny presumed to prevail at home. They denounce the pride of our aristocracy, the poorness of our people, the narrowness of our spaces, and the assumed decay of our energies. But they do so in a tone which

to the attentive ear conveys more respect than censure. Their thoughts are full of England, and they are keenly alive to the attention or the want of attention which England shows in regard to their affairs. It is a standard joke among Australians, and one always repeated with some indignation, that Englishmen confound Botany Bay with Van Diemen's Land, and New South Wales with South Australia. Australians are essentially loyal,—but are sore at the want of recognition of their importance which they think is displayed by the country on which they are affectionately dependent. It would be well if Englishmen at home could be induced to turn their thoughts somewhat more frequently to their cousins in the colonies, and to interest themselves in the political and social condition of communities on which, in a few years, will hang much of the character and honour of the English-speaking race of men.

The Australian people as a whole are warmly loyal to Great Britain. In Victoria, but in Victoria only, there is perhaps a tendency among the Irish to republicanism,—which means accelerated separation. Even in Victoria I have heard no politician announce this as his political creed; but I have thought that I have caught a difference of tone,—a tone that has not struck my ear elsewhere,—which has brought home to me a conviction that the tendency exists. But the traveller, taking as his guide the general expression of the national feeling, is impressed by the great loyalty of the colonies, and the determination to abide by British precedent in legislation and British authority in the execution of the laws.

I am aware, however, that such is not always the tone of intercourse between Australian ministers and the existing holders of imperial authority. Australian

ministers are responsible advisers and must assert themselves;—but they are, though responsible, subject to control from Downing Street. Even with a parliamentary majority at their back they cannot pass measures as our ministers can do,—who with both Houses at their command, are omnipotent in legislation. This very clipping of the wings,—or rather the as yet unfledged condition of their pinions,—creates a desire to maintain an apparently self-willed flight. As the grown-up girl and the boy passing into manhood, to whom have been allowed some extent of free action, will struggle against control when checked on passing the intended limits, and, with tossed heads and frowning brows, will assert the acknowledged responsibility of puberty, so will the colonial minister fret and be indignant when some bill which has passed the parliament in which he sits, has been reserved by the Governor and refused the sanction of the Crown by the Secretary of State at home. Or if, perchance, the minister at home should propose some measure,—as has lately been the case in regard to the Fiji Islands,—which should purport to bind the colony as well as the mother country to a special duty, then will the minister in the colony let it be known that he too has his opinion and intends to hold it. The premier, who holds his place by the confidence reposed in him by this or the other parliament, finds himself called upon, not merely by personal pride but by the necessity of his position, to let it be known that he is premier, and that as such he will not delegate his authority to any member of an imperial cabinet. Were he not to do so, he could not maintain his power in the colony. By doing so I feel sure that he does not lessen the respect in which he is held by the Minister at home. We are fond of parliamentary pugnacity, and we know that a man is not

worth his salt as a politician who cannot hold and maintain an opinion.

It will probably be acknowledged that these colonial parliaments and colonial ministers are but stepping-stones to imperial action,—or in other words to separation. The stepping-stones may bridge over a very wide river, a stream so broad that they who are using them do not feel called upon as yet even to look to the farther bank,—so broad that many who are on them are not aware that such a state of passage is not a normal condition of political life. But they who trouble themselves to look forward must surely see that the limited self-action now allowed will extend itself till it becomes complete. The youth who is checked because he exceeds the bounds of authority allowed to him will be a man soon, with all a man's privileges and all a man's cares. He will be forced to earn his own bread and provide his own house, and may then do as he pleases with the bread he earns and with the house he provides. It must be so with those of our colonies which have chosen to demand, and which have been able to use, what we call free institutions and responsible parliamentary government. The separation of which I here speak is hardly that to which allusion is made in a former paragraph as being desired by a certain class in a sense hostile either to England or to the colonies. It is certainly not to be attained by sudden demand, or as a thing unjustly withheld. Many in the colonies will not foresee that it must come. The union which is dear to them will last at least their time, and that of their children, and they will hardly allow that political duty calls on them to look beyond. Others will acknowledge that such separation must be the future condition of Australia,—*but would* postpone that future to a period

so remote and so unfixed that the view of it is pleasantly hazy and indistinct. Distance is a term of comparison. A hundred years back is very little. There are many among us who remember well the greater part of the period themselves, and know the other part by the memory of their parents. The history of the French Revolution is to us as the history of our own times. But a hundred years hence is very much in space. All now living will have gone their way, and the wisdom of the sages of this age will have become the trite knowledge of the children of that to come. He must be a rash prophet or else a very wise man indeed who can name the years which must intervene before Australia shall become an empire. But it requires but little wisdom, and will be held to deserve no reproach on the score of rashness, to say that all that is now being done, both by statesmen at home and by statesmen in the colonies, is tending to the formation of a separate political nation.

Then the question arises whether that which is being done is being well done. It is not only needed that the colonies should rule themselves, subject to certain control from the government at home, but also that they should learn to rule themselves when no such protection from any act of flagrant misrule shall be within their reach. The colonial parliaments and cabinets of the present day have to effect this double purpose. They pass land laws and make tariffs almost at their wills, and they are in the course of learning how to do so more efficiently when they shall have no extraneous assistance on which to depend.

These two are probably the subjects uppermost in their debates,—unless we may regard the abuse and depression of one party by another as being in itself a

parate subject of parliamentary interest. Perhaps in parliaments this latter source of eloquence will be most attractive of all. No doubt it is so with us. vote of want of confidence not only fills our House Commons so full that even gentlemen with seats can d no sitting-room, but crowds also the galleries with angers and overwhelms the Speaker and members with plications for entrance. It sells all the newspapers, d gives a livelier joy to breakfast tables and a more ring buzz to clubs than can be attained by any dget, or by any measure of reform. Internecine com- between two leaders, and hard hitting from party to rty is the delight of parliamentary life. It would be th unjust and unwise to condemn the colonial parlia- nts for doing that which we not only do at home, which we do with a result which we believe to be the long-run beneficial and healthy. And it would absurd to condemn the colonial parliaments for being casionally ridiculous where we are wrongheaded, for ing riotous where we are simply loud, for being foul- uthed where we are only ill-natured, for being un- ucated and illiterate where we are ill-informed and perficial, or even for being vulgar where we are severe. is not only that our House of Lords is to the manner rn, and that we choose our House of Commons from best of thirty millions of people, while they have no tesmen to the manner born, and can choose their liaments in each colony from but a few hundreds of usands. Perfect as might be their excuse for in- iority founded on that allegation,—that is not their y nor their chief excuse. The colonies are peopled h men who have gone out to earn their bread and o are earning it,—and from these have to be chosen *ir members of parliament*. There is as yet among

them no class of men capable of devoting their time and their energies to the public cause and to that only. There is no established wealth handed down from father to son, the possession or prospect of which enables the young legislator so "to learn the ingenuous arts that his manners shall be refined, nor ever allowed to become brutal." In the preparation of such a class of men much time is needed and many accessories. In the United States it has not as yet been created. Each State of the Union may possibly find two lawyers sufficiently polished and at the same time sufficiently powerful to make a senate capable of dignity; but their Houses of Representatives, and certainly their State Congresses will gain but little by comparison with our colonial legislatures. For the House of Representatives they elect from a population larger than our own, and for the Congress of each State they elect from populations much larger than those of our colonies. The States of Pennsylvania and New York together far exceed in numbers the people of Australia; but no Englishman need be ashamed,—and certainly no Australian,—to compare the tone and tactics of the Houses at Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide with those of Harrisbourg and Albany. But in neither land,—in Australia or in the United States,—has time yet been allowed for the creation of a class of men capable of bearing parliamentary honours with that habitual serenity which is essential to absolute fitness.

Perhaps nothing that a parliament can do towards disqualifying itself,—making itself unfit for its own gravest and highest duties,—is so injuriously powerful as the payment of its members. A measure to this effect offers an inducement to men to come forward as politicians altogether distinct from that ambition to move in

public life and to influence public affairs which should be the personal motive to political aspirants. It is pleaded on its behalf that its adoption will enable men to enter parliament whose services, however valuable they might be to the State, would be lost to the State, unless they could be purchased by the State. It may be that some as yet inglorious Hampden, some unknown Somers, some youthful colonial Pitt or Canning, without fathers, uncles, or great party friends to bring him into notice, is tending sheep on some distant run, or cutting up bullocks for a meat-preserving company, because he has not the means of living while he is tearing unjust ministers to pieces at the capital of his colony. The payment of members has, as we all know, been for many years the law of the land in the United States; but it has not there produced youthful Pitts or Hampdens now glorious, who would have remained without glory had they also remained without their six dollars a-day. The body of American legislators are lawyers, and many of them, no doubt, unsuccessful lawyers. The successful lawyers might have won their seats without payment, and it may be well questioned whether an unsuccessful lawyer is the man whom his country could profitably bribe into parliament with the hope of finding within his bosom true patriotism, backed by honest eloquence. In Victoria, and in Victoria alone among these colonies, the same political arrangement has been made. The members of each House are paid £300 a year for their services,—so that any Victorian blacksmith, gardener, or shepherd may with seeming security leave his business if he can get himself elected into parliament. The very fact that a living is so to be made is favourable to the cause of the blacksmiths, gardeners, and shepherds. It is but reasonable to a working-man that he should give

a vote towards getting a living for another working-man;—but it cannot be for the welfare of the colony that one class of men should be debarred from parliament and another set brought into parliament, from such motives. Victoria, as being the richest colony of the group, and by far the most populous, should undoubtedly have the best set of men in her parliament. I will not make invidious distinctions, but I do not think that any stranger conversant with such matters,—any travelling member of our own House of Commons,—would be disposed to give her such pre-eminence. The measure, however, as at present passed, is only temporary and experimental. It is to exist for three years from 25th April, 1871, to 24th April, 1874,—and thence to the end of the next session. If not renewed it will then lapse. I fear it will be renewed; but some politicians in the colony express an opinion that it will be abandoned. In no other Australian colony are the members paid. I have heard the question mooted, I think, in each. It was advocated always with apologetic weakness, and condemned with strong repugnance.

The scheme and manner and general intentions of our own parliaments have been carried out with great fidelity in the colonies. The government has government days—and often shows a tendency to encroach on days and hours which are not its own. Almost all effectual legislation is initiated by the ministers. There are questions on which it is understood that a ministry if beaten will retire,—and questions as to which it is understood that no such obligation is supposed to exist. The outgoing ministry claims the privilege of dissolving,—which is eagerly disputed, as we have heard it disputed at home. The matter then rests with the Governor,—and in this there is apparently a difference between colonial govern-

ment and that under which we live at home. At present, I think, the Queen by her own judgment could not refuse assent to a minister who recommended the dissolution of parliament. It is at any rate the feeling of the people that the Queen should take no political action except by the advice of her existing minister. If he dissolve when dissolution be improper he must bear the political punishment, and perhaps political annihilation, which parliament will be able to inflict. In the colonies it is different. The minister sues to the Governor for a dissolution, and the Governor grants or refuses it on his own responsibility. In New South Wales, Sir James Martin, when beaten on the border duties, advised dissolution, and the Governor, Lord Belmore, took his minister's advice. In Victoria, Mr. Duffy, when beaten on a vote of want of confidence in respect to the misuse by the ministry of their political patronage, advised dissolution, and the Governor, Lord Canterbury, refused to dissolve. Both these occurrences took place during my stay in the colony, and I think I may say that Lord Belmore was almost universally judged to be wrong, and Lord Canterbury as generally judged to be right. My reliance on the discretion of the latter nobleman, and on his knowledge of his duty as governor of a colony, is so great, that I do not allow myself to doubt that he was right. He knows and I do not, the nature of those instructions from home which he is bound to obey. But I think that it should not be so, and that it cannot long remain so. The minister, if he be ousted by a majority in the House, should surely have a right to demand to ask what is the feeling of the country. In New South Wales, at the time in question, it was known to all men that the feeling of the country was against the beaten ministry, and that they could gain nothing by dissolution.

Nevertheless the Governor dissolved. In Victoria many thought that the country would have declared with the beaten ministry, and against the House. But the Governor did not dissolve. According to my view the Victorian ministry had most grievously misused their patronage; they were, moreover, a protectionist ministry,—a ministry with whose political course I, myself, had no sympathy. But I felt assured that they would have a majority had they been allowed to go to the country.

In all small forms and ways the imitation of our parliamentary practice is generally exact. The ministers sit on the right of the Speaker with their staunch supporters behind them. The opposition occupies the opposite benches, and there are cross benches, or benches below the gangway, for those whose party obligations are less binding. In South Australia, however, the American system prevails of giving a special seat to each member. The reporters have a gallery of their own,—and so have strangers, who require, however, orders of admission. A Speaker's order admits the happy stranger to some more aristocratic seat. A certain quorum is necessary by the rules of the House, but the necessity is not regarded unless the attention of the Speaker be called. In the Houses at Adelaide and Melbourne strangers are made to leave the House during divisions. At Sydney they are allowed to keep their seats. The practice of counting out is quite as rife as with us. Application to the Speaker for interference is much more common,—is so common as to have become the most prevailing fault in the conduct of these parliaments. In exciting debates gentlemen rise to order every minute. No doubt applications for order are very often necessary, for members do frequently allow themselves to use language which is disorderly. But as often as not the appeal

the Chair is made because the gentleman making is too hot in his temper to keep his seat. He cannot ndure that some orator whom he hates should have the ndivided attention of the House, and by rising to order, nd by that alone, can he excuse his ebullition. The peaker asks for the point of order. There is none, and hen the debate goes on, till the ebullition again takes he same form.

In watching the working of these Chambers I became ware how much easier it is to rule a numerous assembly han a small one. The very number of the men con-regated in a large house, the crowd of faces, and the paces filled, lend a dignity and assurance to the elected naster, and a magnificence, which of themselves confer ower. Men rise to the situation in which they are laced, and find bulwarks for their greatness in the very ccessories which their greatness is supposed to deserve. And the greatness of his empire makes it easy for the peaker of a great House to govern his kingdom. The umber of his subjects who are obedient, and who desire hat their chief magistrate should be held in awe, en-orces obedience even from the violent, and makes suc-essful rebellion impossible. But in a smaller assembly n unruly and obtrusive unit is opposed to a weaker halanx of order. A man will dare to misbehave him-elf before seventy members, and to howl like a maniac efore thirty, who would be quelled into silence by three undred. And one such unit, if successful, will soon ave followers, and two or three will dominate the House nd overawe the Speaker. I have thought when watching Australian debates that the Speakers might have been nore *powerful in enforcing* order, and that they some-*hat failed to use the means* at their command. I ex-*ess this opinion with* the utmost diffidence, feeling that

I could not judge the tempers of the men as they could judge them. But it seemed to me that these presidents of the debates were over anxious to make it understood that they never would attempt to coerce the House, although they might possibly be driven to coerce a member. If the House desired latitude of language, let there be latitude. If the House should wish it to be understood that "liar" was unparliamentary, and "miscreant" within the bounds, by all means let one gentleman call another a miscreant, though no gentleman be allowed to call another a liar. But on each separate occasion of the use of hard words the House cannot come to a decision, and the Speaker can. And there are precedents and rules,—and the Speaker has the power of calling an offender to order even though no member should rise to ask him to do so. It seemed to me that almost all hard words were allowed to pass unchallenged, except those which convey a direct charge of falsehood;—and that even in regard to those an offender was allowed to go on scot free, if, when called upon for retractation, he either laughingly withdrew the word with a whisper, or with some additional venom renewed the expression of his opinion, though he recalled the phrase.

I heard one gentleman call another a coward, and on appeal it was decided that "coward" was beyond the limits. But it was not at the moment withdrawn, and in the scuffle of retaliatory debate, the memories of those interested became hazy. Another offence was committed on the other side, and the offender would not "withdraw" his word because "coward" had not been withdrawn. Then there arose a debate whether or no "coward" had been withdrawn, the speaker of the word remaining silent while his party declared that that sin had been properly wiped out, and that the other sin therefore must be

wiped out also. "Coward" had, they alleged, been duly retracted, and a second retractation was of course out of the question. At last the opposite side gave way, and a half-whispered jocose withdrawal of the other offensive term was effected. But the next day on reference to the colonial Hansard it was found that coward had never been withdrawn, and the "coward" party,—the party supporting the gentleman who had used the word,—was supposed to have obtained a signal triumph.

On a certain occasion the Speaker of one of the Australian Houses of Assembly did me the honour of speaking to me respecting a debate at which I had been present, and I ventured to express an opinion that a gentleman, when alluding in very opprobrious terms to the religion of another member, had exceeded the fair licence of debate. The language had been such as to make me at the moment wish that some parliamentary Samson would arise and kick the offender into the street. The Speaker was immediately ready with his authority, and showed me a decision of Mr. Lefevre's in reference to the late eccentric Mr. Drummond, by which that best of all Speakers had decided that the utmost severity of sarcastic denunciation against the religion of a member of the House, was not beyond the limits of proper parliamentary debate. I was silenced of course,—but not convinced, feeling perhaps that a latitude might be allowed to Mr. Drummond, of which the gentleman of whom I complain was not worthy. No doubt the rules to be observed in a parliamentary assembly should be the same in regard to all its members;—but, equally without a doubt, personal distinction, reputation for noble *eloquence or polished* wit, for long-trusted *statesmanship or high moral* standing, will exalt a man above *the reach of those checks* to which they who are lower in

estimation must submit themselves. The House at Westminster will endure without complaint parliamentary irregularities from Mr. Disraeli or Bernal Osborne, from Gladstone or Mr. Hardy, which it would soon punish if proceeding from——other gentlemen whom I will not name.

In Queensland and Tasmania I heard no debates. The Houses were not sitting when I visited those colonies. I was present at debates in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, and I have no hesitation in saying that Sir James Martin, whom I saw sitting both on the ministerial and on the opposition benches, has in his manner of speaking more of the ring of our own House of Commons, than any other debater whom I had an opportunity of hearing in the colonies. That it should be so is singular, as Sir James has never been in Europe since he was a child, whereas a very large proportion of the colonial members must no doubt have listened to debates at home. Mr. Gavan Duffy, who was premier at Melbourne and ceased to be premier, while I was there, once sat in our House of Commons. I do not know that I should be justified in speaking of this tone and manner as an excellence, solely because they are the tone and manner of the English House of Commons; but they certainly seemed to convey to me a power which was sadly wanting in many others, and which none possessed in Australia, as the premier of New South Wales possessed it. It did not come simply from his words, and certainly not from his cause,—as to which my opinion was in direct opposition to him, for he was pleading his case as to the collection of the border duties between two colonies. But his manner of standing and of using his arms, his tones and gestures, his *mode* of attack and of defence, his assumed good *humour* and his assumed indignation, all made me feel

that he might fill one of those tightly squeezed seats on our own Treasury bench, and get up and answer questions about home judicature or colonial practice, with as little effort and as much official propriety as though he had been member for a Whig borough, and a Junior Lord of the Treasury when he was twenty-four years old. I wish I might live to see him in the uncomfortable position.

As I have named one individual colonial statesman, I will venture to make a second personal reference. Among colonial politicians Mr. Wilson, who was premier of Tasmania, when I was there, seemed to me to have clearer and juster views of the future political necessities of the colonies than any other colonial statesman with whom I had the advantage of conversing. What he may be in debate I do not know. He sits in the Upper Chamber of a small and unobtrusive colony; and even in those colonies which are not small and by no means unobtrusive,—such as Queensland and Victoria,—the debates of the Upper House, or Legislative Council, as it is called, are not much regarded. I presume, therefore, that Mr. Wilson has but few opportunities for oratory, even should he have the gift. But he has been looking steadily for many years into the public affairs of the colonies,—and seems to me to have done so with a clear insight. It is he who has been foremost in inducing his own and other colonies to impress upon the Colonial Office at home the expediency of a customs union that shall include all Australia and New Zealand,—and the expediency of open trade between any two or more of the colonies which may agree together for the purpose, till a general customs union shall be effected. The arguments which I have seen on the subject in the blue books of the different colonies have come chiefly from

his hand,—and to these arguments I have seen no answers which did not seem to be altogether ineffective. I believe that such a customs union will be effected, and that Australia will owe it mainly to the efforts made by Mr. Wilson.

Sitting as I did as a stranger first in one colonial House of Parliament and then in another, I could not but ask myself the question whether, were I a resident there, I would endeavour to get a seat for myself. I have ever regarded a place in the House of Commons at home as the highest honour open to an Englishman. There are of course degrees of honour in that House, as there are many mansions in heaven; but an entrance into that House is the first stepping-stone to them all. It should be so also in the colonies if things could be made to fit into their right places. But certainly there would be drawbacks to the pleasure. It must be admitted that there are such also with us. Many subjects of debate are wearisome and uninteresting, and many debates are wearisome and uninteresting even on subjects which are full of interest. In the colonies I certainly thought that the drawbacks were very material. I have heard the speech of a Colonial Treasurer bringing forward a colonial budget, during no portion of which, though it extended itself over a whole evening, was I able to extract Mr. Lowe's lucem ex lucello. I have heard nearly a whole House,—almost every member of it,—discuss the propriety of enacting that vehicles should carry lamps. I have heard all the parliamentary indignation of a colonial House of Assembly poured forth on a question of social precedency. I have heard speech after speech of lingering length on the qualification of a gentleman to be appointed a magistrate after he had been committed for selling grog without a licence.

I confess that I found a worse annoyance than more serious drawback on the comfort of colonial ientary life, in the scope for continual speech he checks or absence of checks in a small Chamber o an individual member. At home we have had bores, gentlemen whom it was hardly possible to rom a daily performance for which they were d neither by nature nor education; but at home eaker is powerful, the House is powerful, and the rs are powerful. The bore is silenced at any rate the choicer hours of debate, and is, at last, after in fashion stamped out. The House will not listen has come to a general but unexpressed resolution certain member is never worthy of being heard. the colonial legislatures the brazen-faced bore to be too strong for any restraint that can be l for him. And then in a small House his vote nportance, and the party which is unfortunate in nerence does not dare to join in snubbing him. man there is in one of the colonies as to whom ered that the House should suffer him,—that any the House should endure him even though he have given a triple vote. That he spoke every s nothing; many members did so. That he spoke ry subject was not much;—for others, perhaps, too. That he always spoke a dozen times on ubject was by no means his heaviest offence; nor hat in all his speeches he never deviated into or spoke a word worth hearing either on the score ument, or from its eloquence or wit. There are s worse than the offence of stupidity, even when ty be joined to arrogant presumption. In every hat this man spoke he either insulted an opponent, *npted to pander to* the prejudices of the multitude.

here are tribunes of the people and would-be tribunes. rce advocates of popular rights, as to whom it is often fficult not to think that their Demosthenic strain springs ather from their desire to please than to do good; and n listening to them the hearer turns his heart against hem. Such men are flatterers and demagogues;—but then they are probably capable of flattering and fitted by nature to seduce mobs. This man only aped the acts of such popular leaders, and aped them so badly, was so vulgar, so ignorant, so illiterate, so incapable in his attempts, so nauseous in his flights of oratory, so blasphemous in his appeals to religion, so impudent to the gentlemen around him, so weak in his language, so strong in his Billingsgate phrases, that I could think but little of a constituency which would return him, and marvelled at the patience of a House which would endure him. I felt that did I live in that colony and entertain a desire to sit in that House, I would certainly stand for the same constituency with that gentleman, so that we might not both sit there together. His continual presence must, I think, be to all those legislators a blistering thorn, robbing their position of all its pleasure and of most of its pride.

Of course there are parliamentary faults incidental to the infancy of these young parliaments. It was not to be expected that eloquence, wit, judgment, statesmanship, and above all that dignified serenity of manner which is essentially necessary to the construction of a great parliamentary assembly, should be brought to life at once in a young country,—born as it were out of some Minerva's brain. Complaint is made that the colonial debates are sometimes noisy, often vapid, and always wordy. It was hardly possible that they should not be so. It requires the tuition and practice of

century to teach men that they should restrain lves, confine themselves, and suppress themselves assembled together to debate on public matters, e lesson is much less easily taught in a small a large assembly. But the one thing necessary, e quâ non without which representative govern- ould hardly be commenced, and certainly could continued, the very marrow of parliamentary life which any parliamentary effort can be no more galvanised convulsion without any motive power own—is vitality. It is essential to a parliament e electors and the elected should be in earnest,— e constituencies should have an eager desire to is or that politician to represent them, and that itician should have an eager desire to represent that constituency. It is essential that the mem- vhen sent up to the Chamber, should regard the er as the scene of their choicest labours, that hould be proud to have it known that they sit and that they should be ambitious to obtain in- within its walls. Great Britain possesses a colony till the other day possessed a parliament that had two centuries. From causes which it would be place to specify here, all the vitality of that par- departed from it, and it made its last effort in the mother country to rule Jamaica as she rules for the most part conquered, dependencies which crown colonies. It had come to pass that no was to be won, even in Jamaica, by sitting in rliament at Spanish Town. The strength of the ian Legislative Chambers consists in the energy they possess, in the anxiety which is felt concern- m by the colonists, and in their hot desire for They are all alive, and therefore will increase

in strength with the growth of every year. We are apt at home to smile at their efforts because they change their ministries frequently. French kings and courtiers under the old régime, German statesmen and Russian diplomatists, have laughed at us, in England, on the same score. Even the Americans do so because they are bound to a ministry,—to a president who is his own minister and who need never change his subordinates, —for four years. To our eyes the power of parliament to change a ministry at any time is the surest pledge of our freedom. Even the desire of one party to oust another, the very system of opposition which creates that continued warfare to which we are used at home, is as sure a proof, as any that we have, of the vitality of our institutions. It is no less so in these colonies. Though their debates may be dreary, though their energy may be expended on small subjects, though an occasional member may be vulgar, noisy, and in every way objectionable, I do not doubt but that they will work satisfactorily, because they have got themselves set on foot in a proper spirit and with true life.

CHAPTER X.

Australian Sports.

THE English passion for the amusements which are technically called "Sports," is as strong in these colonies as it is at home. Why the taste should have transported itself to Australia and not to the United States I am not prepared to explain,—but I think any one who has observed the two countries will acknowledge that it is so. Trotting matches and yacht-racing are no doubt in *vogue* in the States, and there are men, few in number, who take kindly to shooting,—especially they who have

e Chesapeake and have canvas-back ducks within
ach. There is a set of betting-men at New York,
obably are beaten by none in the ferocity of their
ıg. But "sport" is not a national necessity with
ericans, whereas with the Australians it is almost
:h so as at home. Cricket, athletics, rowing
s, shooting, hunting, flat-racing, and steeplechas-
dear to them. There is hardly a town to be
ı town which has not its racecourse, and there
ıy racecourses where there are no towns. As I
ver either a cricketer nor an athlete, and know
of shooting or of racing, I am not qualified to
e the fashion in which our Australian cousins
eir ambition in these respects; but I can say that
e ambitious and are successful. In Queensland I
ngaroos, wallybies and iguanas shot down with
n. In Gipp's Land I was witness to a great
er of wild ducks and black swans. At Hobart
in Tasmania, there came off while I was in the
ıurhood a regatta, for not being present at which
ıuch abused. And I know that I was wrong, for
ıe must have been very lovely. No spot could
er arranged for boat-racing than the mouth of
went, with the open public park rising high and
ıove the water. I was inspecting a lunatic asy-
the time, and think that the regatta would have
ore amusing. Horse-racing I hate. As the horses
ıever can distinguish the colours; I generally lose
small bets; and I don't like champagne. But I
to the Launceston races in Tasmania, in refer-
which I can only remark that the number of
men who came over from Melbourne to make
out of the small performances on that occasion
l me very much. When the meeting was over I

went back to Melbourne with a ship-load of them, and was lost in speculation how so many carrion birds could live on so small an amount of prey. As to the professional activity of the confraternity, the diligence with which they worked at their trade, the unremitting attention which they paid to the smallest chances, I had no doubt. They all looked as though they would eat each other on board the boat, and I thought that some such unsatisfactory meals were made. Though the night was very cold I slept upon the deck, as the banquet was going on below. The songs of triumph and the wailings of despair at such festivals do not make pleasant music for an outsider.

I went also to see some hurdle-racing and steeplechasing at the Melbourne racecourse,—partly because I had been told that the course itself was especially worth seeing, and partly as having been invited to join a pleasant party. It had been impressed upon me as a duty that I should see at least one day's racing at Melbourne, in order that I might report on the aspect of the racecourse, the skill of the riders, and especially on the manners of the people. The course itself is something under two miles round. The courses run can, here as elsewhere, be arranged to any distance. The races I saw were described as being about three and two miles, and were all leap-races. I can only say of the fences prepared that I never before saw any which appeared to me so dangerous. They consisted chiefly of timber built up so stiffly that no horse and rider could break them, and were about four feet eight inches high. There was also a wall or two in the distant part of the course;—but I regard walls as very much less dangerous to men and horses than timber. The riding appeared to me bold to a fault, men being utterly reck-

less in riding beaten horses at barriers of built-up timber. The fashion and traditions of the place require that men shall so ride, and they certainly keep up the fashion and traditions. Consequently, on the occasion to which I allude there were almost innumerable falls. I think seven men and horses were down in one race, and four in another. I heard afterwards that the sports of the day were considered to have gone off with very harmless success. One jockey was a good deal crushed, and another had his collar-bone broken. Why half-a-dozen were not killed I cannot explain. Some of the horses jumped with admirable precision, taking just all the labour that was necessary and no more; but, as I afterwards learned, these horses will jump almost any amount of timber, but know nothing of fences, which are less dangerous, but more complicated and requiring greater skill. From the stewards' stand, and from the top of the great stand,—and indeed from the seats below,—every part of the course can be seen, so that with a good field-glass the working of any horse or any jockey may be watched throughout the whole race.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature of the performance was the demeanour of the people. From the beginning to the end of the day, I saw no one drunk; I heard no word that could shock any lady; I found no one rough, uncourteous, or displeasing. There was no thimble-rigging and no throwing of sticks. All the world was decent and decently dressed. Within a certain enclosure,—if it was enclosed,—ladies walked about with gentlemen; and outside of it, the world amused itself with orderly propriety. The meeting was not by any means the largest of the year, but I was assured by those who were qualified to give an opinion,—among others by the Governor of the colony,—that the conduct of the

crowd was the same even when the crowd was the greatest. It should be understood at home that the people of these colonies are almost invariably decent in their behaviour when gathered together, decent in their dress, and decent in their language. There certainly was no reason why ladies should not be present at the races I saw,—unless ladies dislike to see jockeys falling over high railings.

There was indeed a betting-ring, in which the usual applications were being made to some outside and invisible world to accept lavish offers of complicated bets. Men were walking about making unintelligible appeals apparently to each other,—which nobody ever seemed to accept. I am bound to say that the Melbourne ring looked to be as villainous as any other ring that I ever saw. The men wore the same objectionable clothing, were conspicuous in the same manner for indescribably abominable hats, and talked in that tone which to ordinary ears seems to be in itself evidence of rascality sufficient to hang a man. There were present, perhaps, two or three dozen of them ready to pick out any man's eyes; but I could not discern the prey. There is prey no doubt, as the profession thrives and wears jewellery. But the betting-ring on the Melbourne racecourse will hurt no one who does not expressly seek its precincts.

On the following day there was a great hunt breakfast,—or luncheon,—and the opening meet of the season with the Melbourne staghounds. Of other sports I practically know nothing. In regard to hunting I have for many years been striving to do something. So much was known of me by certain kind friends, and I was therefore invited to the entertainment and provided with a *horse*,—as to which I was assured that though he was *small* he was up to any weight, could go for ever and

jump anything. The country would be very rough;—so much was acknowledged,—and the fences very big; but it was suggested to me that if I would only drink enough sherry I might see a good deal of the run. I thought of my weight,—which is considerable, of my eyesight,—which is imperfect, of my inexperience in regard to timber fences four feet six inches high—which up to that moment was complete; I thought also that my informant in respect to the little horse, though indubitably veracious in intention, might probably be mistaken in his information, never having ridden the horse himself. Wishing to return once more to England so that I might publish my book, I resolved that discretion would be on this occasion the better part of valour, and that I would save my neck at the expense of the ill-opinion of the Melbourne hunting-field.

Such a hunt-banquet I never saw before. The spot was some eight or ten miles from Melbourne, close upon the sea-shore, and with a railway-station within a quarter of a mile. It was a magnificent day for a picnic, with a bright sun and a cool air, so that the temptations to come, over and beyond that of hunting, were great. About two hundred men were assembled in a tent pitched behind the house of the master of the festival, of whom perhaps a quarter were dressed in scarlet. Nothing could have been done better, or in better taste. There was no speaking, no drinking,—so to be called, but a violent clatter of knives and forks for about half-an-hour. At about two we were out on a common smoking our cigars in front of the house, and remained there talking to the ladies in carriages till nearly three, when we started. I found the horse provided for me to be a stout, easily-ridden, well-bitted cob; but when I remembered *what posts* and rails were in this country,

I certainly thought that he was very small. No doubt discretion would be the better part of valour! With such a crowd of horses as I saw around me, there would probably be many discreet besides myself, so that I might attain decent obscurity amidst a multitude. I had not bedizened myself in a scarlet coat.

We were upon a heath, and I calculated that there were present about two hundred and fifty horsemen. There was a fair sprinkling of ladies, and I was requested to observe one or two of them, as they would assuredly ride well. There is often a little mystery about hunting,—especially in the early part of the day,—as all men know who ride to hounds at home. It is not good that everybody should be told what covert is to be drawn first; and even with stag-hounds the officials of the pack will not always answer with full veracity every question put to them by every stranger. On this occasion there seemed to be considerable mystery. No one seemed to know where we were going to begin, and there was a doubt as to the quarry to be chased. I had been told that we were to hunt a dingo,—or wild dog; and there was evidently a general opinion that turning down a dingo,—shaking him I suppose out of a bag,—was good and genuine sport. We do not like bagged foxes at home,—but I fancy that they are unpopular chiefly because they will never run. If a dingo will run, I do not see why he should not be turned down as well as a deer out of a cart. But on this occasion I heard whispers about,—a drag. The asseverations about the dingo were, however, louder than the whispers about a drag, and I went on, believing that the hounds would be put upon the trail of the animal. We rode for some three or four miles over heath-land, nobody around me seeming to be in the least aware when the thing would commence.

ıe huntsman was crabbed and uncommunicative. The ıster was soft as satin, but as impregnable as plate nour. I asked no questions myself, knowing that time ll unravel most things; but I heard questions asked, e answers to which gave no information whatever. At t the hounds began to stir among the high heather, d were hunting something. I cared little what it was, only there might be no posts and rails in that coun-. I like to go, but I don't like to break my neck; d between the two I was uncomfortable. The last ıces I had seen were all wire, and I was sure that a ag would not be laid among them. But we had got ar of wire fences, — wire all through from top to ttom,—before we began. We seemed to be on an en heath, riding round a swamp, without an obstacle sight. As long as that lasted I could go as well as best.

But it did not last. In some three minutes, having lden about half a mile, I found myself approaching ch an obstacle as in England would stop 'a whole ld. It was not only the height but the obduracy of wooden barrier,—which seemed as though it were ilt against ever-rushing herds of wild bulls. At home are not used to such fences, and therefore they are rible to us. At a four foot and a half wall, a man th a good heart and a good horse will ride; and the imal, if he knows what he is about, will strike it, metimes with fore as well as hind feet, and come down thout any great exertion. But the post and rail in ıstralia should be taken with a clear flying leap. There e two alternatives if this be not done. If the horse d man be heavy enough and the pace good enough, e top bar may be broken. It is generally about eight *ches deep and four* thick, is quite rough, and appa-

rently new,—but, as on this occasion I saw repeat
may be broken; and when broken the horse and
go through unscathed,—carried by their own impe
a candle may be fired through a deal board. The
chance is to fall,—which event seemed to occur
often even than the smashing of the rail. Now
especially warned that if I rode slowly at these
and fell, my horse would certainly fall atop o
whereas if I went fast I should assuredly be launch
far ahead that there would be room for my hor
tween me and the fence which had upset me.
not a nice prospect for a man riding something
sixteen stone!

But now had come the moment in which I
make up my mind. Half-a-dozen men were ove
rail. Half-a-dozen baulked it. Two fell, escaping
own horses by judicious impetus. One gentlema
his horse half over, the fore quarters being on one
and the hind on the other, so that the animal was
up. A lady rode at it with spirit, but checked her
with the curb, and he, rearing back, fell on her. A
lady took it in gallant style. Of those before me n
seemed to flinch it. For a moment it seemed as th
the honour of all the hunting fields in England
entrusted to my keeping, and I determined to
greatly, let the penalty be what it might. With
hands and legs, but with heart very low down, I cra
the little brute at the mountain of woodwork. As
so I knew that he could not carry me over. Lucki
knew as much about it as I did, and made no
slightest attempt to rise with me. I don't know
ever felt so fond of a horse before.

At that moment, an interesting individual co
like a cannon ball, crashed the top bar beside me

I, finding that the lady was comfortably arranging her back hair with plenty of assistance, rode gallantly over the second bar. For the next half-hour I took care always to go over second bars, waiting patiently till a top bar was broken. I had found my level, and had resolved to keep it. On one occasion I thought that a top bar never would be broken,—and the cessation was unpleasant, as successful horsemen disappeared one after another. But I perceived that there was a regular company of second-bar men, so that as long as I could get over a rail three feet high I need not fear that I should be left alone. And hitherto the pace had not been quick enough to throw the second-bar men out of the hunt. But soon there came a real misfortune. There was a fence with only one bar,—with only one apparent obstacle. I am blind as well as heavy, and I did not see the treacherous wire beneath. A heavy philanthropist, just before me, smashed the one, and I rode on at what I thought to be a free course. My little horse, seeing no more than I did, rushed upon the wire, and the two of us were rolled over in ignominious dismay. The horse was quicker on his feet than I was, and liking the sport, joined it at once single-handed; while I was left alone and disconsolate. Men and horses,—even the sound of men and horses,—disappeared from me, and I found myself in solitude in a forest of gum-trees.

I was certain that we had been running a drag all the morning. As I wandered about I felt the ignominy of the whole thing. If a man does ride to a drag he should at any rate ride well, and not lose his horse and be alone after the first half hour. And in that wild country I might be wandering about for a week without seeing anything but a cockatoo or an Australian magpie. *There does, however,* always come some relief in these

miseries. I first encountered another horseless man, then a second companion in misery,—and at last a groom with my own little nag. As for the run, that, as regarded me, was of course over; but I had legs besides my own to take me back twelve miles to the place at which I was stopping.

As far as I could learn they ran a drag on that occasion for about seven miles, and then came upon a turned-down dingo. This animal they took alive after two miles. The sporting reader will perceive from this that an appearance was maintained of finding game, and hunting the game to the end. The Melbourne hounds do also hunt deer,—sometimes turning down a deer from a cart as we do at home, and sometimes finding a wild deer. The sport, as I saw it in the neighbourhood of Melbourne, was as I have described.

But previously to this I had hunted kangaroos in Queensland and New South Wales, and I will say a word or two as to that sport. I confess that in the absence of fox-hunting I enjoyed it very much. Four of us went out in Queensland with four kangaroo-dogs amidst timber that was not thick, and found game in plenty. The kangaroo-dog,—having that special name throughout the colonies quite as assuredly as any kind of hound has his own name in England,—is a large rough greyhound, that hunts both by sight and by nose. The difficulty consists in getting the dogs to settle upon any one head of game,—and to settle upon the one kangaroo which the sportsman may select. And, indeed, there is the further difficulty of getting the men who are out to join in the same choice. The hounds scatter and the men scatter, and it will often happen that a man is attempting *to ride* down a kangaroo without a hound, and a hound *making* the same attempt without a rider. We found

kangaroos in very large mobs,—on one occasion I should think some hundreds of them together. On such occasions a great deal of cross riding takes place before any united action can be effected. If possible a very large, or "old man" kangaroo should be cut out and followed. They are very stout in running, but not so fast as the does and young ones. If a young kangaroo gets the chance of falling ground in his favour, he bounds at every leap to such a distance that it is impossible to keep near him. It is of course known by all readers that the kangaroo runs, or rather jumps, with his hind legs only. When not molested his arms come near to the ground, but when pursued he carries them high,—and looks like some mixture of a man and deer springing through the forests. The pace in hunting them is always very quick, and it is necessary to turn with the greatest rapidity among the forest trees. Ten minutes or a quarter of an hour will generally see the end of a run. By that time either the hounds are at the throat of the animal, or else he has made good his escape. We killed, I think, seven in two days,—and had other runs in which we lost our prey. The "old man" kangaroo when hard pressed will turn round and fight the hounds,—or fight the man who comes up to knock him over. And he fights with great power, inflicting terrible wounds with his fore paws.

In New South Wales I saw a kangaroo which we were hunting catch up a terrier in his arms, and carry the little animal in his embrace throughout the run. He was not, however, able to hurt the dog, who, when the affair was over, seemed to come quite undismayed out of his difficulty. And I saw also a female kangaroo, when the hounds were after her, throw her kid out of the pouch in which she carried it. On that occasion

the kid was killed and the mother escaped. They will carry their young one as long as it is possible for them, and then throw him out almost without losing a stride.

In this hunting there is not much jumping; but what there is requires a very quick horse. The turns are rapid, and the ground is strewed by prostrate forest trunks. There is danger too of riding against trees. This on one occasion I did, with great force; and could not use my leg for six weeks after the accident. In default, however, of anything better, kangaroo hunting is good sport.

NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER XI.

Early History.

In an appendix to his work on New Zealand, Dr. Thompson gives a catalogue of more than four hundred different publications which had appeared before 1860, in reference to that colony, and he does not state that it is exhaustive. In the face of this immense bulk of literature about New Zealand, I am almost bound to feel that more writing would be superfluous. I reflect, however, that till I had conceived the intention of visiting the colony myself, I had never even opened one of these four hundred publications; and thinking that others may have been as remiss as myself, I venture to add another to the list, hoping that it may reach some few who have hitherto neglected, as I had done, the multitudinous opportunities of information afforded them.

It is, I believe, now recognised as an historical fact that the Maoris, or natives whom we found in New Zealand when we first visited the land, are a Polynesian race who came to these islands from Hawaiki,—which was probably one of the Navigators. As to the latter point, however, there is a difference of opinion, some thinking that the migration was from a point as far east as the Sandwich Islands. It is stated that Cardinal

Mezzofante declared the Maori language and that of the Sandwich Islands to be the same. We are told not only the names of the chiefs who brought the travellers, but also those of the boats in which they came; nor is there any absurdity in this, as the traditions of the Maori people have been preserved with tenacious fidelity, and the period at which the migration took place is not very remote. They were, for the most part, a brown people, of the Malay race, and seem to have found no human inhabitants before them when they landed. It has been calculated from the succession of chiefs, of whose names tradition has kept the record, that the Maoris landed in New Zealand about the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is perhaps impossible now to fix the date with accuracy. Of all the people whom we have been accustomed to call savages, they were perhaps, in their savage condition as we found them, the most civilised. They lived in houses; had weapons and instruments of their own made of stone; held land for cultivation as the property, not of individuals, but of tribes; cooked their food with fire; stored property so that want and starvation were uncommon among them; possessed a system for the administration of justice, and treated their wives well. But they were greatly addicted to civil wars, and they ate their enemies when they could kill or catch them.

They are an active people,—the men averaging 5 feet 6½ inches in height, and are almost equal in strength and weight to Englishmen. In their former condition they wore matting, now they wear European clothes. Formerly they pulled out their beards, and every New Zealander of mark was tattooed; now they wear beards, —and the young men are not tattooed. Their hair is black and coarse, but not woolly like a negro's, or black.

like a Hindoo's. The nose is almost always broad, and the mouth large. In other respects their features are not unlike those of the European race. The men, to my eyes, were better looking than the women,—and the men who were tattooed better looking than those who had dropped the custom. The women still retain the old custom of tattooing the under lip. The Maoris had a mythology of their own, and believed in a future existence;—but they did not recognise one Supreme God. Virtue with them, as with other savages, consisted chiefly in courage, and a command of temper. Their great passion was revenge, which was carried on by one tribe against another to the extent sometimes of the annihilation of tribes. The decrease of their population since the English first came among them, has been owing as much to civil war, as to the injuries with which civilisation has afflicted them. They seem from early days to have acquired that habit of fighting behind stockades,—or in fortified pahs,—which we have found so fatal to ourselves in our wars with them. Their weapons, before they got guns from us, were not very deadly. They were chiefly short javelins and stones, both flung from slings. But there was a horror in their warfare to the awfulness of which they themselves seem to have been keenly alive. When a prisoner was taken in war, he was cooked and eaten.

I do not think that human beings were slaughtered for food in New Zealand, although there is no doubt that the banquet when prepared was enjoyed with a horrid relish. I will quote a passage from Dr. Thompson's work in reference to the practice of cannibalism, and will then have done with the subject. "Whether or not cannibalism commenced immediately after the advent of the New Zealanders from Hawaiki, it is nevertheless

certain that one of Tasman's sailors was eaten in 1643; that Captain Cook had a boat's crew eaten in 1774; that Marion de Fresne and many other navigators met this horrible end; and that the pioneers of civilisation and successive missionaries have all borne testimony to the universal prevalence of cannibalism in New Zealand up to the year 1840. It is impossible to state how many New Zealanders were annually devoured; that the number was not small may be inferred from two facts authenticated by European witnesses. In 1822, Hongi's army ate three hundred persons after the capture of Totara, on the River Thames, and in 1836, during the Rotura war, sixty beings were cooked and eaten in two days." I will add from the same book a translation of a portion of a war-song:—"Oh, my little son, are you crying, are you screaming for your food? Here it is for you, the flesh of Hekemanu and Werata. Although I am satisfeited with the soft brains of Putu Rikiriki and Raukani, yet such is my hatred that I will fill myself fuller with those of Pau, of Ngaraunga, of Pipi, and with my most dainty morsel, the flesh of the hated Te ao." In these wars they threatened each other with cannibalism, and boasted of the foes they had devoured.

The two islands of New Zealand together are about as big as Great Britain. The French, Spaniards, and Dutch, all claim to have been the first discoverers, but the honour is now conceded to the latter. J. Van Tasman, he who also discovered for us Tasmania, is supposed to have been the first to have seen New Zealand closely, though he never put his foot upon it. He came over from Batavia in 1642, anchored off the north-west coast of the middle island, and gave to the country the Dutch name of New Zealand. There was doubtless some fighting, but according to his story, the natives

ked him. His discovery was of no service to him, ie could get neither water nor food,—and so he his way. After that we have no distinct record of visit to the islands till Cook landed there in 1796. c had much intercourse with the natives, frequently ng with them, and as frequently fighting them. It rhaps hardly worth the while of any English reader to sift the merits and demerits of the two parties, o attempt to discover which first used violence to ther. But it is impossible not to feel that whereas trangers had no moral right to attack the natives, iatives cannot have been morally wrong in attempt- o destroy their invaders.

t has generally if not always been the case on such sions, that the new-comers have intended to be ous, if the natives whom they found would only racious also;—but have as firmly determined to be ers, if not by fair means, then by foul. They have ied what they wanted as though it were their own, have punished offences against their own laws with h hand. In all the intercourse of Europeans with e races it has been so,—though in a less degree ur intercourse with the New Zealanders than with others. "We desire your land for high purposes of wn which you cannot understand. If you will give without molesting us, you shall live on it and not olested. But you must live as we direct you." Such been the orders given to races who could not be even to understand them,—and the orders, if not ed, have been enforced. Perhaps in no case since peans have sought for new homes in distant coun- has so true an attempt been made to treat the old bitants with justice as has been done in New Zea- —*and it has been* so because New Zealand has

been the last discovered;—but the result has been the same. In other countries, as in Australia, we have simply declared the land to be our own. In New Zealand, we at last declared the land not to be ours, to be the property of the Maoris,—but as a fact, by far the greater portion of the land belongs to us already, and the remainder will soon be ours. Possession of New Zealand was taken by Cook in the name of George III., but the English nation never acted on the claim so made. It is, indeed, still stated in the official records of the Colonial Office, that New Zealand was added to the British Empire by "settlement" in 1814; but such settlement was a settlement only on paper, was followed by no governing action, and, if ever of any avail, was superseded by acts of recognition on the part of Great Britain of the independence of the natives of New Zealand. For seventy-five years after Cook's first visit, we had continual dealings with New Zealand, without any official assumption of political dominion. English traders, not always of the best character, frequented the shores, bringing away the native flax, in return for which they supplied the New Zealanders with firearms; catching seals and whales, marrying New Zealand girls, sometimes domesticated with the people, sometimes governing them, sometimes flying in dread from their awful practice,—and sometimes eaten. Missionaries settled among them, sometimes obtaining great influence,—and, again, sometimes eaten. Attempts were made by individuals, subjects of the British Crown, to obtain kingly authority over the people;—and as late as in 1835, an English gentleman, who was styled the British Resident, who had been appointed by British authority, and who died but the *other* day, endeavoured to establish an independent *native* government, which was to be in some sort subject

himself. This was Mr. Busby; but nothing came of
New Zealand constitution,—as nothing had previously
me of a former attempt made by that famous New
aland settler, a Briton with a French name, Baron de
hiery, to make himself king in the country. But these
oings show that Great Britain exercised no real authority
ver the islands while they were in progress. Though
ıe European inhabitants were growing in numbers,
ıough their influence was becoming great if not supreme,
ıough the work of the missionaries was progressing,—
nd in speaking of the early days of New Zealand, even
ɔ cursorily as I am doing now, it would be wrong to
ave the name of Mr. Marsden unmentioned,—though
ıat which we call civilisation was extending itself among
ıe Maoris, who were gradually adopting European
abits,—yet the British Crown hesitated to found a
olony. New Zealanders were brought to England and
ıown at Court, and elsewhere,—and were, no doubt,
ıe more interesting because they were cannibals. But
annibals they still were, and authorised colonisation
mong them was felt to be difficult. They must either
e exterminated or Christianized,—and probably the too
ıpid extermination which would go hand in hand with
ıe slower Christianization, might bring more blame than
raise upon a philanthropic Secretary of the Colonies.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the difficulty
as of this nature. There were two parties, each anx-
ɔus to do good;—a colonising party which desired
ɔ create a home for Englishmen in a country fitted
pparently above others for the purpose by soil and
limate, and which sought by its influence and its
rguments to force the Colonial Office to give way to
ıeir views of colonisation; and a missionary party,
hose philanthropy was exercised, not on behalf of

Englishmen, but for the native inhabitants of the colony. The missionaries were altogether hostile to the colonising schemes of such men as Lord Durham, Francis Baring, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and desired to keep in their own hands any civilising operations which might be extended from England to New Zealand. Christianity for the heathen, even though it might be hardly more than a nominal Christianity, was their object. Land for emigrating Britons, even though it might be bought by the extermination of the heathen, was the object of their opponents. The Colonial Office was for a long time inclined to favour the missionaries rather than the colonists. There was less of political danger on that side. It is asserted that when Lord Normanby, as Colonial Secretary, at last gave orders for asserting the Queen's right to New Zealand, he told the first governor that the colonisation of New Zealand had been deferred as long as possible, because it had been found that the progress of the white men among savages had always led to the extirpation of the native race.

But it was in vain that any Secretary of State should endeavour to stop the tide of those who have been born to people the earth. The advantages to be gained were too great to be hidden out of sight, or withdrawn from the uses of the world. In 1825, a New Zealand company had been formed under the auspices of Lord Durham, with the avowed object of buying land from the natives,—thus recognising the right of the natives to sell the land. The recognition was of course not a national recognition, nor in any way sanctioned by British authority;—but it showed the tendency of the minds of the leading men who at that time interested themselves in the science of colonising. Land was bought, but this first company did not effect much. In 1838, renewed

attention was drawn to the subject by two Committees of the House of Commons, which were appointed to inquire, one into the condition of the colonial Aborigines generally, and the second as to that vexed question, the manner in which colonial lands should be sold; and in the subsequent year the New Zealand Association was formed, of which Mr. Francis Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, was chairman. The Colonial Office was evidently adverse to the Association from the first,—fearing that although its own official responsibility would remain, its privileges and influence in regard to the management of colonisation would be taken from it. It refused to give a charter to the Association on the ground that the Association was not a company bound together for any commercial purpose. It was a political, not a commercial speculation,—and as such, it was at last refused all countenance by the Colonial Office. There can, I think, be but little doubt that there existed a desire on the part of one of the leaders of the New Zealand Association,—and that leader, the man who was most energetic in the matter, — to stultify and conquer the Colonial Minister of the day, and to raise himself on the ruin he might thus make. No one can read Mr. E. G. Wakefield's written words,—either his book on the "Art of Colonisation," or his published Letters,—without feeling that such was his purpose.

But Mr. Gibbon Wakefield was joined with men who were both too good and too strong to be put down by any minister. In 1839, out of the ashes of the Association arose the New Zealand Land Company,—another New Zealand company. Of this Lord Durham was the governor; and among its members were Lord Petre, Francis Baring, Russel Ellice, William Hutt, Sir William *Molesworth, John Abel* Smith, and others almost as well

known. Mr. Wakefield was not a director,—but he one who often directed directors. It is not probabl much to say that he was the moving spirit of the pany, and the parent of the scheme which in truth l the adoption of New Zealand as a colony by Britain. The scheme, however, had by no means object. As the Colonial Office had thwarted the ciation, the Company resolved upon going to work out the Colonial Office, and buying land on their authority, as though the New Zealand chiefs were gether independent of the British government. In their first ship sailed for the islands. I have been that the day before it sailed Lord John Russell, Secretary of State of the time, hearing of its inte purpose, declared the illegality of the proceeding, his intention of making known to these embryo pio of New Zealand colonisation that they would no allowed to take up land from the natives without san from the Crown. But in the course of that very the ship weighed anchor in the Downs, and my formant assured me that during the night Gibbon W field himself travelled from London down to Deal, the necessary orders, and was back in London on following morning. The story may probably be accurate in its details,—possibly altogether untrue; it passes as true in New Zealand. At any rate the went, and it was known to the Colonial Office th was the purpose of those on board of her to make chases of land from the New Zealand chiefs as th the Colonial Office had no voice in the matter.

It was felt that the time had come in which s action must be taken. Great Britain could not *reason* forbid her children to settle on the shore New Zealand in independence of herself, unless she

prepared to form some plan by which they might do so with the usual dependence on her protection. She could not be a dog in the manger to her own children, refusing to take New Zealand herself, and forbidding them to take it because she claimed it, though she would not use it. In spite of the horrors of cannibalism, in the teeth of the missionaries, who with true courage but mistaken philanthropy were anxious to endure all the perils of Christianizing these people after some fashion which should not also exterminate them, the Colonial Office did take the matter up when she found that the new company had sent out a shipload of colonists; and on the 15th of June, 1839, New Zealand was proclaimed a part of the colony known as New South Wales, and subject to the government there exercised. On this occasion a step towards real possession was taken. Captain Hobson was appointed as the first lieutenant-governor,—at first indeed with the name of consul, but with powers in his possession to assume the higher functions of governor.

The settlers had been sent out by the New Zealand Land Company, under the guidance of Colonel Wakefield, a brother of Gibbon Wakefield, and they landed, in August, 1839, on the southern extremity of the northern island, in Wellington Harbour as it is now called. Captain Hobson in the following January disembarked at the Bay of Islands, which is almost at the northern extremity. Both gentlemen seem to have gone to work earnestly to perform the tasks assigned to them. Before the end of 1839 Colonel Wakefield and his followers had bought land enough for a kingdom, a tract, it is said, as large as Ireland, paying for it in goods. Muskets, gunpowder, ball-cartridge, bullet-moulds and *flints, red night-caps*, pocket-handkerchiefs, looking-

glasses, jews'-harps, shaving-brushes, and sealing-wax, are all conspicuous in the list of the chattels for which the land was bartered. For a time everything was rosy-coloured, both with the savages and the new-comers; but it appeared before long,—as of course would be the case,—that the New Zealanders had understood but little of the terms of the contract, and that in many cases they who had professed to sell the land, had no commission from their tribes and no title of their own to make the sale.

A few days after the landing Captain Hobson initiated his powers by entering into a treaty with the natives, which was diametrically, though not at the time intentionally, opposed to the transactions of the Company. This was the treaty of Waitangi, which was signed at Waitangi by 46 chiefs, and afterwards by 512 Maoris in all, throughout the two islands. It stipulated, first,—that the united tribes of New Zealand owned the Queen of Great Britain to be their Queen,—secondly, that the Queen of Great Britain owned that the land of New Zealand, for all purposes of private possession, belonged to the native tribes;—and thirdly, that the Queen would protect the tribes. This treaty is still law, and is the basis on which Great Britain really founds its claim to the possession of New Zealand. As far as first principles of truth and justice are concerned, it must probably be acknowledged that they who on the part of New Zealand executed the treaty of Waitangi, knew what they were about no better than their brethren who received bullets and red nightcaps for the land round Wellington Bay. But then, had we as a nation been always scrupulous as to first principles, we should never have *colonised* any country. Had we done nothing, sent out no first governor to New Zealand, and made no attempt

either by treaty with the natives or by imperial power, to put ourselves in a position to govern the land, three very adverse interests would have torn New Zealand to pieces between them,—the natives, the missionaries, and the colonists. The natives would have eaten many missionaries and many colonists; but the colonists would finally have extirpated both the natives and the missionaries. And terrible injustice would have been done, without even law to give it a seeming justification. Probably no better step towards civilisation could have been taken at the time than the treaty of Waitangi.

The colony was thus founded, and Great Britain as a nation was bound to protect and to keep hold of that which was now her own. The Bay of Islands offered no good site for a town, and Governor Hobson moved down south and placed his seat of government at a place which he called Auckland. Till 1865 Auckland was the capital of New Zealand. It was then removed outh, to Wellington, at which place the New Zealand ompany had founded its first town, as being central r both the islands. In 1842 New Zealand became a shopric, and Dr. Selwyn, the first bishop, arrived.

But, as we all know now, the real work of colonising e country had barely as yet been commenced. Indeed mode in which it had been commenced, though noable as far as the home government was concerned its intended justice, was, by reason of its very justice, dapted for quick permanent settlement. The one g which uncivilised races have possessed, and which ding colonists have required, has been land; and it ll but universally been held that the invading nation a right to take the land as national property, either ut price, or at a price to be settled by itself. At *Phillip Batman* was not allowed to purchase land

from the Aborigines of the country, because the land was held to belong to the Crown. This assumption on the part of the Crown renders colonisation easy. Anything done afterwards for the natives is done under the guise of charity. The natives are supposed to possess nothing, and therefore nothing can be taken from them. This has been felt so universally to be the practice of colonising nations, that even in regard to New Zealand, many years after the treaty of Waitangi, by which it was stipulated that the land should be left in the possession of the natives, a dispatch was sent out from the Colonial Office intimating that the native inhabitants of the islands had no right of property in land which they did not occupy. It was abhorrent to the feelings of the Colonial Office generally,—as indeed it is to those of almost every Briton,—that land in which men could live should be allowed to remain waste. But by the treaty of Waitangi it had been acknowledged that the actual ownership of all land in New Zealand was in the hands of the New Zealand tribes. Such being the treaty which had been completed, it was not likely that Colonel Wakefield's companions would be allowed to retain possession of the enormous territories which they had bought for a small ship's cargo of English goods.

Mr. Fox, who, when I reached Wellington in August, 1872, was premier of the colony, endeavours to show in his history of the war in New Zealand that the war between the settlers and the Maoris did not owe its origin to quarrels about land. I hardly think that he has succeeded. It is at any rate manifest that the condition which enabled the Maoris to maintain a war was one which arose from the rights which we gave them, and that their disposition to wage a war with us was created by the idea of European weakness which our concessions

o them had generated. I do not say that those conces-
ions were wrong. In abstract justice they were no doubt
ight,—unless wrong in that they did not concede enough.
3ut they paved the way to the war. When government
vas established on the basis of the treaty, Europeans
laimed to have bought something over forty-five mil-
ions of acres; but it was necessary to investigate the
laims, and to ascertain with some sort of rough justice
or how much land some payment, which might be pre-
umed to be adequate, had in truth been made. It was
nacted that the title of the purchaser should be made
ood by crown grants, the crown grants to be given on
xamination of land claims. The land claims were dis-
llowed, and the grants, or titles, refused, unless the
urchase was shown to have been made from tribal
uthorities entitled to sell, and at adequate prices. The
reater portion of the land said to have been bought
vas restored to the natives,—to the great disgust of the
olonial landholders,—or landsharks, as they were soon
fterwards called.

Mr. Fox explains,—and no doubt with some truth,—
hat certain small preliminary wars between the natives
nd the colonists,—in 1845 and afterwards,—were not
mmediately produced by any quarrels as to land; but
ven these could hardly have occurred had not the na-
ives been taught to think that, great as the Europeans
t first appeared to them, that greatness was on the
vane. Auckland and Wellington were not the only spots
t which Europeans had begun to colonise. Settlements
ad been formed, and towns had grown up, at Nelson,
n the north-western coast of the Southern Island, at
Jew Plymouth, in the province which still keeps the na-
ive name of Taranaki on the western coast of the North
land, and at other places, before the days of the great

war came; but Otago and Canterbury, the now flouri
ing provinces of the Southern Island, were not as
founded. At all these settlements the acquisition of la
was the one great object.

The feeling of the natives may be best ascertain
from their action. In 1853 a land league was form
among them, originating in Taranaki, where the gr
war afterwards originated, with the object of preventi
any further alienation of their lands by the New Zealan
ers to the white men. "The money," they said, "whi
we receive for our land is soon gone, but the land r
mains with the Europeans for ever!" In this league the
was much of the spirit of the "unions" at home, t
members of which, not content with binding themselv
to certain stipulations, endeavoured to carry out the
views by ill-using those of their trade who would n
join them. Tribes willing to sell were deterred fro
selling, and so strong was the league at Taranaki, th
not an acre of land could be bought round New Ply
mouth by the white settlers. Then the natives in th
centre of the North Island determined, like the Jew
that they would have a king of their own. It was natur
enough that they should not understand the precise e
tent of the submission which they, or others on their b
half, had made to Queen Victoria. They did unde
stand that Queen Victoria's governors did not gove
them in accordance with their own laws,—and also th
the laws of the white men did not suit them. The
seemed to have acknowledged among themselves th
British authority was to prevail in the parts of the cou
try which belonged to the colonists, and on lands whi
they recognised as having been sold; but they considere
themselves justified in appointing a king for themselve
to rule them within the pale of the lands which w

still their own. So the king was appointed,—the title having been adopted as that to which the new-comers amongst them had accustomed them,—and a part of the North Island became his kingdom. He was, and still is, but a mock king, for few even of the natives have recognised his power,—but he was strong enough to shut up his country, to keep a body of armed followers whom he called his army, to forbid the formation of roads, to defy the British law, and to keep himself beyond the reach of European contact. And this king still exists, shutting up a portion of the Northern Island, not only against individual enterprise, but also against the Queen's authority.

It is not within the scope of my purpose to write a history of New Zealand. Neither my knowledge of the subject or my space would allow me to do so. It has simply been my intention to endeavour to describe to those who are as ignorant of New Zealand as I was before I visited her shores, the circumstances under which she became a British colony. When speaking of the Northern Island further on I will venture to say something of the Maoris and their wars. To this chapter I will only add a few dates. Captain Grey, now so well known in connection with New Zealand as Sir George Grey, landed in the colony in November 1845. At that time the governor was aided by a council, but was in fact supreme. The condition of the colony on Captain Grey's arrival was one of warfare with the natives, which warfare continued till peace was proclaimed, on 21st February, 1848. In 1852 gold was first found, in the North Island in the province of Auckland, but was not then worked to any success. It was not till 1860 that gold was found in the Middle Island, and that New Zealand became one of the great gold-fields of the world. In 1846, Sir George Grey being Governor, an Act was

passed by the British parliament "to make further provision for the Government of the New Zealand Islands." I need not specify the provisions of the Act. In 1852, still during the reign of Sir George Grey,—his first reign, for, as all know who are interested in New Zealand, Sir George was twice Governor,—another act was passed with the object of giving a constitution to New Zealand. That constitution, though it has been much amended, still exists, and is certainly not deficient in its enactments for the liberty of the subject. It created a New Zealand parliament, called the General Assembly, consisting of the Governor as king,—a Legislative Council, in which there were at first ten members, the members being nominated by the Crown for life, and of a House of Representatives elected for five years. An electoral qualification was instituted, which still exists, and is about equal in its bearing to household suffrage at home, and of which the lowest terms are £10 household in the town, and £5 household in the country. So far, the constitution of New Zealand is similar to that of the Australian colonies; but, in addition to this, the colony was divided into provinces,—at first six provinces, Auckland, Wellington, Taranaki, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury,—and to each province was given a separate legislature, under a superintendent elected by provincial votes. This scheme was, no doubt, taken from the State legislature of the United States. By the constitution the Maoris were endowed with political rights equal to those of the white men—which rights they still enjoy. Indeed, they have now higher privileges, as four Maoris sit in the House of Representatives as members returned by exclusively Maori constituencies. By these constituencies no white man can be returned, but a Maori can sit for any electoral district in the country.

constitution came out to New Zealand in 1853, the Provincial Council at once went to work. rge Grey left New Zealand at the close of that id the first General Assembly sat at Auckland in

CHAPTER XII.

Otago,—The Lake District.

D landed at Melbourne on 27th July, 1871, and t place for New Zealand on the 29th July, 1872, spent a year and two days in seeing the Aus- colonies. From Melbourne we took the steamer Bluffs, the name given to the southern part of ldle Island. It may be well to explain to any ve omitted New Zealand from their acquired hy, that the colony bearing that name consists of th Island, the Middle Island, and Stewart Island, latter is a small affair, forming a part of the province of Otago, and at present only interest- behalf of its scenery. It must be understood that e Northern and Middle Island are divided into t provinces. The government is attempting to fishing establishment in Stewart Island, and to immigrants to come out with the object of follow- t occupation. That there is abundance of fish, g oysters, is an established fact. The island is nt very thinly occupied, chiefly by Maoris and a te race. The colony of New Zealand in fact of the Northern and Middle Islands. The portion of the latter is now the province of and is, of all the New Zealand provinces, the first t of population. Three years ago there were two provinces, Southland and Otago, which are now

combined. The Bluffs, at which we landed, is the seaport of Southland, and hence there runs a railway to Invercargill,—which was its capital when as a separate province it had a capital,—and twenty miles beyond it to a place called Winton. On landing I immediately asked to be shown some Maoris, but was told that they were very scarce in that part of the country. Indeed, I did not see one in the whole province, and it seemed as though I might as well have asked for a moa,—the great bird which used, in former days, to stalk in salutary grandeur about the island. The place at which we landed had a quay, and a railway, a post office, and two inns;—but it had nothing else. The scenery was wild and pretty,—more like the western sea-coast of County Cork than any other that I have seen. The land was poor, and for some distance around apparently useless. There were hills on all sides, and mountains in the distance. It would be impossible to imagine any country more unlike Australia,—a remark which I may as well make once for all, and which may be applied to everything in New Zealand. The two countries both grow wool, and are both auriferous. Squatters and miners are common to them. But in all outward features they are dissimilar,—as they are also in the manners of the people, and in the forms of their government.

I found myself struck, for a moment, with the peculiarity of being in New Zealand. To Australia generally I had easily reconciled myself, as being a part of the British Empire. Of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land I had heard so early in life, as to have become quite used to them,—so that I did not think myself to be very far from home when I got there. But New Zealand had come up in my own days, and there still remained to me something of the feeling of awful

distance with which at that time I regarded the young settlements at the Antipodes,—for New Zealand is, of all inhabited lands, the most absolutely Antipodean to Greenwich. I remembered the first appearance in public of the grim jokes attributed to Sydney Smith, as to the cold curate, and the hope expressed that Bishop Selwyn might disagree with the cannibal who should eat him. The colony still retained for me something of the mysterious vagueness with which it was enveloped in early days,—so that when landing at The Bluff I thought that I had done something in the way of travelling. Melbourne had been no more than New York, hardly more than Glasgow, certainly not so much as Vienna. But if I could find myself in a Maori pah,—then indeed the flavour of the dust of Pall Mall would for the time depart from me altogether. Most travellers have experienced the feeling,—have anticipated a certain strangeness which they have never quite achieved. But when I reached Invercargill, the capital of Southland, I felt exactly as I might have felt on getting out of a railway in some small English town, and by the time I had reached the inn, and gone through the customary battle as to bedrooms, a tub of cold water, and supper, all the feeling of mystery was gone. I began to inquire the price of tea and sugar, and the amounts of wages which men were earning;—but had no longer any appreciation of my Antipodean remoteness from the friends of my youth.

I can hardly explain how it is that Invercargill, and indeed all New Zealand towns, are more like England, than are the towns of Australia;—but so it is. When one gets into the country the reasons for this are apparent. The everlasting gum forests do not belong to New Zealand, and the trees which are indigenous to the soil *are brighter in hue* than the dull-coloured foliage of

the eucalyptus tribe. And "the bush," at any
the Southern,—or so-called Middle,—Island is n
piternal, as it is over so vast a proportion of A
At first it struck me that there was an absence of
and in some places I found that fuel was terr
pensive, in consequence of the distances over whi
had to be carried. Again, no animal is now
New Zealand different from those which are fan
us in England. There is, I believe, a rat in the
whose ancestors are said to have existed there
to the coming of the English,—though some na
cast a doubt even upon the rat,—but there is n
four-footed animal that has not been imported
climatized. There are a few native birds, but thos
are commonly seen are to the eye in no way
from English birds. The moas have left their sk
which are to be seen standing in the museum at
church from 11 to 13 feet high, but the last m
some say more than 1,000 years ago, while oth
tend that they existed down to the coming of the
who are supposed to have eaten the last of th
more than 250 years since. In Australia there is
class of animals very strange to British eyes, kan
wallibies, and paddymelons, running about o
hind legs, and carrying their young in their pou
and there are parrots and cockatoos, laughing ja
and native-companions, lyre-birds, and bell-birds,
which savour of a strange land. But I found
strange in the province of Otago. All English
have not only acclimatized themselves, but seem t
with a prolific increase beyond that which we
home. The hens lay more eggs, the bees swar
frequently, the rabbits breed more quickly;—the e
more certain with their lambs than they are

This is, no doubt, the case in Australia also,—but then in Australia there is an animal life of its own. In New Zealand everything is English. The scenery, the colour and general appearance of the waters, and the shape of the hills, are altogether un-Australian, and very like to that with which we are familiar in the west of Ireland and the highlands of Scotland. The mountains are brown and sharp and serrated, the rivers are bright and rapid, and the lakes are deep, and blue, and bosomed among the mountains. If a long-sleeping Briton could be awaked, and set down among the Southland hills, and told that he was travelling in Galway or Cork, or in the west of Ross, he might be easily deceived, though he knew the nature of those counties well,—but he would feel at once that he was being hoaxed if he were told in any part of Australia that he was travelling among Irish or British scenery.

We were unfortunate in the time of the year, having reached the coldest part of New Zealand in the depth of the winter. Everybody had told me that it was so,—and complaint had been made to me of my conduct, as though I were doing New Zealand a manifest injustice in reaching her shores at a time of the year in which her roads were all mud, and her mountains all snow. By more than one New Zealander I was scolded roundly, and by those who did not scold me I was laughed to scorn. Did I imagine that because August was summer in England, therefore it was summer at the other side of the world;—or did I think that I should find winter pleasant in Otago, because winter might be preferable to summer in Queensland? I endeavoured to explain that I had had no alternative,—that I must see New Zealand in winter or not see it at all; but one always fails in attempting to make one's own little arrangements intel-

ligible to others, and I found it better to submit. I had come at the wrong time;—was very sorry for it, but would now make the best of it. Perhaps the roads would not be so very bad. I was assured that they could not possibly be worse.

Nevertheless, as I had come to see scenery, I determined to see it as far as my time and strength would allow. I had learned that Lake Wakatip was the great object to be reached,—Wakatipu is the proper name, but the abbreviated word is always used. From Invercargill I could certainly get to Wakatip, as the coach was running, and from Wakatip I might possibly get down to Dunedin,—but that was doubtful. If not, I must come back to Invercargill. I hate going back, and I made up my mind that if the mud and snow were no worse than British mud or British snow, we would make our way through.

We were accompanied by a gentleman from Invercargill, whose kindness I shall never forget, and whose fortitude in adversity carried us on. After staying two days at Invercargill,—which is a thriving little Scotch town without any special attractions, but which boasts a single cab, and a brewer who was very anxious that I should take a barrel of his beer home to England in order that people there might know what New Zealand could do in the way of brewing, and who generously offered to give me the barrel of beer for that purpose, —we started on our journey by rail to Winton. Although I know how utterly uninteresting to the general reader are the little trials of a traveller's life, I cannot refrain from explaining that we,—I and my wife were "we,"—were constrained to send the bulk of our luggage on to Dunedin by steamer, as it was impossible to carry overland more than one or two leather bags, and that it was

long before we regained our boxes. As in Australia, so in New Zealand, locomotion is effected chiefly by means of coasting steamers. The boat in which we had come from Melbourne to The Bluff, would pass in its usual course up the eastern coast, touching at Port Chalmers, the port for Dunedin; at Lyttelton, the port for Christchurch; at Wellington, the capital, which lies at the extreme southern point of the Northern Island, through Cook's Strait which divides the two islands to Nelson, and down the western coast of the Middle Island to Greymouth and Hokatika, and from that place back to Melbourne. This is done every fortnight, and in the alternate weeks another steamer takes the reverse course, reaching Hokatika direct from Melbourne, making its way round to The Bluffs, and returning thence to its home at Melbourne. There are also smaller boats plying occasionally from port to port,—and in this way the New Zealanders travel from one province to another;—but of all the conveyances with which I have had dealings, these New Zealand steamboats are the most regularly irregular, and heart-breaking. If a would-be traveller should be informed that steamboats would start from a certain port to another, one on the 1st and another on the 15th of the month, his safest calculation would probably be to make his arrangements for the 8th. Of course travelling by sea cannot be made as certain as that by land,—and equally of course boats which depend for their maintenance chiefly on freight must be dependent on the incidents to which freight is liable. I make no complaint;—not even on the score that I never could be at any place at the same time with my clothes. I used to be unhappy, but accepted my misfortunes as a part of the necessity of the position. But it is right to say that *travelling in New Zealand* was uncomfortable. We could

not carry our portmanteaus overland, and therefore trusted them to the steamers with copious addresses, with many injunctions to persons who naturally were not quite so strongly interested in the matter as we were ourselves. After a long and painful separation we and our luggage did come together again; but there was much of intermediate suffering. A hero, but nothing short of a hero, might perhaps sit down comfortably to dinner with the full-dressed aristocracy of a newly visited city in a blue shirt and an old grey shooting jacket.

I will endeavour to say no more on a subject which at the time occupied too many of my thoughts. With great misgivings as to the weather, but with high hopes, we started from Invercargill for Lake Wakatip. Our first day's journey was by coach, which was tolerably successful, though fatiguing. A Swede drove us who owned the coach, and kept an inn half-way, at which we got a very good dinner. He was married to a half-caste Maori woman,—and I made a note that the mixture of the breed on the female side seemed to be favourable to cookery. A better boiled turkey and plum-pudding were never put upon a table. I did not like the Swede himself so well, as I entertained a suspicion that he made us pay double fare, as strangers to the country. I fancy that this practice is prevalent in Otago generally, which is a canny province colonised by the Scotch, given to thrift, and prosperous accordingly. Indeed it was impossible not to remember the story of George III., who when charged a guinea by some innkeeper for a boiled egg, suggested with gentle sarcasm that eggs were probably scarce in that part of the country. "No, your Majesty;—but kings are." Travelling strangers are scarce in Otago, especially in *winter*,—and therefore it answers better to make some*thing* of the bird in the hand than to allure birds out of

the bush by reasonable charges. For the present, perhaps, the practice may be prudent; but as the scenery of the country is both lovely and magnificent, as it has had bestowed upon it by nature all those attractions which make Switzerland the holiday playground of Europe, and as it is near enough to the growing cities of Australia to offer the same allurements to them, it may soon be well for the innkeepers up the country to consider whether it may not answer their purpose to establish some fixed rate of charges, and to look to what may be got from the public generally rather than to the individual victim of the moment. Again I make no complaint. It is better for the traveller to pay high prices for poor accommodation than to find none at all. In New Zealand the prices are no doubt very much higher than in Australia generally;—in Otago they are perhaps double the Australian prices; and in Australia they by no means startle the traveller by their lowness.

The first night we stayed at a squatter's house, and I soon learned that the battle between the squatter and the free-selecter, of which I had heard so much in the Australian colonies, was being waged with the same internecine fury in New Zealand. Indeed the New Zealand bitterness almost exceeded that of New South Wales,—though I did not hear the complaint so common in New South Wales that the free-selecters were all cattle-stealers. The complaint made here was that the government, in dealing with the land, had continually favoured the free-selecter at the expense of the squatter, —who having been the pioneer in taking up the land, deserved all good things from the country of his adoption. The squatter's claim is in the main correct. He has deserved good things,—and has generally got them. *In all these colonies,*—in New Zealand as well as New

South Wales and Victoria,—the squatter is the aristocrat of the country. In wealth, position, and general influence he stands first. There are no doubt points as to which the squatters have been unjustly used,—matters as to which the legislature have endeavoured to clip their wings at the expense of real justice. But they have been too strong for the legislature, have driven coach and horses through colonial acts of parliament, have answered injustice by illegal proceeding, and have as a rule held their own and perhaps something more. I soon found that in this respect the condition of New Zealand was very similar to that of the Australian colonies. The gentleman who accompanied us was the government land commissioner of the province, and, as regarded private life, was hand and glove with our host;—but the difference of their position gave me an opportunity of hearing the land question discussed as it regarded that province. I perceived that the New Zealand squatter regarded himself as a thrice-shorn lamb, but was looked upon by anti-squatters as a very wolf.

Lake Wakatip is about seventy miles from Invercargill, the road to it being fairly good,—for a "bush" road. The name must be taken in its colonial sense. There was hardly a tree to be seen throughout the journey, but the word has made its way over from Australia, and the traveller when he is out of the town is in the bush; and a country road which is merely formed and not metalled is a bush road, though it pass across an open plain, or up a treeless valley. We passed up such a valley, broad, with mountains on each side of us, some of which were snow-capped. We crossed various rivers,—or more probably the same river at various points. About noon on the second day we reached the lake at a place called Kingstown, and found a steamer ready to carry us

twenty-four miles up it to Queenstown, on the other side. Steamers ply regularly on the lake, summer and winter, and afford the only means of locomotion in the neighbourhood. But no sooner were we on board than the rain began to fall as it does only when the heavens are quite in earnest. And it was very, very cold. We could feel that the scenery around us was fine, that the sides of the lake were precipitous, and the mountain tops sharp and grand, and the water blue; but it soon became impossible to see anything. We huddled down into a little cabin, and endeavoured to console ourselves with the reflection that, though all its beauties were hidden from our sight, we were in truth steaming across the most beautiful of the New Zealand lakes. They who cannot find some such consolation from their imagination for external sufferings had better stay at home. At any rate they had better not come to New Zealand in winter.

Queenstown is probably the biggest and most prosperous of the Otago gold-field towns. The greater portion of the province is divided into different gold-fields, which are being worked with more or less success. The process at present is chiefly that of alluvial washing, which always goes before quartz-crushing. I had visited so many Australian gold-fields that I determined not to devote myself to similar inspection in New Zealand;—and as I have written so much about Australian gold, I will say but little as to that of New Zealand. I found, however, that a miner's wages in New Zealand were considerably higher than those in Australia, averaging as much as 10*s.* a day for eight hours' work, and running sometimes as *high as £4 a week.* I was assured that the miners, *at any rate in Otago,* do not themselves embark in *speculation so constantly* as do their brethren at San

hurst and Ballaarat. Surface gold-seeking, the work of washing the dirt extracted from gullies and river-beds, is of course carried out by the speculation of the seekers and washers themselves; and at this a man may earn nothing for three weeks and 20*s.* or £20 in the fourth week. In this work speculation is of course a necessity to the worker. But the men employed on deep sinking at weekly wages are not so commonly given to gambling as they are in Australia. The opportunities for doing so are probably not so readily afforded to them. But if they do not gamble so much, they drink more.

Queenstown on Lake Wakatip is a town of about 2,000 inhabitants,—looking, as is the case with all these towns, as though it were intended for more than double that number. It is built close down upon the water, and is surrounded by mountains,—on all of which the snow was lying. There are many towns so placed in Switzerland, and on the Italian lakes,—which in position this New Zealand mining borough much more closely resembles than anything at home; but the houses, and something in the fashion of the streets, the outside uses and bearings of the place declare it to be unmistakably English. The great drawback to New Zealand,—or I should more properly say to travelling in New Zealand,—comes from the feeling that after crossing the world and journeying over so many thousand miles, you have not at all succeeded in getting away from England. When you have arrived there you are, as it were, next door to your own house, and yet you have a two months' barrier between yourself and your home.

A steamer from Queenstown generally runs up to the top of the lake one day, returning the next, making the journey once or twice a week; but the good-natured captain, who, I believe, was also the owner of the boat,

on being asked, at once consented to take us up and down in one day. The distance is about thirty-six miles, making the entire length of the lake about sixty miles. It was a bright clear cold day, with the temperature at freezing-point from morning to evening. There were two ladies in the party for whom cloaks and opossum rugs were very necessary. I myself spent a great part of the day within the genial influence of the funnel. But I enjoyed it greatly. I do not know that lake scenery can be finer than that of the upper ten miles of Wakatip; —although doubtless it can be very much prettier. The mountains for the most part are bare, and steep. Here and there only are they wooded down to the water's edge,—and so much is the timber in request for fuel and building, that what there is of it close to the water will quickly disappear. As the steamer gradually winds round into the upper reach, which runs almost directly north and south, one set of peaks after another comes into view. They are sharp and broken, making the hill-tops look like a vast saw with irregular gaps in it. Perhaps no shape of mountain-top is more picturesque than this. The summits are nearly as high as those of Switzerland, that of Mount Earnshaw at the head of the lake being 9,165 feet above sea-level. The mountains themselves, however, do not look to be so big as the Alps. There is no one peak which strikes one as does the Matterhorn, no one head like the head of Mount Blanc;—no one mountain which seems to be quite so much of a mountain as the Jungfrau. But the effect of the sun shining on the line of peaks was equal to anything I had seen elsewhere.

The whole district around is, or rather will be in coming days, a country known for its magnificent scenery. Among *the mountains* there are vast glaciers,—but the

means of reaching them are not yet at the command of ordinary travellers. To the south-west of Lake Wakatip, and nearer the coast, are Lake Teanau and the Manipori Lake, of the beauty of which I was told very much. The woods come down to the water's edge, and in summer all is green and sweet, secluded and soft. To the north-east is Wannika Lake, running into the province of Canterbury, in sight of which stands Mount Cook, over 13,000 feet high. About forty miles to the northwest of Wakatip Martin's Bay may be reached, on the western coast, at which place when I was in Otago a few settlers were struggling to make a home. I was assured that unless the government would do something for them,—would make them a road across to the lake, or send occasionally a ship to them with provisions, the place must be abandoned. Down the coast, south from Martin's Bay, there is a series of so-called sounds, which are said to resemble closely the Norway Fiords. They are very numerous, and are at present desolate, without inhabitants, and almost unknown. The late Governor of the colony visited them in the spring of 1852 in H.M.S. "Clio," and I publish in an appendix (No. 1, vol. III.) his account of the voyage. Dr. Hector, whose words Sir George Bowen quotes, is curator of the Wellington Museum, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. This part of New Zealand is so little known, and is at the same time so remarkable for that wild landscape beauty which during the last fifty years Englishmen have gone over the world to find, that it may be well to let some English tourists know where they may discover new fields for picturesque travelling and Alpine climbing. At present these lakes and fiords are difficult to reach,—and New Zealand is very *far from* London. But that very difficulty will to many *enhance* the charm,—and from year to year the distance

as computed by time, will become less and less. It may be as well to remind travellers that the English winter,—or perhaps the English spring as late as March or April,—is the time of year in which the scenery of New Zealand should be explored. I was there in the New Zealand winter, and could not reach the sounds on the coast or the lakes either to the north-east or south-west of Lake Wakatip.

From Queenstown we journeyed overland to Dunedin, the capital of Otago, and the journey was one which to me will ever be memorable. It is generally performed in three days. It took us six,—during the first five of which we travelled in a buggy with a pair of tired horses. Our average daily distance was about twenty-five miles, our pace about three miles an hour, and the cost of travelling about 3*s.* 6*d.* a mile. When I think of the road which we traversed I feel that the pace was good, and the price reasonable. But the tedium was great, and the inns at which we stopped were not delightful. The scenery, however, was grand almost throughout the journey. We came down the course first of one river and then another, crossing them now and again by means of double punts, which are fastened to ropes and carried over by the effect of the stream,—as is done on different bridgeless rivers in Italy. We journeyed on from one gold-field town to another, finding the people always in a state of prosperity. Ordinary labour throughout the country receives 5*s.* or 6*s.* a day,—or 4*s.* with rations. The little towns seemed to be well to do, all having banks and numerous hotels. The life is rough; but is plenteous and comfortable. Things are ugly to European eyes, but are neither poor nor squalid. There have been three successive styles of architecture in these towns, indicating different periods. The first is the canvas style,—in which men live in tents

That had passed away from the Otago gold-fields before our arrival. The second is the corrugated-iron period, and that style was flourishing at the time of our visit. The third is the wooden period, beyond which no advance has as yet been here made in many of the New Zealand towns. Corrugated iron does not make picturesque houses. Probably my readers all know the thin fluted material of which I speak, drawn out so fine that it can be cut like cloth with a pair of shears. It is very portable; very easily shaped; capable of quick construction; and it keeps out the rain. It is, however, subject to drawbacks. The rooms formed of it of course are small, and every word uttered in the house can be heard throughout it, as throughout a shed put up without divisions. And yet the owners and frequenters of these iron domiciles seem never to be aware of the fact. As I lay in bed in one of these metal inns on the road, I was constrained to hear the private conversation of my host and hostess who had retired for the night. "So this is Mr. Anthony Trollope," said the host. The hostess assented, but I could gather clearly from her voice that she was thinking much more of her back hair than of her visitor. "Well," said the host, "he must be a—— fool to come travelling in this country in such weather as this." Perhaps, after all, the host was aware of the peculiarity of his house, and thought it well that I should know his opinion. He could not have spoken any words with which at that moment I should have been more prone to agree.

On the fifth day,—the worst of all, for the snow fell incessantly, the wretched horses could not drag us through the mud, so that I and the gentleman with me were forced to walk, and the twelve miles which we accomplished took us five hours,—we reached the town of

Tuapika, whence we were assured there would run a well-appointed coach to Dunedin. Tuapika is otherwise called Lawrence,—and it may be as well here to remark that in this part of New Zealand all towns have two names. The colonists give one,—sometimes, as in the case of Tuapika, taking that of the natives,—and the government gives another. We had come through Dunedin alias Clyde, through Teeviot alias Roxburgh, through Beaumont which had some other name which I have forgotten, and at last reached Tuapika alias Lawrence. The rivers and districts have been served in the same way, and as the different names are used miscellaneously, the difficulty which travellers always feel as to new localities is considerably enhanced. At Tuapika we found an excellent inn, and a very good dinner. In spite of the weather I went round the town, and visited the Athenæum or reading-room. In all these towns there are libraries, and the books are strongly bound and well thumbed. Carlyle, Macaulay, and Dickens are certainly better known to small communities in New Zealand than they are to similar congregations of men and women at home. I should have liked Tuapika had it not snowed so bitterly on me when I was there.

On the following day we got on board the well-appointed coach at six in the morning. It certainly was a well-appointed coach, and was driven by as good a coachman as ever sat upon a box; but the first stage, which took us altogether six hours, was not memorable for good fortune. There was a lower new road and an upper old road. The former was supposed to be impracticable because of the last night's snow, and the man decided on taking the hills. As far as I could see we were traversing a mountain-side without any track; but there was a track, for on a sudden, as we turned a

corner, we found ourselves in a cutting, and we found also that the cutting was blocked with snow. The coach could not be turned, and the horses had plunged in so far that we could with difficulty extricate them from the traces and pole-straps. The driver, however, decided on going on. Shovels were procured, and for two hours we all worked up to our hips in snow, and did at last get the coach through the cutting. But it was not practicable to drive the horses down the hill we had ascended, and we therefore took them out and brought it down by hand,—an operation which at any rate kept us warm. We had hardly settled into our seats after this performance, before one of the wheelers slipped into a miner's water-run, and pulled the other horse under the pole atop of him. The under horse was, as it were, packed into the gully and buried, with his brother over him, like a tombstone. So we went to work again with the shovels, and dug out first one animal and then the other. We were wet through, and therefore a good deal the worse for our task, but the horses did not seem to mind it. At last we reached the town of Tokomairiro, alias Milton, where comforts of all kinds awaited us. In the first place there was a made road into Dunedin, and a well-horsed coach to take us. We had descended below the level on which the snows were lying. My wife found a kind hostess who took her to a fire and comforted her with dry stockings, and I got some dinner and brandy-and-water. About eight in the evening we reached Dunedin, alive, in fair spirits,—but very tired, and more ready than ever to agree with that up-country innkeeper who had thought but little of the wisdom of one who had come travelling by winter in Otago.

CHAPTER XIII.

Otago,—Dunedin.

It must be understood that New Zealand has a uble form of government, resembling in some of its atures that of the United States. There is a great leral congress in the United States which concerns elf with the affairs of the whole empire, and there is o in each State a separate smaller legislature, which is vertheless a legislature complete in all its functions, aking laws for its own State. So in New Zealand, ere is the General Assembly, which sits at Wellington, d is endowed with all those parliamentary powers ich belong to the parliaments in the Australian colonies, d there is also a Provincial Council in each province, ich manages the revenue of the province, sells the nd of the province, and within certain limits makes ws for the province. And as in each of the United ates there is a governor elected by the people, so in ch of the provinces of New Zealand there is a corre-onding officer called the superintendent. And this perintendent has his own cabinet,—his own set of re-onsible advisers,—as the governor of the colony has s cabinet, who of course sit in the General Assembly. here are at present eight provinces in New Zealand, ur in the Northern and four in the Middle Island,—d there is also in the Middle Island the county of estland, which has also a quasi-provincial establish-ent. The provinces are Otago, Canterbury, Nelson, arlborough, with the county of Westland in the Middle land,—Wellington, Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, and Auck-nd in the North Island. There are therefore eight *parate governments*, and a half-government, under the *eral government*. On the 1st of January, 1872, the

total population of New Zealand was estimated
267,000 in round numbers, so that the average popu
tion of these separately governed states is not ab
30,000 each. But in truth the population of three
the provinces, Taranaki and Hawkes Bay, in the N
thern Island, and Marlborough, in the Middle Island
below 10,000 each. And yet in these, as in the oth
there is a separate paid legislature, and separate p
officials. In the United States no territory has been h
entitled to be proclaimed a State till it has gathered
gether for itself a population of 100,000 souls, and
average population of the States is about 100,000 e
The stranger in New Zealand is certainly tempted
think that this copying of State government has b
premature, if not in itself unnecessary.

There can hardly be a doubt, I think, that New Z
land is over-governed, over-legislated for, over-provi
with officials, and overburdened with national d
That it will have strength to struggle through with
the weight imposed upon it is not improbable. It h
magnificent climate, rich mineral gifts, good soil,—
among its people a resolution to succeed which is in
self equal to half a battle won. It is from this elasti
of pride on the part of the New Zealanders themsel
that these burdens have sprung. "Don't tell us t
5,000 human beings are not enough to justify a sepa
legislature, cabinet, government, and the rest of it.
the things be good in themselves we will have them,
the cost be what it may. We are not afraid of expen
It is thus they seem to speak of themselves and t
affairs; and so the thing is done. And certainly th
has hitherto been no ruin, no collapse, no crying
for external assistance, although the costliness has
very great.

perintendent of each province may sit in the
ssembly if he be returned by any constituency.
as in New Zealand, all the eight superintend-
in the Assembly, and one of them was in the
rom this it follows that the General Assembly
rovincial Assemblies never sit at the same
session of the General Assembly may last
three months. It is considered that those of
cial Assemblies should complete their work in
weeks. As the General Assembly was sitting
s in New Zealand, I saw none of those Pro-
emblies at work.

is the most populous, and I believe I may
richest, province in New Zealand, and its
unedin, is its largest city. According to the
1871 the population of the province was
eing something above a fourth of that of the
ony. Dunedin contains about 21,000 people.
ment at Dunedin was founded on 28th of
348, when a small band of Scotch emigrants,
tain Cargill, first landed, and pitched their
he present site of the town. The rise, both of
ce and of the town, has been very quick, hav-
greatly accelerated by the rushes after gold
n the various Australian colonies. It seems
the first finding of gold in New Zealand, the
there have exceeded in popularity those of
The higher rate of miners' wages would seem
this, were it not rather the result than the
found that New Zealand still enjoyed much of
of novelty in reference to other pursuits as
at of gold. The wool-growers, graziers, agri-
and miners of the younger colony were, I will
vied by Australians generally, but regarded as

having had almost unfair advantages bestowed upon them. The climate has had much to do in producing this happy condition. It is, however, an undoubted fact that during the last ten years there has been a considerable re-emigration from the Australian colonies to New Zealand.

Dunedin is a remarkably handsome town,—and when its age is considered, a town which may be said to be remarkable in every way. The main street has no look of newness about it. The houses are well built and the public buildings, banks, and churches are large, commodious, and ornamental. It strikes a visitor as absurd that there should be six capitals in New Zealand, a country which forty years ago was still cursed with cannibalism;—but it strikes him as forcibly with wonder that it should so quickly have possessed itself of many of the best fruits of civilisation. This prosperity has come, I think, less from any special wisdom on the part of those who endeavoured to establish New Zealand colonies on this or another scheme than from the fact that in New Zealand British energies have found a country excellently well adapted for their development. In regard to Otago and Dunedin, it was the intention of the founders, or at any rate of those who instigated the founders, to establish an especially Presbyterian settlement. Doubtless many Scotch families did come out to it, and Scotch names are predominant. The Scotch have always been among the best,—or perhaps the very best,—colonisers that the world has produced. But Otago is by no means now an exclusively Presbyterian province, nor is Dunedin an exclusively Presbyterian city. In the now united provinces of Otago and Southland the Presbyterians are less than half the population. As to Dunedin we have heard lately more of its declar-

o have a Church of England bishop of its own than of any other propensity. And it is going to have a bishop,—I may say has got one; though when I was there the prelate had not yet arrived. A former bishop did indeed come out,—but he was not approved of, and was returned, having never been installed. It is marvellous to me that the Australian and New Zealand sees can find English clergymen to go out to them. The pay is small,—generally not exceeding £500 a year. That bishops do not become bishops for money we are all prepared to admit. But the power also is very limited, the patronage almost none at all, and the snubbing to which they are subjected is excessive. It seemed to me that this latter process was exacerbated by the small remnant of baronial rank which is left to them. The colonial bishop is still called, my lord;—and of course wears an apron,—and lawn sleeves when he is in church. But there is a growing determination that the clergymen of one Church shall have no higher rank than those of another,—and that a Church of England bishop, therefore, shall have no special social position in his colony. At present this feeling is less strong in New Zealand than in Australia, and is to a certain degree restrained by the quiet, unproclaimed action of colonial governors, who like these bishops, and do what in them lies to preserve the rank. But the operation of the colonist's mind, even when he belongs to the Church of England, works in the other direction. I shall no doubt be told that bishops do not undertake their duties with any view to the places that may be assigned to them in walking out of rooms,—as to patronage, or even to power. But we know that authority cannot be maintained without *its outward appendages*, and that clerical authority has *eeded them quite as much* as civil or military authority.

Dunedin did not like the first bishop chosen for the
because he was supposed to have lent his counten
to some High Church ceremonials. He was, there
sent back again. The salary offered is small, and a
uncertain. No house, or "palace," is provided.
told that it was considered indispensable that the
bishop should be a member of Oxford or Cambridg
gentleman distinguished for piety and eloquence,—
man of fortune. "Upon my word I think you are
exigeant," I said to my informant. He answered
by assuring me that they had now got all that
asked. The colonial sees always do find bish
There are six at present in New Zealand,—with a p
lation about half as great as that of Manchester
which not more than two-fifths belong to the Chur
England.

The Provincial Council was not sitting, but I
shown the chamber in which it is held. The men
sit, like Siamese twins, in great arm-chairs, which
joined together, two and two, like semi-detached v
I was specially struck by what I cannot but cal
hyper-excellence of the room. There has been, in
of the New Zealand provinces, a determination tha
Provincial Assembly shall be a real parliament, w
Speaker and Speaker's chair, reporters' galleries, strar
galleries, a bar of the house, cross benches, library, smo
room, and a "Bellamy,"—as the parliament refreshm
rooms are all called, in remembrance of the old da
the House of Commons at home. The architecture,
niture, and general apparel of these Houses,—suc
them as I saw,—struck me as being almost grander
was necessary. The gentlemen as they sit are very
more comfortable than are the members in our
House at home, and are much better lodged th

he legislators in the States of the American Union. The Congress of Massachusetts sits in a building which has indeed an imposing exterior, but the chamber itself inspires less awe than does that of Otago.

In one respect the New Zealand legislatures have preferred American customs to those which they left at home. They are paid for the performance of their legislative work. The pay of a member of the Provincial Council in Otago used to be £1 a day. It is now 19*s.* 11½*d.* When this information was first given to me, I own that I disbelieved my informant, attributing to him an intention to hoax a stranger. But I was assured that it is so. And it was arranged in this way. The legislature, bent on economy, reduced the salaries of various provincial officers, and with that high-mindedness for which all legislative chambers in free countries should be conspicuous, reduced their own allowances from 20*s.* to 12*s.* a day. But, on trial, it was found that the work could not be done for the money. The Otago gentlemen who came from a distance, could not exist in Dunedin on 12*s.* a day,—which, if it be considered that a member of parliament should be paid at all, is surely very low in a country in which a journeyman carpenter gets as much. A proposition, however, to raise the sum again to 20*s.* was lost by a small majority. The rules of the House did not permit the same proposition to be again brought before it in the same session, and therefore in another notice the nearest sum to it was named,—and carried. The moderation of the members was shown in the fact that a fraction under, and not a fraction over, the original stipend, was at last found to satisfy the feeling of the House. I think that in Otago a more general respect would be felt for its legislature if the gentlemen sitting in it altogether repudiated the receipt

of the small sum, perhaps £50 per annum, which is paid for their services.

The chief products of Otago are gold and wool;—but agricultural pursuits are extending themselves in all parts of the province. The number of free-selecters, or "cockatoos," is increasing, and by their increase declare their own prosperity. Individually, they almost all complain of their lot,—saying that the growth of their corn is precarious, and its sale when grown effected at so poor a price as not to pay for the labour of producing it. The farmers are in debt to the banks, and their lands are not unfrequently sold under mortgage. But such complaints are general all the world over. No man is contented unless he can make a fortune,—and no man is contented when he has made a fortune. The squatters, the miners, the cockatoo farmers, and the labourers working for him, all say the same thing. They regret that they ever left England. It is a mistake to suppose that the colony is a blessed place. Argyleshire, or even County Galway, is much better than Otago. But in Otago all men live plenteously. Want is not known. If a man fails as a free-selecter, he still lives plenteously as a labourer. I will quote a few words from a printed despatch respecting Otago, sent home by Sir George Bowen, the Governor of the colony, in 1871—"After the lapse of only twenty-three years"—from the first settlement of the province,—"I find from official statistics that the population of the province of Otago approaches nearly to 70,000, that the public revenue, ordinary and territorial, actually raised thereon exceeds £520,000; that the number of acres farmed is above a million; that the number of horses exceeds 20,000; of horned cattle 110,000; and of sheep 4,000,000. The progress achieved in all the other elements of material prosperity is equally

remarkable; while the provincial council has made noble provision for primary, secondary, and industrial schools; for hospitals and benevolent asylums; for athenæums and schools of art; and for the new university which is to be opened at Dunedin in next year." I found this to be all true. The schools, hospitals, reading rooms, and university, were all there, and all in useful operation;—so that life in the province may be said to be a happy life, and one in which men and women may and do have food to eat, and clothes to wear, books to read, and education to enable them to read the books.

The province is now—(1873)—twenty-four years old, and has 70,000 inhabitants, and above four million sheep. Poor Western Australia is forty-five years old, and, with a territory so large, that an Otago could be taken from one of its corners without being missed, it has only 25,000 inhabitants, and less than one million sheep,—sheep being more decidedly the staple of Western Australia than of Otago. I do not know that British colonists have ever succeeded more quickly or more thoroughly than they have in Otago. They have had a good climate, good soil, and mineral wealth; and they have not had convicts, nor has the land been wasted by great grants. In founding Western Australia but little attention was paid either to climate or soil;—land was given away in huge quantities, and convicts were introduced to remedy the evils, and to supply the want of labour which that system of granting lands produced. And in Western Australia gold has not been found. I know no two offshoots from Great Britain which show a greater contrast.

Otago possessed no railways in 1872,—but a whole system of railways was in preparation,—partly as yet only on paper, and partly in the hands of working con-

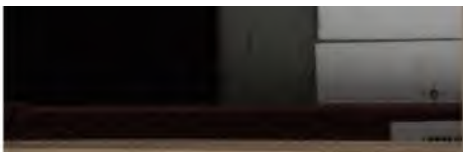
tractors. This system, indeed, is one intended
through the entire middle island, and to be car
in conjunction with an equally extended system
northern island. For, where public works are co
millions are spoken of in New Zealand with a
audacity that staggers an economical Englishman
does not frighten a New Zealand Chancellor of
chequer. Legislation in New Zealand takes a
asserting that every New Zealander bears on h
shoulders a greater debt than do any other pe
the world. Telegraphic wires run everywhere in
and before long railways in the low countries
almost as common. As it was we determined t
by coach into the next province of Canterbury,—
that the boats were uncertain, and that the co
three times a week from Dunedin to Christchurch
coach takes three days, travelling about sixty
day, and stopping during the night. We were t
the journey was harassing and tedious, but it
not be so harassing and tedious as that we
ready made;—and then, by this route, we should
country.

Leaving Dunedin, we rose up a long wood
with a view to our right over the land-locked arm
sea down to Port Chalmers, which is the port for
din. It was a most lovely drive. The scenery
whole country round Dunedin is beautiful, and
the most beautiful scene of it all. After a drive o
sixteen miles we breakfasted at a place called Wail
at which we found the landlord firing guns up th
ney to put out the fire. In spite of this little co
we were excellently provided,—getting a much
coach breakfast than used to be common in E
I may now say a few words on the disagreeable

Zealand names. Wai is the most customary
the names of places, and signifies water. When
in this manner, from what follows, it would seem
a very simple addition;—but in truth it makes
complex, difficult to catch, and almost impos-
be remembered. There are no less than twenty-
st-towns beginning with Wai, and of course the
ns are but few in comparison with the less im-
places. In the north island Nga, or Ngate, is
x which the reader most frequently meets in re-
the early days of New Zealand. It signifies
corresponds with the Scotch Mac and the Irish
Dr. Thompson's history of New Zealand he re-
es no less than forty-five subdivisions of one tribe,
s of forty of which begin with Ngate. The sound,
, has not found favour with the colonists, and
dropped in the names which they have adopted.
aikonaite the coach goes on to Palmerston,—
unds more familiarly to English ears. As far as
e, a distance of about thirty-five miles, the road
d as any in England;—but then there comes a
and thence on to bounds of the province the
s very bad indeed. The first night's rest
the coach, at a small town called Oamaru,
us at a squatter's house four miles further
is we reached at nine P.M., and left the next
at six A.M.;—hours at which in fully civilized
s one does not expect a stranger to entertain
we found our hostess expecting us at dinner,
the morning she got up and gave us our break-
welve miles of as miserable a road as ever I
brought us to the Waitaki river, which is the
y of the province. It was a piercingly cold
, and we felt aggrieved greatly when we found

that we had to leave the coach and get into a boat. the dimensions of our own hardships lessened themsel to our imagination when we found that two of the b men descended into the river, and pushed the boat half a mile up the stream. During a part of the three men were in the water, and yet the boat ha seemed to move. For this service we were charged a piece, which sum was not included in the coach f Pitying the men because of their sufferings, I gave th something over "to drink." It was taken, but ta without thanks, and with evident displeasure, and han over with the ferry money to the employer. In N Zealand, and in some much lesser degree in Austr also, you may ask any man, or any number of men drink, without running the slightest risk of displea them; but the offer of money is considered to be off sive. The drinking must be done at the bar of a pu house;—and the money must be paid to the public and not to your friend who drinks. I think I have el where described the practice of shouting or "stand drinks all round," which I found to be in full force New Zealand. Even servants will refuse money offe to them. A poor girl whom I had injured, knock down into the mud the line on which all her clot were drying, though she was in tears at the nuisance having to wash them again, refused the money tha offered her, saying that though she was only a poor li girl without a friend in the world, she was not so m as that. Another girl told my wife, in perfectly frien confidence, that she did not think that she ought to t money. It is odd that so excellent a lesson should learned so quickly. The pity is that in the course years it will doubtless be unlearned.

There are many such rivers as the Waitaki runn



o the sea on the eastern coast of New Zealand, very ngerous in crossing, and the cause of many accidents. : were then in the depth of winter, and they are not n full. It is after the winter rains, and after the ws, when the mountains give up their load of waters, t the streams become full, and the banks overflow. the spring the coaches often cannot pass, and are oc-ionally washed away bodily when the attempt is made. other rivers besides the Waitaki there is a custodian, o is in some degree responsible for the safety of tra-lers, and who seems always to charge 2*s.* a head, ether he preside over a ferry with boat and boatmen, simply over a ford, across which he rides on horse-k showing the way.

When across the Waitaki, we found ourselves in the at Church-of-England province of Canterbury.

CHAPTER XIV.

John Robert Godley.

From Otago we went north into the province of nterbury,—a name which was selected for a then un-ermined part of New Zealand about twenty-five years . As far as I can ascertain the Canterbury Associa-n, so called, was first started in 1848; but the idea such a settlement, to be established in some part of w Zealand, had existed for a considerable time before t date. Mr. Gibbon Wakefield, in a letter to Mr. n Abel Smith, dated 30th November, 1847, says, e adhere to the old plan of a settlement to consist 300,000 acres, with right of pasturage attached, to be chased from the Company for 10*s.* per acre, or 50,000. The place to be, if possible, the valley of maharanga, *near Wellington*, which is delineated in

the illustrations of my son's book." Wellington, ever, is in the northern island, and the Province of terbury is in the middle island. The settlement w be made in strict connection with the Church of land, and was to be a model colony. Without a d the aspirations which produced first the idea and the thing were nobly philanthropic. Many colon reformers, among whom were such men as Mr. A ley, Mr. Aglionby, Mr. J. A. Smith, Lord Lyttelton, Sir John Simeon, were strongly of opinion that B men and women seeking a home in the new lands w their country possessed were not put in the way of e ing their purpose happily by the operations of Colonial Office. The old belief which had created New Zealand Association, still remained. There the same desire to establish a colony with which Colonial Office should have little or nothing to There existed a feeling that something great migh done for a small portion of the British race, by estab ing a settlement on an entirely new footing, in w the best of everything English should be retained, lish habits of life, English principles, English government, English freedom, and above all the Ch of England. And there existed also a feeling that interference, bureaucracy, and incapacity of the Col Office in Downing Street had up to that time debe our existing colonies, such as Canada, New South W and Van Diemen's Land, from the enjoyment of t blessings. I can hardly but fail in expressing at same time, and with equal strength, my admiration the spirit in which these gentlemen worked, and my viction that they were wrong both in their condemna of the Colonial Office and in their theory as to the struction of a settlement in which colonists should

blessed life after some special fashion to be fixed by em. The scheme had all the merits and all the faults ich have attended the fabrication of Utopias, since e benevolence of men has taken that direction. But has to be acknowledged that they did succeed in ating a prosperous settlement,—though the success s not been of the nature which they anticipated. Many their aspirations have been realised,—especially that so-called responsible local government; but the local vernment has come, not specially to Canterbury, but Canterbury as a part of New Zealand; and not espe-lly to New Zealand, but to New Zealand as one of ose thoroughly British dependencies of the mother untry which have gradually acquired for themselves e power of parliamentary self-government.

The two names which are most prominent in the tory of the Canterbury settlement are those of John bert Godley and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. I put t of Godley first because in truth it was his heart d courage which founded the settlement rather than e head of the man who first formed the plan. Mr. akefield had been a colonial reformer of an early te, who had for many years devoted himself to pre-ring schemes of colonization, and who in the prosecu-n of his schemes had fallen very foul indeed of the ice in Downing Street. Mr. Wakefield, as I have said, speaking of South Australia, had been perhaps the thor, certainly one of the authors, of the plan by ich that colony was originated. His scheme had been no means fully carried out, and he had conceived at enmity against the officials of the Colonial Office o had not sympathized with his ideas as to the settle-nt of a colony without any other control from home an *that which might be* necessary to make it a part of

the British empire in reference to foreign affairs February, 1849, he brought out a book on the s colonizing, which professes to be a correspondenc tween himself and an English statesman, in whi propounds his scheme. But by far the greater p the book is devoted to exposing what he believ have been the evil policy of Great Britain t colonies, and especially to the virulent abuse o special minister for the colonies,—namely, the p Earl Grey. Clever as that work is, I can hardly in that it could convince any reader. To me it is o those books which from first to last creates in my a feeling of antagonism to the writer on account special pleading, its injustice, and its egotism. H himself, in one of his published letters, that the b "awfully personal to Lord Grey," and in another to Mr. Rintoul, the editor of the "Spectator," "Y sure to think the preliminary matter,—the statem the subject, and the personalities, and the egotism too long." After reading Mr. Wakefield's book a letters I cannot think him to have been a good for a young colony;—but undoubtedly he did hit certain truths, the first and chief of which was the pediency of bestowing grants of land on colonist the wisdom of selling the public lands at a certain price. In addition to this he saw that the future perity of the thoroughly British colonies would self-government on their part essential. But I in that all who gave their minds to the subject sa also,—differing from Mr. Wakefield only as to the in which the concessions should be granted, a date from which they should commence. It was of his theory that a colony,—or set of colonists,— go out with a full constitution in the pocket of

ling colonist, which should be granted by the Crown, s a power of ruling was granted by the Crown in ner days to Lord Baltimore in reference to Mary- l, and to Mr. Penn in reference to Pennsylvania. In present work I should probably only annoy my lers were I to attempt to show that in the time of Penn, and still less in the time of Lord Baltimore, Crown had no power to bestow that superintendence its colonies which it possessed from the first settle- nts in Australia, and down to the settlement of New land, and to show also that the constitution of those onies which were founded under direct superintendence n home, has been much happier than that of the y American colonies established without this super- ndence. Such an argument would certainly be beyond scope, probably beyond my ability. But I can hardly e the short description of the settlement of Canter- y which is necessary for my purpose, without stating impression of Mr. Wakefield's views on colonization. was an eager, hard-working, clever man, very ener- ic in his purposes,—but who, in all his colonizing k, seems to have thought more of his own schemes n of the happiness of the colonists whom he proposed send to their future homes,—and who was quite as ious to rule his colonists from home by laws made himself as was ever a Secretary of State in Downing et.

It was his influence, however, that worked upon Mr. dley, and induced that gentleman to become the real der of a special band of colonists to New Zealand. Godley, whom I remember as a boy at school roughly respected by all his schoolfellows, seems ly in life to have been taught by the Tractarian move- nt at Oxford that the religion of a community should

be its most important consideration. He was a relig
man himself, and his friends were men whose thou
about religion were serious, and whose convictions
sincere. His letters to his friend Mr. Adderley
been published,—or at any rate printed and circula
and no volume of correspondence ever fell into
hands which left upon my mind a higher impressio
the purity, piety, philanthropy, truth, and high-min
thoughtfulness of the writer. They are written wit
the elegance which education gives, and all the aban
which the privacy of loving friendship produces. I
that they are only known among his friends. It app
that Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Godley came togethe
1847, when Godley's thoughts had been turned tow
colonization by the state of the Irish during the fam
He was an Irishman belonging to one of the poo
counties in Ireland, and ideas as to a happier home
his countrymen were thrust upon him by the trage
of the famine and the pestilence which followed it.
with those ideas were others which sprang from his d
tion to the Church which he loved, and of these Gib
Wakefield took advantage. Mr. Wakefield was eve
work seeking for colonists who would act under his
pulses, and who would do credit to his theories by t
education, character, and social position. For hi
doubt whether the Church of England had any spe
charms. He had been instrumental in founding a col
in South Australia, of which, according to his frie
it should have been one leading feature, one gover
principle, that there should be no ascendant Chu
He had assisted in establishing a Scotch, and there
a Presbyterian, colony in Otago,—in regard to whic
was his intention that the Presbyterians should h
complete ascendancy. It is rumoured of him in

land that at one time he had set his mind on the nation of an Anglo-Jewish settlement, a community ch should be subject to the British Crown, but in ch the Jews should govern themselves after their own s. It is told how he propounded this to a wealthy Jew New Zealand. "What;—no Christians!" said the Jew. one at all," said Mr. Wakefield; "not a Christian;— should not Jews have a happy home to themselves well as others?" But the Jew dissented. "I do not how Jews shall thrive without Christians to make ney by," said the wise Jew;—and that scheme fell to ground.

There is no reason why the same man should not pose a Church of England colony, a Presbyterian ny, a Jewish colony, and a no-Church colony, and uld not be equally anxious for each,—as a minister for cation may be zealous both for sectarian and un-ominational schools. No blame attaches to a man so wide a sympathy. But the wide sympathy is not patible with strenuous advocacy of a peculiar doc-e. The anxiety of Mr. Wakefield was more in regard is scheme than to the Church. When in the course is letters we find him struggling to get first one man bishop for his colony, and then another, trying to come one man's scruples, and then loud in praise of her of whom we are aware that he could only have d the name the day before, we feel that he had ght, or was trying to catch, an obedient sympathizer his plans, and a colonist who would prove himself e a Wakefieldite rather than a staunch ecclesiastical porter. In every word that he wrote and spoke and very act he was fighting the Colonial Office at home colonial influences, not propagating either one church another. *With Godley* it was very different. He

brought to the joint work strong religious convict and a warm philanthropy. It was in his heart to be of the means by which a country might be built u which men should live religious lives in peace plenty,—and with this view he was ready to devote h self to the cause either at home or in the colony. he allowed himself to be imbued with his fellow labou especial views, and was for a time as hotly in favo a colonial government, carried on by the Canter Association at home in lieu of one administered Downing Street, as was Mr. Wakefield himself.

And it must be admitted that many others sh these views, including those whose names were t tioned at the beginning of this chapter. The idea see then to prevail, as it has at all times prevailed with gard to one or another of our public departments, the man entrusted with power was of all men the capable of exercising that power with wisdom, and least likely to exercise it with fidelity. The barqu the British empire has upon the whole been steered success,—and yet the man at the helm is always b denounced as blind, and feeble, and foolish. No so is a leading man advanced to high place than in minds of many of us he is already condemned for u taking a task which it must be manifestly the dut some one to perform. In regard to the colonies was much more strongly the case twenty-five years than it is at present, as twenty-five years ago the q tion of constitutional government in the colonies was settled as it is now. I will not say that the battl colonial parliamentary governments was being fo because I do not admit that there was an enemy whom to fight. Before parliaments could be establi it was necessary that there should be a distinct

that they were desired, and before they could sit act, some proof that there were men to sit in them. nk that the future writer of the history of the Aus- an colonies will acknowledge that representative rnment was given to each colony at any rate as kly as the circumstances demanded. With reference ie proposed Canterbury settlement, and to the Can- ury Association by which it was produced, it was red that perfect powers of self-government should be owed upon it at once, and that it should start, not part of New Zealand, but as a thing separate, stand- alone, ruling itself. This the government of the day ld not allow,—and Canterbury now exists as one vince of the colony which we call New Zealand, and never held the position in which Mr. Wakefield was ous to launch it upon the waters.

Mr. Godley had intended to work for the Associa- at home,—at any rate to remain at that work longer he did; but in 1849 his health failed him. His t was weak, his lungs in danger, and his friends mmended that he should leave England for a while. ugh the eldest son of a man of property in Ireland, was himself poor, and therefore some payment for work of his life was necessary to him. In these umstances he undertook to proceed to New Zealand he salaried officer of the Canterbury Association,— as a colonist himself in the usual acceptation of the , not as one bent on making a new career and a une for himself and his children, but as an agent should busy himself exclusively for the advantage others. Bearing this in mind he never owned an in Canterbury. With this intention and these pros- ts before him he left Plymouth for New Zealand, in *ember, 1849.* As he started he wrote to Mr. Glad-

stone a letter on the condition of the colonies gene
which I venture to reprint in an appendix (App. N
Vol. III.), as it gives a fair sample of the man's mind,
shows the intensity of his patriotism and the noble e
ness of his convictions. There is not much in that l
with which I agree. I have no fear that the B
empire will be broken up through the discontent o
children. I think that the colonies should remain atta
to England or be separated from them, not with refe
to England's prestige or glory,—but as such conti
adherence, or such separation, may be best for the
piness and prosperity of the colonists. If the col
were separated on friendly terms they would, I thin
no means be rendered less available than at presen
British immigration. I think that the writer's fears
groundless,—and that the anticipation of shipwreck
by the colonial reformers of that day arose from an
perfect study of the subject. But not the less is the l
the genuine production of an ardent and most ph
thropic man, who was grandly anxious for the welfa
others.

In truth that which can be done for a new cou
by government is very little,—very little indeed, f
new colony colonized from Great Britain. English
are so accustomed to be free, have had so little
perience of thraldom, that on settling themselves o
on new lands they proceed in truth to govern th
selves, let the forms of government be what they
In the establishment of convict colonies,—of penal se
ments as they have been better called,—of course
not so. In them it has been necessary to adapt the
and habits of the place to the requirements of a
prison; and free men who have chosen to place th
selves near to such prisons have of necessity been

ject to police regulations. But with this exception our colonists have in fact governed themselves. They have at any rate been as free,—free to go and free to come, free to buy and free to sell,—free to marry and to give in marriage,—free to pray or to let it alone,—free to work and to eat, or to be idle and starve,—as have ever been any people on the face of the earth. In their material condition very little change has been made by the substitution of parliamentary for home government, —so little that he who has not busied himself in politics has not felt the change. Of all the colonists who came with Godley to settle in Christchurch, few probably cared aught about the form of government which might be adopted, caring much, however, caring indeed all in all about the nature of the land on which they were to settle. They would trust to England for freedom with an unanxious faith;—but as to the land and the crops which it could bear, as to their future meat and drink and shelter, there were doubt and fear enough, alternate hopes and doubts,—alternate fear and joy. "I am a little puzzled," says Mr. Godley, in one of his letters, "as to what ought to be done in political matters. The people are thinking too much just now of getting on their land to care much about attending public demonstrations." No doubt they were. In the meantime Mr. Wakefield was earnest at home that the colony should be ruled by Wakefield, and not by Earl Grey or any other Secretary of State in Downing Street.

On the 11th April, 1850, the "Lady Nugent," in which Godley had sailed, came to anchor in Lyttelton Harbour,—or Port Cooper, as it was then called. The town of Lyttelton now stands at the head of the harbour named after the nobleman without whose aid the Association *could not* have made its settlement. The

two bold rocks which form the entrance are called Go
Head and Adderley Head. From that date till the
of his departure, nearly three years afterwards, Go
worked at his appointed task, and no doubt did suc
in forming the settlement of which we used to spea
the Colony of the Canterbury Pilgrims. Land had
purchased from the Maoris by the New Zealand C
pany, and was repurchased from the New Zealand C
pany by the Canterbury Pilgrims. This land is
which we now know as the Canterbury Plains. Lytte
stands down upon a sea inlet, surrounded on every
by mountains, with hardly room around it to grow a
potatoes. On the other side of these are the pl
which stretch thence to the range which forms the b
bone of the Middle Island. These inner hills must
been a sad affliction to the early comers, as their fu
farms and future city lay beyond them. Mr. Go
truly wrote word home that the track lay up the
"of what might fairly be called a mountain." I wa
it, and found it to be a veritable mountain. Now
only has the city, Christchurch, been built on the o
side, and the farms tilled, and the distant cou
stocked, but a railway has been made through
mountains from Christchurch to the sea-port, at a
of £200,000, about a mile and a quarter in len
This tunnel was a gallant undertaking for so youn
community.

The community throve,—but it did not thrive
reliance on the theory on which it was founded. Go
soon found that the association at home, with Mr. Wakef
at the back of it, was quite as bad as Downing St
His complaints on this head are most amusing, as sh
ing the difference which had been achieved in so s
a time by experience between Utopian theory and

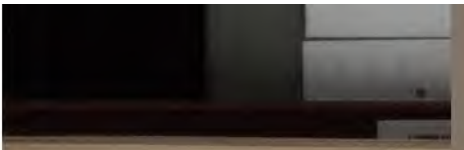
tical reality. "I often think," he says to Mr. Adderley, "of the fun we should all have taken in old times out of the didactic dispatches which are written to me, if they had emanated from Downing Street." Again, "So long as the practical management of Canterbury affairs is carried on at Adelphi Terrace,"—the domicile of the Association,—"we have no right to complain of the Colonial Office." Again, "I earnestly hope and firmly believe that we have now seen the last of colonizing associations. I long held with Wakefield that they were positively good; then I came to look on them as lesser but necessary evils;—now I am convinced that they do more harm than good." Again, "Wakefield out-Herods Herod in the outrageous virulence of his abuse; tells me I am inconsistent, ungrateful, wild, furious, incapable, worn out, perverse, delirious, and winds up by advising me to retire into the country." This was the dear friend who had acceded with warmth to all Godley's Church views, and had declared Godley to be absolutely essential to Canterbury,—as long as Godley had agreed with him! The less colonists are meddled with by powers outside themselves the better they will thrive; but meddling by responsible government officers is better at any rate than meddling from an association.

In his letters Godley says very little about the Church of England characteristic of the settlement. After a while a bishop was found who came out, but did not suit the place, and went back again. After that the present bishop, Dr. Harper,—who is now primate of New Zealand,—accepted the see, which he has since administered with success. But there has been no strong Church of England peculiarity about the community. Dr. Harper's see, which is, I believe, coterminous with the *province of Canterbury*, as it was before the Westland

gold-fields were divided from it, contains a population of 62,158, of which 30,038 are claimed by the Church of England. The proportion is no doubt greater than in the Australian colonies or other parts of New Zealand. It would have been odd had no results come from the efforts which were made to found a Church of England settlement. But the numbers show the impracticability in these days of dictating to any community the religious convictions by which it shall be guided. In a few years the very idea of Canterbury being specially the province of one denomination will be lost to the memory of the colonists themselves;—unless indeed it be perpetuated by the huge record of their failure which the town of Christchurch contains. In the centre of it there is a large waste space in which £7,000 have been buried in laying the foundations of a cathedral;—but there is not a single stone or a single brick above the level of the ground. The idea of building the cathedral is now abandoned. It was a sad sight to me to look down upon the vain foundations.

Opposite the spot where the door would have been, stands a statue, by Woolner, of my old schoolfellow,—the great ornament of the city of Christchurch. Judging from portraits of the man, the likeness is excellent, though the artist never saw his subject. The statue itself, which was known to many Englishmen before it came out to New Zealand, is very noble. Among modern statues, I know no head that stands better on its shoulders.

Godley came home to England, held high office for some years in the Civil Service, and died on November 17th, 1861, of the disease which had made his journey to New Zealand a necessity. Of a better or more earnest man I do not remember to have read the record.



I cannot finish this short notice of one of those men, with true energy and in a real spirit of philanpy instituted the colony of Canterbury, without ing some reference to another of the body, without m Canterbury must have been a failure. This I may aps best do by quoting a passage from a speech e at Christchurch on Feb. 6th, 1868, at a breakfast n to Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Selfe, who were then ing the colony with which their names are so intely associated. Mr. T. E. Fitzgerald, than whom no Zealand colonist is better known, in proposing the th of their English guests, spoke as follows of Lord elton;—and spoke with accurate truth.

I well remember soon after I first joined the Canterbury Association, and we were falling into all kinds of difficulties, when we had no money to pay gent's expenses in the colony, when bills were coming due and we had no to meet them, and when in fact there began to be every appearance of an failure—I well remember, after a long conversation with Mr. Gibbon Wakegoing down to consult Lord Lyttelton, and appearing before him suddenly ven o'clock at night at Brighton. The result was that his Lordship came up e to London and took charge of the affairs of the Canterbury Association; om that time, for a long time afterwards, laboured in those affairs as few ver did labour in any public office. Without the smallest prospect of reation, he advanced thousand after thousand of pounds to keep the settlement till the time should come when its own funds would be available. The very on which some of you may have worked were made out of funds supplied the pockets of two or three members of the Canterbury Association, of whom Lyttelton was the foremost. [Loud cheers.] It is a fact of which Canter- may be justly proud—nay, without which none of us could dare to show our here to-day—that the debt thus incurred has been repaid; but though the has been repaid we can never forget the feeling with which it was ad-, nor cease to remember how much we owe to the generous self-sacrificing which carried the colony in safety through the difficulties that beset the first f its existence."

CHAPTER XV.

The Canterbury Pilgrims.

On crossing the Waitaki River in the manner I have ribed in the last chapter but one, we found our- es in the province of Canterbury, and among the ple,—*very few and far* between for the first few miles

of our journey,—who are still called the Canterbury Pilgrims. The precise spirit of the name will be easily understood. The founders of the colony,—for it was in truth a separate colony created with a distinct settlement of its own,—came out with the express idea of forming a religious community, and were thus entitled to be called pilgrims. The name of the chosen locality was assumed as having a special Church of England savour, and thus a happy old combination was revived, which from different causes sounded pleasantly in the ears of the educated men and women who had determined to make this part of New Zealand their future home.

From the Waitaki to Christchurch, the capital of Canterbury, was a journey of two days, through the towns of Waimoti and Timaru. The rivers here form the chief peculiarity of the country. They are very broad, having generally two, three, or more courses, which when flooded by rains or by melting snow form one broad and rapid course. They are for the most part unbridged, and therefore at certain times impassable. Over one river with apparently endless different courses, called the Rangitata, we were preceded by a horseman, who for his services charged us 2*s.* a piece. Over another, the Rakaia, the first elements of a railway bridge had been constructed, and we were taken over on a truck dragged by a horse who kept the bed of the river where it was dry or the water shallow, and ascended to the level of the frail-looking bridge where the stream was deep. The whole thing looked like sudden death,—but we reached the farther side of the Rakaia in safety, and were only charged 2*s.* a head for all that was done for us. It may be taken as a rule that rivers in Canterbury cost so much and no more.

During our whole journey from the Waitaki to Christchurch, we were crossing the Canterbury Plains—of the fertility of which so much has been heard in England. It is an uninteresting journey as far as scenery is concerned. To the left the great range of mountains which runs throughout the island was always in sight with its snow-capped peaks,—somewhat relieving the dulness of the plain;—but they are not sufficiently near to create landscape beauty. To the right was the sea, often close at hand during the first day, but seldom visible. We passed on from one squatter's run to another, through vast paddocks containing perhaps 20,000 acres each, without a tree. The grass consisted of long coarse tussocks,—brown in colour,—with nothing of green prettiness to relieve the monotony. To the eye it certainly was not charming, but I had already learned enough of sheep to know that as a pastoral country it was good. I was told that it would carry two sheep to three acres. Any pastures that will do that on aboriginal grasses must be very good.

I had thought that we should pass through more cultivated ground than I saw on the road. Indeed I had expected to find the Canterbury Plains one vast expanse of corn-bearing land. This is by no means the case. Owing to the course which the road takes the traveller sees little of agriculture, except in the neighbourhood of Timaru, till he reaches Selwyn, within a few miles of Christchurch. For this there are two apparent reasons. The land which has been purchased for tillage at a distance from Christchurch lies chiefly on the river beds, and has been taken up with reference to water frontages. It runs therefore in strips down from the mountains to the sea, and does not meet the traveller's eyes. And, then, the squatters have found it worth their

while to buy large tracts of land for pastoral purposes —so as to keep free-selecters and farmers at a distance. The price of land under the Canterbury Association was at first £3 an acre,—and at this rate the land round Christchurch was sold to the first settlers, by those who bought it from the New Zealand Land Company on behalf of the Association. The price was then reduced to 10*s.* an acre, at which rate much of what was then considered the distant districts of the province was alienated to a few happy capitalists. But for some years past the prices for all land in the province has been £2 an acre. For £2 an acre any man who can pay the money down may purchase as many sections as he desires containing twenty acres each;—and he may pick the sections as he pleases, buying a bit here and a bit there,—a practice which in Australia they call picking the eyes out of "the country,"—and one which the framers of the land laws in the different Australian colonies have done their best to prevent. In Canterbury it is urged that at the higher price thus exacted for land,—40*s.* an acre in lieu of 20*s.* or less, with ready money in lieu of deferred payments, —the colony can afford to welcome any purchasers, and that purchasers picking out the best land, and thus opening up the country, will soon be followed by others who will content themselves with the second best,—and so on. I have heard many lengthened arguments on both sides of the question,—with which I will not trouble my readers. Each colony may perhaps be fairly presumed to know what mode of sale will suit its own circumstances. In the excellence of its land Canterbury has been very happy; and, as a consequence of that excellence, it is second in achieved success to no colony sent out from Great Britain.

The majority of the land bought of late has been

purchased by squatters, and not by farmers or free-selecters. In the year ended the 30th June, 1872, run-holders,—or squatters,—bought 23,184 acres in the province, and other persons, who no doubt all purchased as farmers, bought 17,807 acres. The figures are interesting as showing the progressive nature of pastoral pursuits in New Zealand. No squatter in New South Wales or Queensland can afford to pay 40*s.* an acre for land on which to run sheep,—nor even 20*s.* When he does pay the latter sum, it is done with the object of protecting himself against the inroad of free-selecters, by the purchase of some special block,—so that by obtaining possession of that block, he may raise a barrier against his enemy. But in New Zealand the purchaser lays down artificial grasses, and in a few years is enabled to carry five, six, or seven sheep, instead of perhaps half a sheep, to an acre. In every province of New Zealand which I visited,—and I visited them all except Hawkes Bay,—I saw English grasses in profusion, and English-looking fields. In Australia English grasses have no doubt been introduced, but I have never seen the side of a mountain covered with them, as I have in New Zealand. The cause of this is to be found in the climate. In New Zealand it seems that everything thrives which ever throve in England. The Southern,—or Middle,—Island is a second England, only with higher mountains, bigger lakes, and rougher shores. She has indeed gold instead of iron and coal,* and is in that respect much the poorer country of the two.

The province of Canterbury already exports large quantities of grain, assisting to feed all the other pro-

* There is coal in the Middle Island. In Otago they burn a kind of coal, by no means of a pleasant nature, which they call lignite. Coal has been found also in Nelson, but has not hitherto been profitably worked.

vinces of New Zealand, and occasionally exporting wh
to Victoria and to England. The ports from which i
sent are Lyttelton and Timaru. The first object o
colony should be to grow wheat enough for itself,—i
be placed in a country capable of growing wheat. N
Zealand in the year 1871 exported wheat and flour
the value of £75,176,—but imported to the value
£127,040,—showing a deficiency of £51,864. But
province of Canterbury, in regard to the production
wheat, holds her head high. Not only does she sup
the greater portion of the bread-stuffs exported fr
New Zealand to other countries, but largely helps
supply her weaker sister provinces. In 1870 she suppl
the other provinces with corn and flour to the value
£127,000, and in the first six months of 1871 to
value of £59,800.

Beginnings of railways, with railway rumours, r
way prophecies, and railway fears, met us everywh
on our passage up the islands. It must always be
membered that these colonial railways are not priv
speculations as they are with us, but are constructed
or to be constructed,—with money borrowed by
colony for the purpose. If it be calculated that
money can be borrowed at 5 per cent., and that the
pected traffic will pay for the working of the railway
two positions which the advocates for the New Zeal
railway system take for granted,—then the question
this: will the value of railway communication to
colony be worth the interest which the colony must
for the money borrowed? Any partisan could talk
the hour,—if given to talking, or write by the chapter
if given to writing, either on one side or the other;
first on one and then on the other. Facts can pr
nothing in the matter, and speculation must carry

day either on that side or on this. That a national debt is a grievous burden to a young community is of course not to be denied. That railways running through a country, at present deficient in roads, will increase trade, and add greatly to the value of the land and to the value of the produce of the land, is equally manifest. Such a question in a community governed by free institutions, representative parliaments, and responsible ministers, at last becomes simply one of partisan politics. There will be the borrowing and spending side of the House, the members of which will be great in their oratory on behalf of progress,—and there will be the cautious side of the House, which would fain be just before it is generous, whose oratory will be equally great in denouncing the reckless audacity of the spendthrifts. The borrowing and spending side will generally have some great prophet of its own who can look far into futurity, who can see ample returns to the community for any amount of expenditure, who is himself fond of political power, and who can see at any rate this,—that the great body of voters in the country, on whom he must depend for his power, are for the most part indifferent to future circumstances so long as money at the moment be spent in profusion. When I reached New Zealand Mr. Vogel was the great prophet of the hour,—and under his auspices money had been largely borrowed, and great contracts had been given for railways which are ultimately to run through the two islands from The Bluff up to Auckland and north of Auckland. Of Mr. Vogel and his fate, while I was in the colony, I shall have to say a few words when speaking of the parliament at Wellington; but I have found it impossible to touch the subject of railways in New Zealand without mentioning the name of a man who I was assured by

one party will hereafter be regarded as the great promoter of the success of his adopted country,—or, as I was assured by another party, be denounced as her ruin.

At Selwyn we got upon one of these beginnings of railways, which took us into Christchurch, a distance of twenty-three miles, through one of the richest districts of the settlement. Christchurch as a town is certainly not magnificent, but it is comfortable and thoroughly English. The houses are chiefly of wood,—as are also the greater number of the churches. The banks here, as elsewhere, luxuriate in stone. Throughout all these colonies I have grudged the grandeur of the banks, being reminded by every fine façade of percentages, commission, and charges for exchange. I believe that in Australia and New Zealand a man might melt his money down to nothing quicker than anywhere else, simply by transferring it from one place to another. I feel myself to be ill-natured in saying this, as personally I received great courtesy from bankers;—but not the less did I find that the melting process was the practice.

Christchurch as a city is certainly much less imposing than Dunedin. The population of the city is about 8,000, —that of the electoral districts of Christchurch is something over 12,000. The special religious tenets of the founders of the colony may be gathered perhaps more clearly from the names of the streets than from any other characteristic which a stranger will observe. They are all named after some Church of England bishopric,—and in the choosing of the special dioceses which were to be so honoured, there has certainly been no mean time-serving, no special worship of the great ones of the Church. The Irish Church has been specially honoured, for there are Armagh Street, Tuam Street, and Cashel

et. There are also Gloucester Street, and Lichfield et, and Hereford Street, and St. Asaph Street. But e is no York Street, or London Street, or Winchester et. There is, however, an Antigua Street, a Barbadoes et, and a Montreal Street; and the chief street of all olumbo Street.

I have already spoken of the failure of the Canter- pilgrims in reference to the building of a cathedral. re is the empty space, with all the foundations of a t church laid steadfast beneath the surface; but it ned to be the general opinion of the people that a of public offices should be erected there instead of a edral. I could not but be melancholy as I learned the honest, high-toned idea of the honest, high-toned iders of the colony would probably not be carried but, perhaps, on that spot in the middle of the city, t of public offices will be better than a cathedral. lic offices all the community will use. A cathedral satisfy something less than one half of it;—and will tly dissatisfy the other half. Such a church, by its by its magnificence, by the very zeal of those who hot in its erection, proclaims ascendancy;—and if e be one feeling more repugnant than any other to genuine British colonist it is that of Church ascend- . Many of the settlers have come away from their homes in order that they may be rid of it. It savours hem of tyranny and priest-rule. They do not dis- the worship of the Church of England,—perhaps prefer it on the whole to any other. Statistics show it is still more popular than any other one form of ship in the colonies. But colonists as a body are se to any assertion that one Church is by its own its deserving of higher outward honour than another. name *of a cathedral* may be innocent enough,—but

the builders of them in the colonies should I think for the present make them large only in accordance with the wants of their flocks. In Christchurch there is no doubt a disappointed feeling of ungratified ascendancy.

Canterbury has a parliament of its own, as has Otago,—and in Christchurch there still exists a hope, as there does also in Dunedin, that a good time is coming in which the General Assembly may be moved south from favoured Wellington to its own halls,—if only for a time. I trust the colony will at any rate never make the mistake into which Canada once fell, of having a peripatetic parliament, an arrangement which makes it necessary that all the appurtenances of government,—secretaries, clerks, messengers, blue books, stationery, and red tape,—should be kept moving continually from one town to another. The hall in which the Provincial Council of Canterbury sits is spacious and very handsome, and I was told that it was built with a view to accommodate the Colonial House of Representatives. I was assured afterwards at Wellington that the question of such a journey southwards was still considered to be open. The hall in question is perhaps a little too highly coloured, but is certainly very fine. I was accompanied by a member of the Provincial Council, who admitted that it had one slight drawback. Those who spoke in it could not make themselves heard. I myself had no opportunity of testing it, as the General Assembly was sitting at Wellington while I was in the colony, and the General Assembly and the Provincial Councils never sit together. This hall forms part of a set of buildings erected for the management of the affairs of the province, which as a whole pleased me very much. It is partly of stone, and partly of wood, but is Gothic throughout, the wood-work being as graceful and as true to the design of the whole as the

stone. It stands on the banks of the little river Avon, which meanders through the town, having a few willows on the bank, with a wooden footbridge. The buildings form a quadrangle, and look as though one of the smaller and prettier colleges had been transplanted thither bodily from the banks of the Cam. As I stood and looked at it I could not but think that some exiled member of the university may some day have consoled himself with the same feeling.

I found that allotments of land for building purposes within a mile or two of the town were worth from £50 to £150 an acre. In all these towns the great proportion of comfortable villa residences to poor and squalid cottages is very striking. Indeed there are no poor or squalid cottages. All round Christchurch there are houses which in the neighbourhood of an English country town would denote an expenditure of £500 or £600 a year, and which here certainly cannot be maintained at a lesser rate. The one great complaint made by the ladies who occupy these houses,—the one sorrow indeed of the matrons of New Zealand,—arises from the dearth of maid-servants. Sometimes no domestic servant can be had at all, for love or money, and the mistress of the house with her daughters, if she have any, is constrained to cook the dinner and make the beds. Sometimes a lass who knows nothing will consent to come into a house and be taught how to do house-work at the rate of £40 per annum, with a special proviso that she is to be allowed to go out two evenings a week to learn choral singing in the music-hall. By more than two or three ladies my sympathy was demanded on account of these sufferings, and I was asked whether a country must not be in a bad way in which the ordinary comfort of female attendance could not be had when it was wanted. Of course I sym-

pathized. It is hard upon a pretty young mother with three or four children that she should be left to do everything for herself. But I could not help suggesting that the young woman's view of the case was quite as important as the matron's, and that if it was a bad place for those who wanted to hire maid-servants, it must be a very good place for the girls who wanted to be hired. The maid-servant's side of the question is quite as important as the mistress's. The truth is, that in such a town as Christchurch a girl of twenty or twenty-three can earn from £30 to £40 a year and a comfortable home, with no oppressively hard work; and if she be well-conducted and of decent appearance she is sure to get a husband who can keep a house over her head. For such persons New Zealand is a paradise. It is not only that they get so many more of the good things of the world than would ever come in their way in England, but that they stand relatively in so much higher a position in reference to the world around them. The very tone in which a maid-servant speaks to you in New Zealand, her quiet little joke, her familiar smile, her easy manner, tell you at once that the badge of servitude is not heavy on her. She takes your wages, and makes your bed, and hands your plate,—but she does not consider herself to be of an order of beings different from your order. Many who have been accustomed to be served all their life may not like this. If so they had better not live in New Zealand. But if we look at the matter from the maid-servant's side we cannot fail to find that there is much comfort in it.

I would advise no young lady to go out to any colony either to get a husband, or to be a governess, or to win her bread after any so-called ladylike fashion. She may suffer much before she can succeed, or may probably

fail altogether. But any well-behaved young woman who now earns £16 as a housemaid in England would find in New Zealand a much happier home.

I must say a word about the museum at Christchurch, though museums are things of which I am very ignorant. I was taken to the museum by the curator, Dr. Haast, to see the skeletons of various moas, in the arrangement and reconstruction of which he is a great authority. There is a little world there of moas and kiwis, and a collection of large stones which the moas have swallowed, as other birds pick up gravel, to assist digestion, and of eggs which the kiwis have laid almost as big as themselves. Next to the Maoris, who are not as yet quite extinct, the moas, which are, must be regarded as the most wonderful productions of New Zealand. They fed upon grass, with stones an inch in diameter to assist their digestion. They were twelve feet high, and seem at one time to have had the islands almost to themselves. In the museum are various clusters of their broken bones,—of bones which have been found broken; and from these fractures Dr. Haast draws the conclusion that there were, before the Maoris, a race of moa-hunters, who regaled themselves with the marrow which was thus obtained. I do not express doubt of the correctness of his view. I never do doubt the facts which science proclaims to me. But I found men in New Zealand who would not believe in the moa-hunters. In the museum there is a portrait of Gibbon Wakefield and his dogs, portions of which are said to have been painted by Landseer. The statue of Godley is at a little distance outside,—and is as much superior to the picture as the character and attributes of the man sculptured were greater than those of him who was painted.

The *appearance of the* country round Christchurch is

especially English. The land is divided into small English looking fields, with English grasses, and English hedges. In regard to the hedges it may be well to remark that the gorse, which has been brought over from England and acclimatized, has taken so kindly to its new home that it bids fair to become a monstrous pest. It spreads itself wide over the land and lanes, and unless periodically clipped claims the soil as its own. But each periodical clipping, with rural labour at 6*s*. a day, is a serious addition to the expense of farming.

Lyttelton is the port by which Christchurch imports and exports what it buys and what it produces; and between Christchurch and Port Lyttelton there is a range of mountains so steep as almost to defy traffic. When the first Canterbury pilgrims landed at Port Lyttelton their courage for new adventure must almost have passed away from them, when they perceived that the settlers in the plain beyond the mountains would be divided by such a barrier from the sea. A road has indeed been made over the barrier, not so steep but what a horse may travel it, and round from the harbour there is a tedious navigation by the channel of the Heathcote River nearly up to Christchurch. But neither of these modes of transit suffice to put a town into comfortable communication with the sea. Consequently the Canterbury folk determined to make a railway, and in doing so have carried a tunnel through the mountain, a distance of a mile and three-quarters, at an expense amounting to £200,000. It was a great enterprise for so small a community, and was absolutely essential to the well-being of Christchurch as a town. There can be no doubt, however, that the tunnel has doubled the value of the land lying immediately on the inland side of the hills. Port Lyttelton itself is a very picturesque place, hemmed in

by hills, at the head of a narrow land-
vith the mountains of Banks's Peninsula
it.

a word of the county of Westland before
with Canterbury,—of Westland and its
ka, which till 1868 were comprised within
f Canterbury. Hokitika is a thriving gold-
estern coast, and is the centre of various
hen gold "broke out," as the phrase goes,
side of the Middle Island, and when the
ka, together with the export of gold from
me a great matter, the pastoral and agri-
ce of Canterbury not caring to maintain
th interests so different from those to which
med, severed itself from the gold-fields.
e of Westland was assumed, and Westland
actly a province, but a county independent
rovince, with municipal institutions of its
lid not admit of my crossing the island
ry to the west coast, so that I saw none
of Hokitika,—to my infinite regret. For,
strict is famous for its gold, it is, if pos-
mous for its scenery. It lies under Mount
arch of New Zealand mountains, less, but
ltitude than its brother monarch in Europe.
uch of the beauty of the road across the
f the scenery around Mount Cook and its
I had determined to visit them. But Aus-
Zealand together cover a wide space,—
bliged to give up the west coast of the
. Of course to my dying day the convic-
t me that when in New Zealand I did not
ing best worth seeing in the colony.

CHAPTER XVI.

Marlborough and Nelson.

FROM Port Lyttelton we went by steamer to W
ton, the political capital of the colony, which is s
at the southern extremity of the Northern Island;
we touched at Picton, in the province of Marlb
and at Nelson, in the province of that name,
journey from Wellington northwards to Auckland,
these two provinces are in the Middle Island, it
well that I should take them first. I am entitled
but little about them, as I did in fact but touch

The journey from Wellington to Nelson,
Cook's Strait, which divides the two islands, is v
turesque, especially if the steamer take Picton
course. The headlands and broken bays, with th
steep mountains coming sheer down into the blue
the closeness of the land, and the narrowness
passages, all tend to create a mysterious charm
he who gazes at them finds himself unable to
He feels tempted to land at every gully which
among the mountains and to investigate the
wild world which must be beyond them. He kn
truth, that there is nothing there,—that one br
would lead only to another, that there is no life
the hills, and that the very spots on which his
really contain whatever there may be of lovelines
place. But though he knows this as fact, his ima
will not allow him to trust his knowledge.
always present to him a vague longing to investi
mysteries of the valleys, and to penetrate into the
of the distant hills. The sweetest charms of la
are as those of life;—they consist of the anticip

ething beyond which never can be reached. I never this more strongly than when I was passing from one l-locked channel to another along the coast of Cook's it.

We left Wellington during the night, and at six in morning we were entering Tory Channel on the op- te island, so called from the name of the vessel in ch Wakefield's first party of emigrants arrived. From ice we passed into Queen Charlotte's Sound, at the of which is the little town of Picton, which till lately the capital of the province of Marlborough. I be- e it still considers itself to be so, but the Provincial ncil,—the presence of which I presume to be the st mark of a New Zealand capital,—has been re- ed to the other town which the province possesses, ed Blenheim. Neither of these places has as yet a ulation of 1,000 inhabitants, and the whole province, the census of 1871, possessed no more than 5,235 ls, and yet in 1860, when the number was very much , the people of the district found it essential to their -being to separate themselves from the province of son. The land in those parts, they said, was sold by Nelson Council or the Nelson Executive, and the ney forthcoming for the land was spent in Nelson, in- d of being used to open up the very country which duced it. As to the expedience or inexpedience of change, I have no opinion,—but it strikes an English- n as strange that a scattered community of a few usand persons spread among the mountains should uire a separate government for themselves,—with a arate parliament, and all the attendant expenses. I ld not, however, but remember how I had been my- convinced of the necessity of separating the Riverina n *New South Wales*, for the very reasons which caused

the separation of Marlborough from Nelson, and I was disposed to think that the people of Marlborough may have been right. The population of the Riverina was indeed much larger, but one fails to see the exact limit at which a population may claim its right not to have its wealth consumed by a larger population at a distance. Marlborough, however, carried its point,—and Picton became a capital, among New Zealand capitals, till further jealousy removed its honours to Blenheim. Small as Marlborough is in numbers, there is a smaller province, that of Taranaki, of which I shall speak by-and-by.

At Picton I found the son of an English friend, who himself had been among the earliest of the New Zealand settlers, superintending the creation of a railway from thence to Blenheim,—a railway with about 700 people at each end of it, and which may perhaps benefit in some remote way an entire population of 2,000 or 3,000! The financial ministers of New Zealand have certainly been very brave. Navvies I found had been brought out from England under contracts to work for a certain time at certain rates; but, of course, these contracts were ignored by the men when they found, or thought that they had found, that they could do better for themselves by ignoring them. It is absolutely useless for any employer of labour to take labour out to the colonies for his own use, paying the expense of the transit. Unwilling services are of all services the dearest, and such services if they be kept at all are sure to be unwilling.

Picton itself is a pretty, straggling, picturesque little town, lying, as do all these New Zealand ports, pressed in between the mountains and the sea. It is a strangely isolated place, with no road anywhere but to its rival Blenheim. Once a week from Wellington, and once from Nelson, a steamer touches there, and then it bids

nication with the world. How it lives I could
it. The staple of the province is wool, and
ver 600,000 sheep,—about as many as all
ustralia possesses,—but Nelson is not the port
he wool is shipped. That goes down to an-
near to Blenheim. It is hard to discover how
s do live, as 700 persons can hardly make
l by trading on each other; and as they im-
clothes, their brandy, their tobacco, and, I am
y, their wheat also, they must produce some-
ewith to purchase those good things. Whilst
e earning 6*s.* or 7*s.* a day by making a rail-
understand that trade should go on. The
the men fall into the little town like manna
en. But such a fall of manna as that is apt
o a speedy end. As far as outward appear-
Picton seemed to be doing very well. There
shops, and tidy houses, and pretty gardens,
eral look of sleepy, well-fed prosperity. In all
es the people are well fed and well clothed,
nay be the sources from whence the food and
ome. I may say also that Picton enjoys a
climate, produces all English fruits in rich
, is surrounded by fields deliciously green,
r an immediate background some of the finest
New Zealand.

eat sight of the province of Marlborough is a
miles behind Picton, which was the scene of
ed Wairau massacre. This was not exactly
ing, but it was one of the beginnings of the
f the Maoris against their English masters.
of Waitangi, by which the Maoris professed
to the Crown of Great Britain and obedience
laws, was made in 1840. In 1843 a party

of English settlers, armed with proper magisterial authority, attempted to arrest two Maori chiefs, Rauparaha and Rangihaeta, who had interfered with the work of a surveyor who had been sent to survey the Wairau valley on the plea that it had been purchased from the natives by the New Zealand Land Company. The two Maori chieftains denied the purchase, and resisted the arrest. A fight ensued, in which thirteen settlers were killed and five wounded, and after the fight Rauparaha murdered in cold blood nine other settlers whom he and his party had taken prisoners. But this was not all. After the massacre Rauparaha and Rangihaeta were not taken, and there arose a question, not only whether there was force enough in the country to apprehend them, but whether they were subject to English writs. It will easily be understood how such doings as this would shake the prestige of their British masters in the minds of these New Zealand savages. "The Wairau conflict," says Dr Thompson, "attracted the attention of Europe, and created interest in the minds of men who never thought about colonies. It completely stopped emigration to New Zealand, called forth the sympathy of people in different parts of Great Britain; and at Paris,"—oh, unfortunate New Zealand!—"at Paris a proposition was made to commence a subscription to enable the unfortunate settlers to return home." What a bathos of misery into which to fall!

This was the Wairau massacre, which, as I have said, was one of the commencements of the Maori war, and the scene of the massacre, with the graves of those who fell, is but a few miles above Picton, and is shown with awe to such travellers as have been to visit the spot. I heard the tale, but did not visit the graves.

From Picton we came back through Queen Char-

ɔtte's Sound, up Admiralty Bay, which is another of he wonderful land-locked harbours with which the coast s indented, and through the French pass, as it is called, n to Nelson. Admiralty Bay is not in fact an indentaion of the land, but is formed by D'Urville's Island, nd the French pass is a very narrow channel,—made loubly interesting by a fatal rock in the very centre of t,—between the island and the main land. It is all ery well now for steamers with charts and coal and all nautical appliances to thread their way in and out hrough these marvellously intricate passages; but one is ost in wonder at the audacity of the men when one hinks of the work which such sailors as Tasman and Cook were called on to perform.

Nelson is a settlement which has attracted much nore attention at home than has been paid to Picton. Few parts of New Zealand, indeed, were oftener made he subject of conversation in England some years back han the settlement of Nelson. It has a bishop, too, of ts own,—a sturdy clergyman of the right sort for such position, who looks as though he had been created to nanage the clergy of a colonial diocese,—a man who an put the collar on his own horse, or ride fifty miles t a stretch, or hold his own in any conflict either by vord or hand. A colonial bishop should be hale, igorous, young, and good-humoured, ready to preach, o laugh, or to knock a fellow down at any moment. But when I say this I do not forget thee, thou best of ll bishops that now in these latter days wearest an pron, though thou too art colonial and hast held thy harge till years are creeping on thee, so that thou canst ow hardly knock down any man except by argument. Old schoolfellow, how pleasant thou wert to me when hou *spokest of former* things,—and how urgent for

good, how strong in faith, how pugnacious, and yet how gentle! After I know not how many years of rough and battling life in a rough and battling colony thou wert still the English gentleman fresh from his college. Did it ever occur to thee how great to me was the relish of thy decorous pleasantries?

Nelson was first settled by the New Zealand Land Company. In 1841 the company issued a prospectus for the Nelson settlement, encouraged to do so by the great avidity with which their purchases at Wellington and New Plymouth, in the Northern Island, had been re-purchased by intending emigrants from England. In September, 1841, the future Nelson settlers reached Wellington, and it seems that in spite of the choice of a name already made for the place of their destination there was at first a doubt where they should be located. It was the heyday of Wakefield's success, when he could still boast that he had purchased on behalf of the company a territory as large as Ireland,—when he may have looked forward to re-name New Zealand Wakefieldia, and almost have dreamed of future sovereignty. A brother of his,—who was afterwards murdered in the Wairau massacre of which I have just spoken,—led this Nelson expedition. Governor Hobson, who was then at Wellington, wished to send the immigrants on north into Auckland. Some of the settlers themselves had already heard of the plains of which the Canterbury settlers afterwards became the owners, and desired to be taken thither. But the Wakefield interest at last prevailed, and Blind Bay, on which the town of Nelson now stands, was chosen for the settlement. It seems that these emigrants had bought land from the Company, though no one among them knew where was the land they had bought,—except that it was to be found some-

re in New Zealand. Lots of twenty acres each were
l at 30*s.* an acre, with a town lot added to each—
site of the town not yet fixed. But of the money so
l none was intended to go, and I am not aware that
did go, into the pockets of any speculator. Half
to be applied to further emigration; two-sixths were
e applied to reimbursing the company,—which had
le the original purchase from the natives with Jews'
ps, gunpowder, and shaving-brushes, and had not
vided itself with those articles or transported them to
Antipodes for nothing; and the remaining sixth was
e, and was, expended in improving the condition of
settlers. It was applied to education, and created a
existing fund.

All this was very delightful. It was a system of co-
ration established on the purest philanthropical
ives. But there were difficulties. The purchased
ls were to be distributed by lot. So many thousands
icres were to be divided by arbitrary lines, which on
ap would give the necessary quantity to each settler;
these chess-board partitions would have placed many
astounded settler on the rough side of a barren
ntain, and elevated others to the sublimity of snowy
ks. And then the Maoris, who seem to have been
courteous to the strangers, disputed the purchase.
Thompson quotes the speech they made when they
lined the cunning gifts of their visitors. "We wel-
e the white men," they said, "but decline their pre-
ts, lest they be construed into proofs that the land
e fairly purchased." We may discredit the accuracy
rgument, but we can well understand that the feel-
indicated would exist and find expression in some
guage. However, they did admit a purchase, and
de *no opposition to* the survey of a town site.

15*

The air was pleasant, the scene was beautiful around them, the harbour though difficult of entrance was secure, and though there was snow on the mountains close around them, there were sweet flowers on the plain and good herbage. When subsequently, in 1843, a report was made to the government by the land commissioner who had been appointed to inquire for how much land the New Zealand Land Company had really given value to the natives, it was decided that at Nelson 151,000 acres had been fairly purchased,—and on that amount of territory, which would have been amply sufficient for their purposes had there been no beautiful but barren mountains, the settlers made themselves a home, and established Nelson, by no means the least important of the New Zealand provinces.

But there was of course quarrelling with the natives, who did not understand the extent to which they were supposed to have alienated their lands. Coal and lime were found, and there was quarrelling about that. Then there was the Wairau massacre,—and the vain attempt to make the Maoris subject to English laws after a manner intelligible to themselves. Certain words quoted by Dr. Thompson from a dispatch written about this time by Lord John Russell, show very plainly what have been the hopes and what the difficulties,—what at last the despair of European colonizers in reference to the savage tribes with which they have been brought in contact. "To rescue the natives of New Zealand from the calamities of which the approach of civilised men to barbarous tribes has hitherto been the almost universal herald, is a duty too sacred and important to be neglected, whatever may be the discouragements under which it may have been undertaken." Most true, thou honest and philanthropic quondam prime minister and

secretary of state! It is this truth which is grinding the heart of us all as we deal with these peoples, either in buying their lands or making laws for them, or writing books about them. We would fain be just and also generous. But we must populate the land. That will be done at any rate. And if they who be just, and generous, and great, the Lord John Russells of the day, desist from all efforts in the matter, the thing will be done with infinite injustice and cruelty. By their interposition the injustice and cruelty are brought within certain limits, and do not absolutely appal us by their horrors. I do not know that we can hope for more. I doubt whether the statesman whom I have named ventured to hope for more when he penned that paragraph. We cannot be just to these native tribes, because our justice is not their justice. We cannot weigh goods with them, because we have no common standard. Very slowly we force our standards upon them; but by the time that they have taken our laws and our weights and measures home to themselves,—they have perished out of the land and are gone. As lately as 1858 the number of natives in the North Island was estimated at 53,000. Fifteen years have since passed, and they are now under 40,000 in number. In the other islands they are all but extinct.

Nelson is in the Middle Island, and the Maoris now there are altogether harmless. A few may be seen loafing about, smiling, apparently contented, and dying out after no very unhappy fashion. The settlement has no longer troubles of that nature. Nor do I know that it has any troubles,—but those which may arise in the minds of individuals from slowness of progress. The town contains 6,000 people, and the province something over 22,000. I was told that the land was good, but

light and worn out from continual cropping; that nearly all the land in the province available for agriculture was sold; that farming, or at any rate growing wheat, did not pay unless a man could get his work done by the inmates of his own family;—and that there was but slight material prosperity in the place. One or two men might be making fortunes,—but, for the rest, Nelson was a slow spot. There was no money there, and no enterprise. They did not even grow wheat enough for themselves, though they professed to be an agricultural community. There was certainly a sleepiness about the place when regarded with commercial eyes.

But, though sleepy, it seemed to be happy. I was there about the beginning of September, — a winter month,—and nothing could be sweeter or more pleasant than the air. The summer heats are not great, and all English fruits, and grass, and shrubs grow at Nelson with more than English profusion. Every house was neat and pretty. The site is, I think, as lovely as that of any town I ever saw. Merely to breathe there, and to dream, and to look around was a delight. Nobody seemed to be either rich or poor,—to be either great or humble. They have their own Parliament House, and their own parliament, and manage themselves after a sleepy, fat, and plentiful rather than prosperous fashion, which is not without its advantages in the world. The children are generally well taught,—and certainly should be so, as there is nothing to pay for education. Every householder pays £1 per annum towards the school, and for every child between five and fifteen the parents pay 5*s.* a year, whether the child be at school or not. The payments are made as a matter of course, and the children are educated.

I was very much in love with Nelson during the

few hours that I passed there; but it is not the place to which I would send a young man to make a fortune.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Maoris.

I FEEL it incumbent on me to write a chapter on the Maoris, and the Maori war. It is indeed impossible to write even a fraction of a book about New Zealand without it. This arises not only from the importance of our dealings with these people to the colony generally, but also from the fact that in our thoughts and conversation about New Zealand at home, we take more heed of the Maoris and of their battles than of any other details concerning the colony. Of the mining prosperity of Otago, Westland, and Auckland we hear little, unless we dabble in gold ourselves. The agricultural prosperity of Canterbury hardly touches us, unless we have known some one who, twenty years ago, knew Gibbon Wakefield, Mr. Godley, or the present Lord Lyttelton. Even the politics of Wellington and the statecraft of Mr. Vogel interest us but slightly. Of Nelson we hear but little. Of Marlborough, Taranaki, and Hawkes Bay, as provinces of New Zealand, who, out of the Colonial Office, has ever heard even the names? As Bishop Selwyn has returned to us uneaten, and now, to the advantage of some and the delight of all, presides safely over a comfortable English diocese, even he is in danger of oblivion. But we do not forget that within ten years from this date we had 10,000 British soldiers fighting in New Zealand, with by no means triumphant success,—and that the Maoris were the people over whom we failed to triumph.

Of *the early history of* the Maoris I have said a very

few words, but perhaps sufficient, in a former chapter. We have always heard of them as savages and cannibals;—and have heard truly. But in spite of their savagery and cannibalism they seem in early days,—we will say before 1840,—to have been delighted to have European settlers among them. Pakeha is the native word for stranger, and a Pakeha Maori is a stranger who has come and lived among Maoris more or less after their own ways. They were always glad to have Pakeha Maoris among them, and allowed wonderful liberties to these comers,—giving up their women, and even submitting, in some instances, to the desecration of their religious observances. And this welcome was not without a substantial reason. The Pakehas were traders, and brought with them all manner of good things,—clothes, seed potatoes, iron tools, domestic utensils, pigs, poultry, and corn,—and above all, they brought with them guns and gunpowder with which enemies could be killed. What the Pakehas took in return for this was not of much value to the Maoris. Native flax was the chief article, and of native flax there was abundance. Whale oil, seal skin, and kauri-gum when it was found, could be equally well spared, and the amount of land which the first Pakehas wanted was very small. It was a great thing for a tribe to have a few Pakehas to trade with,—so great a thing, at last, that no tribe could get on without them. The tribes which got the guns and gunpowder killed and ate up, root and branch, the unfortunate wretches whom no God-sent Pakeha had furnished with that blessed means of rapid destruction. And so the Pakehas were very popular.

This went on till 1840 with a fair amount of comfort on both sides. The British merchants who engaged in the trade were not perhaps of the highest order,—not

were their lives passed after any very regular fashion. Now and again one may have been eaten, but the number who achieved martyrdom after that fashion was small. And in those days there were missionaries as well as Pakeha Maoris in the land who did what they could to soften matters, and who were not averse themselves to the acquiring of land. It will be remembered that at this time, though Great Britain had made a nominal claim to the islands, she had not exercised sovereignty. Then came the New Zealand Land Company in 1839; and in 1840 there came Governor Hobson and the treaty of Waitangi.

It must be remembered that at this time the Northern Island only was concerned, and that in speaking of the Maoris, little need be said concerning the other two islands. The Maoris of the north, having at first enjoyed nearly a monopoly of guns and gunpowder, seem to have pretty well eaten up their southern brethren, before the days of Otago and Canterbury. Late in 1841 Mr. Wakefield's Nelson settlers occupied a part of the northern extremity of the Middle Island,—where, in 1843, took place the Wairau massacre. But the chiefs by whom this was effected were Maoris connected with the Northern Island. Cook's Strait, which divides the islands, is a narrow passage, and the southern shores of it were easily accessible. But the Maori battles all took place in the Northern Island; and before the wars and before the coming of Governor Hobson the doings of the Pakeha Maoris were mainly confined to the North.

The books which I have read about New Zealand almost always abuse the governor. Dr. Thompson,—whose story of New Zealand is the most comprehensive and impartial that I have read—is by no means complimentary *even to Governor* Hobson, and covers acting-

Governor Shortland and Governor Fitzroy with rid
In Mr. Fox's history of the war, he deals very h
both with Sir George Grey and Sir Thomas Br
The present governor,—or rather he who was gov
during my visit, for his governorship has now p
away,—has so far escaped. I trust his good fo
may continue,—but books have not as yet been w
about him. I take it to be the fact in regard to g
nors of colonies that they have either so easy a ti
it that they can hardly go very wrong,—in which
they are abused for doing nothing; or so difficult a
that they cannot possibly go altogether right,—in
case they are abused for doing too much. The
governors of New Zealand were certainly called up
reign under the latter condition. It was probable
things might drift into order,—wafted on by that
dency to well-being which we call Providence, but
in truth arises from the combined intelligence o
community,—but it was impossible that it coul
governed into order. In the last century, when g
nors were thought nothing of at home, but were
governors in the dependencies which they were de
to rule, it was different. Governor Phillip, whe
was sent out to create a penal settlement at Botany
had at any rate plenary power. He could do wh
pleased either with aboriginals or Europeans, and
a man capable of the work, he did govern and
successful. But with Governors Hobson, Shortland,
Fitzroy it was very different. They had power n
over the natives nor over the Europeans,—and
was necessary that they should always be doing
thing. When Governor Hobson arrived the New
land Land Company claimed to have bought t
million acres, or nearly a third of New Zealand.

reage was reduced, by government inquiry and govern-ent decision, to less than a quarter of a million. Of ourse after this there would be ill-blood between the overnment and the settlers. Of this quarter of a mil-on,—282,000 was the exact number of acres,—60,000 ere around a young settlement called New Plymouth, n the western coast of the Northern Island, in the istrict of Taranaki,—now a province of that name,—s to the present condition of which I will speak in an-ther chapter. But certain Taranaki natives declared hat the 60,000 acres, though paid for, had not in truth been bought, as the purchase had been made from natives who had no title to sell. This was in Governor Fitzroy's time. When complaint was made to the governor he inquired into the matter energetically. But how were any inquiries to enable a governor to go ight in such a matter? The complaining natives had ost the land in question by warfare, and the selling natives had gained the land by conquest. Now trans-erence by conquest of the absolute possession of the and, with the right to sell, had always been Maori law, —and in respecting the Maori rights we had been forced o recognise Maori laws. The complaining natives had certainly been conquered and driven off their lands,—which had been sold to us by the conquerors. But here is another Maori law, that the conquerors do not n truth obtain the right to sell the land unless they have occupied it as well as conquered it; and the con-queror who had driven the old natives from their land, —and had very effectually performed his part of the sale by getting the money from the Europeans, who had regarded his title as good,—though his conquest was not disputed, was held never to have occupied the soil. Should *any lawyer ever* read these lines, let him think

of this little trouble, and of the position of a governo called upon to decide in such a matter! The money had been paid. The conqueror, by name Te Whero Whero,—who was afterwards elected as the first Maori king, and was known as King Potatau,—was secure. Restoration of the money would be out of the question. The settlers had been put into possession of their reduced estate amounting to 60,000 acres,—the original purchase having been infinitely larger; but the complaining natives were entitled to have the question adjudicated by their own laws! Come what come might, the natives were to be protected in their rights. Captain Fitzroy reduced the purchased area to 3,500 acres. The settlers were of course disgusted and half-ruined. The natives were of course convinced that they had made a great mistake from the beginning in supposing the white men to be greater or stronger than they.

This is one story out of many that might be told as to the disposal of land between the natives and the Europeans. Justice on our part was tantamount to weakness in their eyes. The juster a governor might attempt to be, the weaker would he be in the eyes of the natives, and the more injurious in the eyes of the settlers.

And there was soon another cause of dissatisfaction among the natives. The Pakehas had been the best of fellows as long as they were only traders,—taking flax and bringing guns and gunpowder, and living after the Maori fashion; but they were very much less agreeable as permanent residents when they began to exercise ways of their own. A certain number of chiefs had accepted the treaty of Waitangi,—partly overawed by the natural ascendancy of Europeans, and partly through appreciation of the material good things which the Pakehas

ought with them. But now the very beauty and charm the Pakeha trade was destroyed by new Pakeha in-ntions. Custom-houses were established, which to the aori mind seemed to be utterly hostile to trade! The ief scene of Maori-cum-Pakeha commerce had been at e Bay of Islands, where Governor Hobson had first ached, and had placed his government before he oved down south to the harbour on which the town of ckland now stands. Custom-houses and other abomin-le European fashions utterly destroyed the genuine l trade in the Bay of Islands. The American whaling-ips no longer came there. Blankets and tobacco be-me dear. Guns and gunpowder no longer were to be d. The very nature of the Pakehas seemed to be ered. Now a flag-staff had been set up on the hill er Kororeka, the once flourishing scene of Maori and keha trade at the Bay of Islands.

It came to pass that the new European fashions and e new European dominion connected themselves in e minds of certain natives, and especially in the mind a leading native named Heke, with the flag-staff; and s Heke, on the 8th of July, 1844, with a body of fol-wers, cut down and burned the flag-staff, thereby de-oying the symbol, and intending to destroy with the mbol the reality, of the authority which had come ong them. The flag-staff,—after some delay caused the necessity of sending to Sydney for soldiers,—was ain erected; but at the same time Kororeka was de-red a free port. The obnoxious custom-house was olished. This was a concession,—but was of course cepted as a sign of weakness, and in the following ar the flag-staff was again cut down. It was a third e erected, and after the third erection was protected troops. *But for the third* time it was cut down by

Heke, and on this occasion there was a battle. T
natives had by far the best of it, and the Europe
evacuated Kororeka and were carried off in three
four ships which were lying in the port. This wa
1845, and was the beginning of the Maori wars,
Heke was the hero of the hour.

The governor then felt that he must fight and
down Heke. Either that must be done, or the p
must be abandoned, and all the emblems of the Que
authority taken away. Of course the native chiefs
not understood the treaty of Waitangi,—and the na
generally had known nothing about it. To accuse H
and his allies of treachery and rebellion would be
surd. A condition of things which no New Zealand
tive had contemplated was coming about,—and thral
was the purpose of the Pakehas. Thraldom no d
was intended. It was our purpose to be masters of
Zealand, and to rule over those people; and there
there must be war. But the war then, as it has
been since, was disastrous. We have kept the cou
by numbers, by money, and by intelligence. We
held it in spite of military misfortune. We followed
Heke to a pah at Okaikau, and there we were repu
with terrible loss. We did not even get possessio
the pah. With renewed forces we again followed H
to a pah at Oheawai, again attacked, and were a
defeated,—though on this occasion the Maoris dese
the pah in the night. After this, poor Governor Fi
departed from the scene, and Governor Grey took
place. He commenced his career by victory. The
tives now divided their forces, and we followed,
Heke, but his ally Kawiti, to a pah at Ruapekapeka
from thence we succeeded in driving him and h
But their food was exhausted,—and, as savag

had had enough of fighting for one war. After this here was unconditional pardon, with intentions of brotherly love and Christianity,—and so the first war ended n January, 1846.

It was thus that the natives gradually learned the art f constructing fortifications and fighting within them, hich throughout all the Maori contests was so terrible o us. It seems that our men could not be brought to ndure the idea of starving them out, but always atempted to "rush" the pahs,—generally making the atempt in vain. The Maoris were seldom adequately proided with food for a siege, and hardly ever with water; —but within their pahs they were almost impregnable o sudden attacks. The defence of the pah depended hiefly on the nature of its ditch, and the description of he ditch as given by Dr. Thompson may perhaps interst my readers. "In an English fort the ditch is deep, nd outside the defences; in a New Zealand pah the itch is shallow, and inside the palisades. In an Engsh fort the ditch is made to obstruct the enemy; in a lew Zealand pah the ditch is made to cover the deenders, who stand in it and fire at the besiegers."

After this there were two wars in the province of Vellington,—one in the valley of the Hutt, and the ther in the country between the towns of Wellington nd Wanganui, which lasted from the beginning of 1846 o the beginning of 1848. They were not absolutely lisastrous, as had been the attacks against the pahs in Auckland,—but they were very unsatisfactory in their esults. Whether the rebellious Maoris were pardoned or punished, it seemed to be impossible to treat them t the same time with justice and wisdom. Without nishment rebellion could not be put down,—and there

seemed to be cruelty in hanging men who felt that were fighting for the preservation of their own pro It would often occur that those of their deeds were most horrible in our eyes were done in the formance of duties absolutely exacted by their la and for those deeds it was necessary that we s hang them! Blood for blood is law with them, though the first blood should have been shed in dent. We, of course, declared that such was n law, and that they must obey our laws,—because treaty of Waitangi. When we can bring ourselv our dealings with a people so different to ourselv act upon the law of bold and unscrupulous exped —when we declare to a people, as we did to the tralian aboriginals, that they are utterly deprived l for our advantage, of all ancient rights, of all la their own, and of all property,—the road, though rough, is straight. The colonist may be humane,— is to a horse,—but he is persistent. But the mixed ment which we have tried with the New Zealand n has made government and life among them very cult. All that we can do is to drift through the culties,—while they are melting.

These little wars, as we may call them, were br to an end in 1848, and then there came a peri peace, during which fond hopes were entertained the Maoris were becoming peaceful subjects, and the great question as to the possibility of civilisi savage race had been happily solved by the rule New Zealand. In three years very much was don the Maoris. Mills were built for them,—and chu and schools. Agricultural implements were give them. In all contests with the settlers as to their or privileges there was a tendency to favour the na

endency which in the circumstances of the colony ery natural.

ut in these years, and even from the very year in the first wars had ceased,—namely in 1848,—the of the future wars were sown. In this year com- ed both the land league and the king faction,—of I have already spoken. The land league was a carried on with the professed object of preventing from falling into the hands of the settlers, and was, th, not only the cause of the latter wars, but the ning of them. There were certain tribes about the of the North Island, and especially upon the west- l coast, which had been consistently averse to sell- heir land,—and who were perfectly justified by the of Waitangi in their policy, as regarded land be- ng to themselves. While they confined their opera- to their own territory their course of action was legal, even in accordance with our own laws. But they interfered either by arms or threats to thwart urchases made from other tribes, then,—in accord- with the treaty of Waitangi,—they became rebels. chief among these were the Waikato tribe, who in- ed the fertile valleys of the river of that name, and Waipa, and the Ngatimaniapoto, who owned the district further south. The country of the Waikato ow been confiscated, and the valleys are green with sh grasses. The Ngatimaniapoto still hold their and among them lives the Maori king. The league year to year became a great and still greater im- ent to European settlers,—and looking back at it find it hard to conceive any measure short of war ich its evils could be stayed. It was allowed to ess, and its success, of course, taught the Maoris, g whom it had originated, to think that they had

discovered the means by which they could sto growing ascendancy of the white man in their co The election of a king was of the same nature, an equally intelligible. I do not suppose that at the l ning of the king movement there was any belief a the Maoris that they could drive the Europeans the islands,—an idea which did grow among them their subsequent successes;—but there was a feelin as the Europeans had a Queen and a governme their own, the Maoris should have the same. It w other protest against the political ascendancy o strangers, made no doubt in direct contravention treaty of Waitangi as understood by us, but pro with no conception on their part that they were vio any law to which they had in truth made them subject.

I have spoken of the difficulty which befell Gov Fitzroy as to the purchase of land in Taranaki in e days. Taranaki, or New Plymouth, has from the mencement of its career been the most unfortunate of New Zealand. It was here again that the wars menced. A native named Taylor* declared himself ing to sell certain land at Waitara, in the province; the chief of the tribe, named William King, dec that the land should not be sold. On inquiry it decided that Taylor's claim was good, and the pur was made. But King, with his followers, would no Europeans to enter on the land. This led to which lasted for months, and brought New Plymout most to death's door. King was assisted by a

* By this time many of the natives had grown up to manhood with taken from European godfathers, but which they altered to suit their own la —multiplying the vowels and eliminating the consonants. Teira is Taylor; is Thomas; Pooipi is Busby; and so on.

chief from the Waikato tribe named William Thompson, a leading man among the Maoris, and one who did more than any other to enforce the land league on Maoris who were willing to sell. Thompson sent down a body of the Waikato fighting men to reinforce the Taranaki natives, but these men were encountered by Europeans on their arrival, and were beaten. Then Thompson himself went down, and a truce was made. This occurred in the first six months of 1861. But, though a truce was made, the question as to the Waitara land was not settled. The native, Taylor, had got the price, or a part of it; but the government, which had been the purchaser, had not got the land, and the poor settlers of Taranaki were again ruined.

Then there arose a question as to carrying the war into the Waikato country,—so as to punish those who had instigated the rebellion in Taranaki. Governor Browne was for war;—but his ministers were against it. Mr. Fox, whose narrative of the war I shall follow in the few details which I shall give, is of opinion that had we then attempted to invade the Waikato territory, the results would have been disastrous. General Cameron, who for the next four years held the command in New Zealand, had arrived;—but it is alleged that he had no more than 3,000 men, and that as he afterwards had as much as he could do to clear the Waikato with 15,000 men, he would have failed in any attempt in 1861. I cannot but doubt whether this follows. The Maoris used, as we did, the time which followed for preparation, and were strengthened in all their feelings, in their prestige, in their self-confidence, in their growing disregard of the white man, by the fact that their interference was successful. Of those 15,000 men whom General Cameron afterwards had, 5,000 were furnished by the colon

and these would have been forthcoming on our side as quickly as were the Maori recruits on the other side. This, however, now is but matter of speculation. The question of the immediate attack on the Waikatos was settled by the withdrawal of Governor Browne, and the return of Governor Grey, who,—as we well remember in England,—was sent back in this time of difficulty as the great New Zealand governor. He arrived in September, 1861.

Governor Grey began by an attempt to settle the question of that Waitara land which had been bought but not occupied,—and of which the occupation by European settlers was still prevented by the Maoris. As long as that was unsettled we were practically confessing ourselves unable to hold our own against the Maoris. There were conferences, therefore, and offers to refer the matter to arbitration. It was not the absolute land which we wanted so much as an opportunity of getting out of the scrape without disgrace in the eyes of the Maoris. But they saw that as well as we did, and were determined that we should be disgraced. They would neither give up the land nor consent to arbitration. Thompson, who was the leading spirit of the day, would do neither. He was the Maori king's great support, and now apparently began to think that he might, by persistent opposition, drive the Europeans altogether out of the land. The governor went to the stiffnecked Waikato tribe and was magnanimous. The minister went and was persuasive. The bishop went and preached to them. Other natives were got to operate upon them. Anything was better for us than war with a race whom we had thought to bind to us by giving them the blessings of civilisation. But it was all of no avail. They would do nothing in a friendly spirit about the Waitara land.

During the whole of 1862 and the early months of 1863 these peaceful efforts were continued.

And other land, undoubtedly purchased in unfortunate Taranaki, was in the meanwhile taken from the settlers by the Maoris. As it was necessary that something should be done, European soldiers were sent to re-occupy this land. A party of these soldiers, consisting of eight men and two officers, were killed by a Maori ambuscade, and thus the war was recommenced. This was on the 4th May, 1863,—and it now seemed to be our only choice whether we should abandon New Zealand or put down the Maoris altogether. Singularly enough we have not as yet absolutely done either,—and it is to be hoped that we never shall do either. Other outbreaks had been occurring in the Waikato itself much about the same time. A magistrate whom we had appointed was turned out of his district, and a court-house which we were building was pulled down and thrown into the river. It was very evident that William Thompson's country must be the scene of the war.

It is not my purpose to give a history of the war of the Waikato. In the valley of this river and of its confluent the Waipa, the great Maori contest of which we heard so much, was mainly carried on. General Cameron had 15,000 men under him, and the fighting Maoris were computed at 2,000. It must not be supposed that these numbers were ever brought together at one spot,—or even in one part of the North Island; but such are supposed to have been the relative proportions of the men in arms, and in our different engagements with them we generally outnumbered them almost in that proportion. But they never met us in the open field, and gained their successes either by ambuscades or within their *pahs*. We were always fighting them as

a master may be supposed to fight a mutinous boy. It was essential that we should conquer them, but we wished to do it with the least possible injury to them.

On the 12th July, 1863, the campaign began, at the lower end of the valley of the Waikato, about thirty-eight miles from Auckland, at a spot that had been reached by the frontier settlements of the Europeans, and it was ended by the escape of the Maoris from the Orakau pah on April 2nd, 1864, at the top of the valley. During the time we had slaughtered probably a third of those who were in the Waikato, had captured nearly another third, and had driven the remainder out of their own tribal grounds into those of their allies. In fact we put an end to the Waikato tribe. But we did this at a terrible cost to ourselves, and achieved but little glory in doing it. They fought their way back, from one pah to another, with extraordinary persistency,—and at Rangariri, where they stationed themselves in two pahs, we lost one hundred and thirty-five in killed and wounded before we could drive them out. Out of one of the pahs they who were not killed escaped through a swamp. All those in the other gave themselves up as prisoners.

These prisoners were afterwards sent to Kawau, an island which was the property of the governor, and were then released from absolute constraint on parole. But they all escaped. It does not appear, however, that they ever had an opportunity of taking up arms against us again, even were they so disposed.

During this Waikato campaign there had been fighting also in another direction, on the east coast,—and here had occurred a disaster even worse to our arms than that at Rangariri. I remember well how we felt in England when the news reached us of the repulse of

our men from the Gate pah, little thinking then that I should ever see the scene of their slaughter and the spot in which they were buried. Tauranga is a harbour on the east coast in the neighbourhood of which hostile Maoris were congregated, and from which reinforcements both in men and provisions were sent across the country to the Waikato. Consequently it was thought necessary to attack the Maoris at Tauranga. The Gate pah was a fortification which they had constructed about three miles from Tauranga, at which place we held a redoubt called Te Papa. The pah was of the usual description, with an exterior palisade, a ditch within, and with more than the usual amount of holes and caves made for rifle-pits. It is supposed to have been held by 300 Maoris. We had nearly 1,700 men with which to attack it. We had also enormous Armstrong guns. We fired into it,—or not into it, as it might be,—an infernal hail-storm of shot and shell throughout an entire day till four P.M., and then our men attempted to "rush" it. They made their way in, and the poor Maoris seem to have attempted to escape at the back. But they were turned by others of our men who had got round the pah,—and as they came back, in the dark, their numbers were multiplied in the imagination of the British soldiers who had entered the pah, — and a panic ensued. We lost 27 killed and 66 wounded, of whom many died, and among the dead there were 11 officers. The Maoris remained in possession of the pah that evening, —but during the night they evacuated it. They returned to another pah a few miles distant called Te Ranga, from which they were dislodged the next day, — and almost annihilated. The Tauranga natives were crushed, — but at a vast expense both of life and of prestige.

It was wonderful to me, as I stood and looke
the remnants of the Gate pah, also as I walked
among the mounds left at Rangiriri, that human b
could have existed there under such fire as was p
upon them. That a 110-pounder Armstrong gun s
not at once destroy a Sebastopol, or frighten al
besieged out of their lives, I can comprehend;—bu
it should be fired point blank against palisades an
cut everything before it to pieces, or that assault s
be endured by savages within without panic, I c
comprehend. Earthworks we know are very effica
against heavy guns, but these earthworks, though a
ably adapted to protect men with muskets and
against other men with muskets and rifles, wou
should have thought, have buried the besieged in
when knocked about by such a force as was empl
The besiegers of the Gate pah had fourteen
cannons of various kinds. The mysteries of warfare
other mysteries, are very wonderful to the uninitiate

Like most of our fighting in New Zealand, this
ing at Tauranga was disastrous, but finally succe
We did stamp out the rebellion there, and the lan
that neighbourhood have now been confiscated, a
portion of them divided among military settlers, a
been done with the lands in the valley of the Wa
But that day at the Gate pah,—the 28th April,
—was I think of all days the most unfortunate i
New Zealand annals. It is only fair here to remark
nothing could have exceeded the dogged bravery
which the Maoris awaited death within their pali

We must now go back again to unfortunate Tar
—for it was necessary that the war should be br
to an end here, as had been done in the Wa
There the natives had by no means surrendere

ned themselves conquered; but they had either been stroyed or had receded. The country from whence armed opposition to us had been instigated was now our hands,—and the reader may as well remember it it has remained so since. But in Taranaki the rebels re also as firmly in possession of our land as we were theirs in Waikato. A renewed war commenced there 24th March, 1864, of which it became ultimately the ject to clear the way from New Plymouth down the st coast by the settlement of Wanganui to Wellington. uth of Wanganui the affair was pleasantly managed the adhesion to our interests of an old chief named i Tako; but north of Wanganui, and indeed all through e province of Taranaki, except immediately round w Plymouth, the Maoris were still in arms against .

And now, during this campaign, there arose among e Maoris a further scheme of opposition to the Euro- ans. At first these people liked us, and liked our alings with them. Appreciating our superiority, they, some among them, consented to a treaty with us, by ich they no doubt did understand that after some shion they were acknowledging our superiority;—but ey did so in the supposition that they would thereby nder easier and more frequent, more lucrative and ore attractive generally, those dealings of which I have oken. But after a while they began to feel that solute submission was required of them;—and against is they struggled. Such was the nature of the cutting wn of the flag-staff; such was the Wairau massacre in elson; such were the first quarrels about land in Tara- ki and elsewhere; such was the land league and the ng movement;—and of this nature also was the deter- ination to which various tribes now came to throw

aside the Christian religion, and to set up, not any old Maori worship, but a new religion in its place. This religion was called by its votaries the Pai Marire, and they who practise it are called Hau-Haus,—pronounced How-Hows,—from the fact that a considerable portion of its ceremonies consist in the repeated and violent exclamation of that sound in the hour of battle, or when fighting is imminent. It would be useless here to describe the childish mixture of Bible legends and horrible Maori practices which constituted the forms of this faith. The object was to make those who adopted it believe that it would give them victory against their enemies, and also to induce a feeling that the separation thus effected from European habits was final;—that it was of a nature to defy the missionaries, and that by it would be severed altogether any cord which might still be binding between the two races.

One of the earliest objects of the missionaries had been the abolition of cannibalism, and for many years,—from 1843, namely, down to this war in 1864,—they were able to boast that cannibalism at any rate had been brought to an end. Whether the Maoris were or were not persistent Christians, whether they did or did not so far understand Christianity as to be able to regulate their lives by the religious teaching they had received,—so much had been done. And the boast was true. Dr. Thompson commences a chronological list of the improvements which the Maoris had received at our hands, by stating that in 1770, when we first knew them, they were cannibals; that in 1836 cannibalism was still practised; but that since 1843 cannibalism had been discontinued. Dr. Thompson's book was published in 1859, and his statement was then no doubt correct. But the Pai Marire religion produced, if it did not

mand, a return to this horrid custom. After its adop-
n the Maoris drank their enemies' blood, and swal-
wed the eyes of those they murdered. Another great
ject with the missionaries had been to render sacred
e marriage vow; but the Pai Marire religion requires
at men and women shall live together in common,
sing the order on the mistaken notion that thus would
e Maori race become more numerous.

This new religion sprang up first in Taranaki, and
came a leading principle during the remainder of the
ar. When speaking of our own Church in Auckland,
a subsequent chapter, I shall venture to express there
opinion of the result of missionary labour on the
ligion of the Maoris;—but I may as well state here
at the Hau-Hau religion is still held by a large portion
them, not only among the King-people, but among
bes who are on friendly terms with us. It may be
at it has been softened in some of its aspects, that it
s got itself mixed up with some forms and names of
ristian worship,—but they who follow it ignore the
aching of Christian pastors, and claim thorough religi-
s independence for themselves.

The remainder of the war along the coast was diver-
ied by two occurrences, which changed the nature of
e proceedings. The governor and the British general
arrelled bitterly, and our successes,—for at last we
ere successful,—were due to colonial troops and to
endly natives rather than to the British soldiers,—in
ference to whom it had been decided at home that
ey should leave the colony as soon as they could be
ared. As to the quarrel, the nature of my little nar-
ive does not require that I should say anything. It
s, however, unfortunate, and must have retarded the
pression of the Maoris generally. In regard to the

friendly natives, it is perhaps not generally known in England that, while during the entire war many tribes have been altogether inactive,—as has been the case with all the tribes north of Auckland, since the days of Heke and of the cutting down of the flag-staff,—other tribes have fought gallantly for us. This was done, in a most picturesque fashion, by certain of the Ngatihau tribe who lived near Wanganui, and who in this campaign fought a kind of duel in our behalf with a body of the Hau-Haus, who had proclaimed their intention of coming down the Wanganui River to attack us. It seems that a certain number of men was fixed for each side, and that they agreed to fight on an island in the river called Montona. The fight came off, and our allies beat our enemies,—but not without great loss.

The war was brought to an end early in 1865, by the gradual reduction of the strongholds of the natives,—a service in which the colonial forces seem to have taken the most prominent part,—and by the opening up of the entire road between New Plymouth and Wanganui as had been declared necessary;—and then there was a proclamation of peace. But the Maoris never owned themselves beaten, and do not do so to this day.

I have not attempted here to narrate all the wars that were waged,—much less all the battles that were fought. There was another campaign in 1865, if it can be so called, upon the east coast,—south-east from Tauranga, at Opitiki,—which arose from the murder of a missionary, Mr. Volkner. In this war we were again assisted by a friendly tribe, the Arewas. The hostile Maoris were hunted down, slaughtered, and taken prisoners by colonial forces, who seem to have shown themselves better able to cope with natives in bush-fighting and in pah-fighting than soldiers of the line.

this there was more fighting lower down on
oast, and the town of Napier, the capital of
ay, was attacked by natives. This was in
hich time there was in those parts a certain
w widely known through New Zealand as Te
hose name, I am informed, was Scott. A little
n will reconcile the reader to the alteration.
was a "Friendly," or pretended to be so; but
nd to be intriguing with the Hau-Haus against
rested, and was banished to the Chatham Is-
h three hundred other Maoris who had been
arms in their hands. These islands are a
y on the colony of New Zealand. From thence
is escape in 1868, with nearly all his remain-
prisoners. This he effected by making him-
r of a schooner which had gone there with
l compelling the captain to land him and his
Poverty Bay, on the east coast of New Zea-
north of Hawkes Bay. From thence he made
ross the North Island, and for four years, up
872, the New Zealand government and the
nd troops were employed in hunting him.
en wounded three times, but on each occasion
ed to escape, though not above thirty of the
eturned with him are now left alive. During
years Te Kooti has been the Maori hero,—as
hompson was during the Waikato campaign.
been other fighting,—especially in Taranaki,
Tito Kowaru headed a faction,—but Te
been the great difficulty. As many as 2,000
been in the field after him, and he has cost
nd the incredible sum of nearly half a mil-
Kooti has not been caught, and is now living
kau river, which is the northern boundary of

Taranaki. He is of course an outlaw, but when
in New Zealand the pursuit of him had been aban
as hopeless, and the question was discussed whe
general amnesty should not be proclaimed, in wh
should be included.

At the same time the king was living amo
own people,—and though apparently powerless
the settlers or the colony injury, was living in de
of New Zealand laws, holding his own land, not o
his own property but as a territory into which he
admit no white man except on sufferance. The
governor, in sending home to the Secretary of Sta
June 10, 1871, a certain map, says in his dispat
on it his "Lordship will recognise a 'pale,' in the
familiar in Irish history, with the important diff
that in Ireland the 'pale' was set up by the co
against the natives, whereas in New Zealand it
up by the natives against the colonists."

The existence of such a pale is a fact which
without humiliation to us. It has not been intend
us. We have never surrendered our jurisdictio
this country. That jurisdiction has been taken fr
and has been held from us by force of arms.
easily understand that colonial ministers in New Z
should have been anxious to take Te Kooti, a
reduce the King Tawhiao as he is called,*—the
Potatau, the first king. But after the money th
been expended in the wars, and the enormous c
the vain hunt after Te Kooti, and as it is acknowl
on all sides that the Maoris are melting, it may w
questioned whether the game is worth the candle.

* This man was originally named and probably christened Matth
stands for Methuseleh;—but when he became a Hau-Hau, he reje
name, and called himself Tawhiao.

are quiet now, and will probably remain so if left alone. The Maoris, though they are conscious of having troubled us much by their personal prowess, though they doubtless believe themselves to be, man for man, very much better soldiers than we are, have learned that our combined power is too great for them. As they "melt" they will gradually sell even the lands from which we are at present banished,—and so at last even Taranaki will be at rest. The feeling of the colony is, I think, in favour of such conduct,—and it is recommended by humanity as well as prudence.

Before the pursuit after Te Kooti had commenced, and when we were doubting whether we should or should not wage war against the king, a loyal Maori chief, in an interview with the Governor, gave him this advice:—"O Governor, Matutaera is now like a single tree left exposed in a clearing of our native forests. If left alone it will soon wither and die. My word to you, O Governor, is to leave Matutaera alone." I think that the Maori chief gave good advice.

Before I close this chapter I will mention one or two Maori peculiarities. It is singular that they have never learned our language. On the contrary they have forced many among us to learn theirs. They have doubtless been aided in this by the action of the missionaries, who felt, as has been common with those who have based the progress of civilisation chiefly on religious teaching, that they could retain a more exclusive hold on the natives by learning their language than by teaching to them the language of the settlers. The effect has been greatly to increase the difficulty of amalgamating the races. Those difficulties have been overwhelming, and no amalgamation is now possible. The Maoris, with all the teaching that has been

lavished on them, seem never to have overcome th incubus of barbarous superstition. The "tapu," befor we came, was with them all powerful. Doubtless th power has been weakened, but it has not been got ri of even by Christian Maoris. The "tapu" makes a thin sacred, so that it should not be touched;—sacred, perhaps accursed. Priests are "tapu." Food is ver often "tapu," so that only sacred persons may eat i and then must eat it without touching it with their hand Places are frightfully "tapu," so that no man or woma may go in upon them. Chiefs are "tapu,"—particularl their heads. Dead bodies in some circumstances a "tapu." Indeed there was no end to the "tapu," and is easy enough to see how strongly the continuance o such superstition must have worked against civilisation.

The desire of accumulating property, combined wi the industry necessary for doing so, is perhaps of a qualifications for civilisation the most essential. But th Maoris had, and still have, an institution terribly sub versive both of the desire and of the power to colle wealth. This is called "muru," and consists in the in fliction of punishment for faults, or accidents,—or eve for faults or accidents committed by others. Sometime it is enforced in the way of compliment,—and a Mao in such cases would consider himself to be slighted he were not half-ruined by a "muru." Those who pe form the "muru" visit the afflicted one, eat up all h provision, and take away all his moveables. The e pedition that thus performs justice is called a "taua." a man's wife runs away, a "taua" of his own frien visits him as a mark of condolence, another "taua" his wife's friends visits him to punish him for not takin better care of her. A third "taua" on behalf of th Lothario comers, because he also has got into a mes

and between the three the unhappy victim is denuded everything. The author of that very amusing book 'he Pakeha Maori,"—which all who care to learn anyng about the Maoris should read,—thus describes the uru:"—

"The offences for which people were plundered were metimes of a nature which, to a mere Pakeha, would em curious. A man's child fell into the fire and was arly burned to death. The father was immediately ndered to an extent that almost left him without the ans of subsistence; fishing-nets, canoes, pigs, provins,—all went. His canoe upset, and he and all his nily narrowly escaped drowning;—some were perhaps owned. He was immediately robbed, and well pumlled with a club into the bargain, if he was not good the science of self-defence,—the club part of the remony being always fairly administered, one against e, and after fair warning given to defend himself. He ght be clearing some land for potatoes, burning off e fern, and the fire spreads farther than he intended, d gets into a 'wahi tapu,' or burial ground. No matter ether any one has been buried in it for the last ndred years;—he is tremendously robbed. In fact, for thousand different causes a man might be robbed; d I can imagine a case in which a man for scratching s own head might be legally robbed.

"Now, as the enforcers of this law were also the rties who received the damages, as well as the judges the amount, which in many cases,—as in that of the rned child,—would be everything that they could by y means lay hands on, it is easy to perceive that der such a system personal property was an evanescent t of thing altogether. These executions or distraints re *never resisted.* Indeed in many cases it would

have been felt as a slight and an insult not to b
robbed;—the sacking of a man's establishment be
often taken as a high compliment,—especially if h
head was broken into the bargain. And to resist
execution would not only have been looked upon
mean and disgraceful in the highest degree, but wo
have debarred the contemptible individual from
privilege of robbing his neighbours."

As the old Pakeha Maori well remarks, pers
property, in such a state of things, was an evanes
kind of thing altogether.

I must also observe, that though the morality
married women among the Maoris is not low f
savage people,—for I was informed by those who o
to know that the wives are generally true to their
bands,—that of the unmarried girls is as debase
possible. The feeling of it does not exist, and the
commits no offence either against father and mother
against public opinion. And yet illegitimate chil
are rare. I need hardly say that a race so circumsta
must melt away. In 1842 they were estimate
114,000; in 1850 at 70,000; in 1858 they were numb
at 55,790. In 1866 Mr. Fox estimated them at 45
In 1872 I was assured that they were below 40
None of these numbers may have been correct.
of them probably were correct, as no accurate cens
them has been possible. But the estimates have
made as well as the government could make them,
they indicate clearly the course which the race is ta

It is with pain that I write as I do about a g
people, whose early feelings towards us were tho
kindness and hospitality, and as to whom I acknow
that they have nearly had the gifts which would
enabled us to mix with them on equal terms.

I grieved that I cannot participate more cordially than do with the sympathies of those who have been stirred y a certain romantic element in the Maori character, to uild up in their own imaginations the fiction of a noble ace. More than one such has pointed out to me in lowing language the poetry of the Maori story, and has ointed out to me that it required but a New Zealand alter Scott to make the Maoris equal to the High-nders. I cannot but answer to this that the blood of e Highlander is to be found at present wherever the nglish language is spoken, and that among all mankind man is less likely to melt away than he. But the aoris are going. No doubt the story of the Maori may told with poetry. Such an attempt is not in my way; t as far as I have told it, I have endeavoured to tell with truth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Wellington and the Central Government.

We went from Port Lyttelton by steamer to Welling-n, passing on our way northwards the Kaikora moun-ins, which make the coast of the province of Marl-rough magnificent. They are snow-clad, and of autiful form, and to a member of the Alpine Club, uld offer, I should think, irresistible temptation. The wn of Wellington, now the capital of the colony, stands gh up in a bay which was originally called Port icholson, and is still so named on the map. The site seen from the sea is very lovely, as the town is sur-unded by hills, and is open only to the water. It minded me much of St. Thomas,—among the Virgin ands; but in appearance only. St. Thomas is one of most *unhealthy* places frequented by man, whereas

there is perhaps no spot more healthy than Wellin
It is, however, noted for being windy, and the cha
seems to be deserved. The town is built only of w
including even the Parliament House, which is a
spacious building, and the Government House, whi
a handsome English mansion. This has been fou
be necessary, as the locality is subject to earthq
In 1848, the town, which was then but a small
was nearly destroyed, and there have been sli
shocks since that time. In 1848, the panic was so
that it was considered for a time that it would b
cessary to desert the place. From the position in
Wellington stands, and the manner in which it i
rounded by the sea on all sides but one, it is too c
hemmed in, and too destitute of land immed
around it, for extensive prosperity as a town. It
tains something under 8,000 inhabitants, whereas
population both of the city of Auckland and of Du
with their suburbs, is over 20,000 each, and th
Christchurch is over 12,000. But it is a pleasant
town, and when the General Assembly is sitting,
gay enough. Of course, it is subject to the conditi
all cities which have been chosen as capitals, n
account of their commercial prosperity, but because
are centrally situated for political purposes. Washi
is a very poor place when Congress is not there,
imagine that life at Ottawa must be slow when th
presentatives of the people are away from it.

There are interesting spots around Wellington. W
two or three miles of the town there are the rema
a New Zealand forest,—than which no forest is

* Throughout all New Zealand, houses are generally made of w
whole colony there are 57,182 houses, including 2,400 tents used w
these 45,931 are built of wood, and only 1,340 of stone or brick.

vely. They are absolutely impervious, unless a way be ut through them, owing to the thick growth of the rest vines. They are green throughout the year,—not ith a dull greyish green tint, such as that of the Austra- an gum,—but are bright with semi-tropical growth. he hills all round the town were a few years since overed with such forests, but there is now but little left f them. A botanical garden is in course of construc- on, which has great advantages in the lie of the lands nd the shape of the surrounding hills. It is a pity per- aps that it was not commenced before so much of the rrounding timber was taken away. I visited the valley f the Hutt, so named after that old coloniser, the resent member for Gateshead, up which one of the new ilways is being formed,—with, I should think, ques- onable political economy, as there is water-carriage om Wellington up to the Hutt, and there may well be oubts whether the pastoral districts in the valleys eyond will afford traffic sufficient to pay for working e line. But it is the policy of New Zealand to spend oney, and to look for that prosperity which is sup- osed to come from a generous expenditure. And I was ken up to the Horokiwi valley, a beautiful glen, some rty miles out of the town. From the head of the lley, on the coach-road from Wellington to Wanganui d Taranaki, the traveller rises on to a range of hills m whence he looks down on to the eastern coast, and river, and the island of Kapiti. The view here is ry fine, and at the same time very interesting to those o concern themselves closely in the history of New aland and her troubles;—for here it was that the great *ief Rauparaha lived, and near to this spot, at Porirua, was taken prisoner, not in warfare, but by stratagem. I cannot stop to tell the story of Rauparaha, with all*

its incidents, nor should I interest general readers w
I to do so;—but he was a representative man, perh
more so than any other chieftain,—in the early days
our New Zealand troubles. It was he who instiga
the resistance which led to the Wairau massacre on
southern side of Cook's Strait,—though the massacre
self was consummated by his companion in arms, Ran
haeta. After this he went across to the Northern Isla
and lived either in the island of Kapiti, or opposite
it, at Otaki, on the mainland. Then there arose a gr
question whether Rauparaha should be taken a
punished; but there was a doubt whether he were
justified in what he did by Maori laws, and he was p
doned,—to the great indignation of many settlers. Th
he was for a time our ally, in the war about the H
and Wanganui, in 1845 and 1846,—our ally, or pretend
ally. He was a great man, and great in our councils,
though still hated by the settlers,—till evidence ca
that he was in alliance also with the Maoris who w
fighting us under Rauparaha's old friend, Rangihae
and then he was surrounded in his tent, near the Ho
kiwi valley, and taken prisoner. This was in July, 18
He was kept ten months on board a man-of-war, a
after that, was allowed to live in dignified but sec
seclusion from the world till 1848, when at his o
request he was permitted to go home to Otaki. Th
he died in November, 1849,—being then about eig
years of age. He had been a great cannibal, and h
been a horrible scourge to the Maoris of the Middle
land, of whom he had devoured many. But he ha
great reputation for wisdom, and managed, after all
troubles, both with Maoris and white men, to die in
bed at a fine old age. I had the pleasure of meet
his son at the Governor's table, and of playing bi

clore and shuttlecock with him in the Governor's hall. For this Rauparaha also is a great man among Maoris, and is very friendly with the white men. It is said of him,—the present man,—that he has killed men, but never eaten them;—of his father, the hero of my little tale, that he had killed and eaten men,—and he had no doubt eaten a great many; but of his grandfather, that he had killed men and eaten them, and had then himself been killed and eaten, like a true old Maori warrior, as he was.

At Horokiwi we dined and slept, and the Governor, whose guests we were, asked an old chieftain who was coming along the coast to dine with us. He was tattooed all over, up to his hair, and round almost to the nape of his neck,—and he wore a great chimney-pot hat about 15 inches high, as some men used to wear in London a quarter of a century ago. He was very careful with his hat, and ate his dinner solemnly, with excellent appetite. When asked his opinion about this and that other Maori chief, he shook his head in disgust. They were all bad men, and had had too much land awarded to them. He rode a wretched old horse, and said that he was going about for pleasure to spend a month among his friends.

Of course it is known to all men that at present there are no imperial troops in New Zealand, and that it is not the intention of the British government to send troops there again. The subject is one on which many settlers in New Zealand still feel very keenly,—expressing, almost with indignation, their conviction that if England really cared about New Zealand, she would not leave the colony altogether unprotected,—would not at any rate begrudge a few companies of soldiers, the whole expense of which the colony would willingly pay. But then I *found also* another conviction to exist, which

seemed to me to be hardly compatible with the one I have above stated. All the European successes in the war,—say the colonists,—were achieved by colonial volunteers, and not by regular soldiers. The regulars were not fit for bush-fighting, and could not cope with the Maoris as men could do who had known them intimately. Without meaning here to question the efficiency of the British army in New Zealand, I cannot but say that I agree with the latter opinion. I have no doubt at all but that the settlers themselves are strong enough and astute enough to keep down the Maoris,—and that their personal interest will be keen enough to induce them to do so.

Two certainly adequate reasons have existed for the withdrawal of the British troops. I will first put forward that which probably operated most strongly in producing the decision of our ministers at home. When the Maori early wars began, New Zealand was governed from home, and all responsibility for her well-being attached to our Secretary of State. In 1852, between the little and the big war, a free constitution was given to the colony as to her European affairs, but all matters affecting the Maoris were still left in the hands of the imperial authorities. In that condition of circumstances we sent 10,000 soldiers to New Zealand, and paid for them about £12,000,000. During the war the Statesmen in the colony complained of this divided government, and demanded that the management of Maori affairs should be given to them also. In this I think that they were distinctly right, as the "imperium in imperio" was unmanageable and dangerous. But it should have followed as a consequence in the minds of those who made the demand, that British troops could not be left in New Zealand at the disposal of a colonial parliament, no more

responsible to our parliament than is the Congress of the United States. An amalgamation of imperial and colonial authority was attempted in reference to our troops during the war,—with consequences so unfortunate and so absurd, with so many little jealousies, so much bickering, and so small a result, that now,—when it is all over,—he who attempts to review the past can only feel that the less said about the thing the better. The only excuse for referring to it is to be found in the necessity of showing that Great Britain has not behaved with that harshness to the colony of which she has been accused by Colonial Ministers of State.

The second reason is to be found in the fact that British troops were not needed for the purpose of suppressing the latter Maori rebels. It was asked that one regiment should remain merely as a moral support;—that they should not be asked to fight;—that they should simply garrison towns and do that out-of-danger work in aid of the colonial soldiers, which in times of common peril has been often done by women in aid of their husbands and brothers! We were to lend a regiment of our men, with perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* a day pay, to do this sort of work at the rear of colonial fighting soldiers, with 5*s.* a day pay each,—and to do it under the control of colonial ministers who had already declared very plainly that they regarded the British soldier in no very high repute! Let any one consider how the British soldiers would have borne their condition; and consider also what moral support men so placed would be able to give! As for that third-rate work on which they were to be employed, surely New Zealand could find a thousand colonists to do it without borrowing an English regiment.

Mr. Fox, who was Prime Minister of New Zealand during *my visit, in the* dispatches and memoranda which

as Colonial Minister he has caused to be sent to
Secretary of State, deals largely with threats when h
applying for the retention of the regiment. The remo
of the regiment will "precipitate a conflict," and "in
the rebels in arms to unite in devastation and massac
He speaks of the "fearful loss of life which the remo
of the imperial force at this perilous juncture wo
probably entail." One of his colleagues, writing un
his auspices, and demanding the continued services
the regiment, says that the colony "should be practic
recognised as an integral part of that empire,"—mean
of course Great Britain,—"and not thrust out beyond
pale, as of infinitely less consideration than a Bri
subject in foreign lands." Mr. Fox, again, himself
cuses our ministers at home of "unpatriotic harshne
and allows himself to say, in an official document,
reference to one special minister, that "To satisfy
theories of Lord Granville as to responsibility, New Z
land must cease to be a part of the empire." Mr. F
has not only been a War Minister in New Zealand,
he has also been the historian of the war,—and I m
put Mr. Fox the historian into the witness-box to g
evidence against Mr. Fox the minister. Mr. Fox
minister is never weary in asking for a regiment
British troops to be used in New Zealand, under the c
trol of a New Zealand statesman,—and when the requ
is not granted, uses towards statesmen at home terms
reproach which are not common in official docume
even from superiors to inferiors, and which betwe
equals are tantamount to the abandonment of the co
tesies of life. But, as historian, Mr. Fox is never we
of telling us that all the successes of the war w
achieved by colonial forces, and that the managem
of the imperial forces in New Zealand was so ridiculo

bad as to make them comparatively useless. The reader, with Mr. Fox's history in his hands, is led to feel that New Zealand would hardly have had a war with the Maoris at all,—or, if so, would have got out of it very readily,—had there been no British troops, no 10,000 idlers, to trouble her. But when he has Mr. Fox's dispatches in his hands, he is taught that New Zealand can be saved by one British regiment, but that salvation without it is impossible.

Up to the beginning of 1870, the Governor continually sent home remonstrances of this nature,—for the production of which he was not responsible, and which he could not repress. Read without the light of latter days, these documents would be very dispiriting. They foretell triumph to the Maori rebellion, and massacre to the Europeans, should the last regiment go. Early in 1870, the last regiment returned home. In 1872, the Governor, with his suite, made a journey through the very centre of the North Island, going through districts which a short time before had been a part of the "King" country,—and in his official report of his trip, has declared that he was received everywhere with enthusiastic loyalty. We have not yet conquered the Maoris. We probably never shall conquer them. They will melt. "O Governor, my word to you is to let King Tawhiao alone." I think no one now pretends to say that a better state of things than that existing would have been produced, had the one regiment been left to garrison the towns and afford moral support.

The Colonial Ministers of New Zealand in asking for a British regiment to be left in their hands, for them to do as they pleased, were asking for the top brick of the chimney. And they have cried very loudly because *they did not get it.*

But then there always arises in these discussions the sentimental view of the question,—"Why not let us have a few companies wearing the colours that are so dear to us, seeing that it is only for love that we ask them, and seeing also that we are ready to pay all the cost!" I could never get any colonist to agree with me that it was impossible for the colony to pay all the cost,—that the chief cost was the cost in men, and that England found a difficulty in getting soldiers enough for her absolute needs. It was quite in vain too that I pleaded that a bargain should be held as a bargain as well between friends, as between strangers or enemies;—and that as New Zealand had at her own request been allowed to raise her own revenues, and spend them, and to govern herself, there should be no semblance left of dependence on English assistance. There is a pride in seeing an English redcoat, which even an Englishman must visit the colonies to understand. Indeed, the pride which is felt in all English institutions, and the pride in England herself, makes itself very much more conspicuous among our distant offshoots than it is at home. I have found it cropping up even in the States of America, in a manner that it hardly takes among ourselves. "We, too, are English by descent, and speak the language, and are governed by the laws, and are therefore as good as you are." It is this feeling which, with its various ramifications, repeats England all round the world; and it is one with which an Englishman cannot but be in love. I have always myself felt a soft regret when I could not admit that there ought to be a company of English soldiers in a colonial town.

In the meantime, they have taken the matter up in New Zealand with substantial prowess, and have a body of armed constabulary,—who are in truth soldiers,—and

hose head-quarters are at Wellington. In addition to his, there is an armed contingent of Maoris, and there re the volunteers. I am inclined to think, that in regard o force with which to protect herself against the Maoris, New Zealand is better situated than when she had 0,000 British troops to protect her.

I have already spoken of the chief peculiarity of the onstitution under which New Zealand is governed, the orking of which was not fully commenced till the arrival n 1855 of Colonel, now Sir Thomas Gore Browne, as Governor. In 1846, an attempt had been made to divide New Zealand into two colonies, with a governor-in-chief nd two lieutenant-governors. The colonies were to be e-christened New Munster and New Ulster, and two ieutenant-governors were actually appointed. There was o be a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown,— nd a House of Representatives elected by the people. But it was enacted that no man could vote who could ot read and write English! Then, too, came out that loctrine from the Colonial Office, opposed to the assumption of property in land not absolutely occupied by the eputed owners, which was considered to be opposed to he treaty of Waitangi. From the first it was seen that his constitution could not work, and no real attempt vas made to work it. It was out of the question that he Maoris should be told,—as they had been told over nd over again,—that in the eye of the law, under their irst sovereign, Queen Victoria, they were the same as vhite men, and that nevertheless they should be governed by a parliament with which they could have no concern nless they could read and write a language, of which one of them then had, and of which none of them still have, any knowledge. No doubt those very men who *were most keenly alive* to the necessity of giving votes

to the Maoris,—and Governor Grey among the nu
who remonstrated against the constitution on this gr
and was authorised on this ground to postpon
execution,—all felt in their hearts that a parlia
returned by Maoris would have unfitted the co
altogether for European settlers. But they felt, also
though the power of voting should be given t
Maoris, the Maoris would not use the privilege. In
when the first elections really took place, and whe
other new constitution had come out, in which ther
no clause as to reading and writing English, there
a very large majority of Maori population in the
Island which then returned twenty-three members t
House of Assembly, and a majority of white men
in the Middle Island which at that time was called
to return but fourteen members. But the interferen
the Maoris had no appreciable effect on the electio
was, however, out of the question that they shou
excluded from the franchise, after having been inv
with the property in land, and having at the same
been made subject to English law.

In 1852 the parliament of Great Britain passe
act which gave its present constitution to New Ze
Of course it contains the old arrangements as to
lords, and commons,—the Governor taking the pla
the king, the Legislative Council of the Lords, an
House of Representatives of the House of Com
and there soon followed, as a matter of course
Executive Council, consisting of the responsible min
of the day, and taking the place of our cabinet,—th
this natural sequence was not effected without con
able commotion among the new and untried polit
of the colony. In addition to all this the colony
divided into provinces, and to each province was

ts own Provincial Assembly elected by the people, its wn Superintendent, also elected by the people,—as are he governors of the separate States in America,—and ts own political officers, who act as the Superintendent's abinet. There can, I think, be no doubt that in all his there has been an attempt to graft the American orm of State government on the monarchical forms of England. As regards the Upper House of the General Assembly the constitution is less democratic than that of Victoria or South Australia, in which colonies the members of the Legislative Council are elected by the people. In New Zealand they are appointed nominally by the Crown, in reality by the minister of the day,—as they are in New South Wales and Queensland. In other respects the constitution of New Zealand is more democratic than that of any other British colony, as it gives to each province the power of making certain of its own laws, of disposing of a large proportion of its own taxes, and of dealing with its own land, without reference to the General Assembly. The Governor has no doubt a veto on the laws passed in the Provincial Assemblies,—as he has on the general legislation of the colony,—but this is a defence against crude legislation which cannot be frequently used, and which when used is of course unpopular. By this system of sub-government in the provinces a class of men of a standing lower no doubt in social condition, and lower probably in education, than those who find their way into the General Assembly, are enabled to act as legislators. Political critics will approve or disapprove of this according to their diverging political tendencies,—but there can, I think, be no doubt that the system has been devised with the intention of bringing the manipulation of political power closely into the hands of the people. There can be as

little doubt that incompetent persons have been tempted to play at a little game of House of Commons at the public expense.

It must be acknowledged on the other hand that in these Provincial Assemblies is found a certain safeguard against dangers which have been injuriously felt in the Australian colonies. Taking the instance of New South Wales, we can see that the settlers in remote parts of that vast dominion feel no confidence in the manner in which they and their lands are dealt with by a parliament assembled at Sydney. Lands sold at, we will say, Moreton Bay, were supposed to be sold to the advantage of the people living very far from Moreton Bay. Duties collected at Moreton Bay were supposed to be spent in the vicinity of the favoured capital. The Executive was composed of men living at Sydney. The great bulk of the legislature was composed of men living at any rate much nearer to the centre than to the extremities, and thus was created a justifiable suspicion that a Sydney legislature was prejudicial to districts which were not only very remote from Sydney, but which had but very little communication with that city. Hence arose a cry for division, and Queensland became a separate colony. But Queensland itself is very large, and now it is thought that the interests of the settlers on Yorke's Peninsula and north of Rockhampton are sacrificed to Brisbane and Ipswich. No doubt to a great extent it is so. Brisbane, Ipswich, and the southern districts of the colony, return the greater part of the House of Representatives, and members of parliament will prefer the interests of places which return them to those of distant districts with which they have no concern. The same feeling prevails now with reference to the Riverina. The interests of the Riverinan district are naturally subordinated to those of

ıe Illawarra, the Hunter, New England, Bathurst, Goulourn, and Sydney itself, which being more thickly inabited, altogether dominate the Riverina in the councils f New South Wales.

The question must of course be one of degree, and ıe proposal for increased legislature may easily be cared to an absurdity. At home we should not be disosed to grant a separate parliament to the Isle of Wight, ere she to consider herself injured by her connection ith England at large. We are not even willing to grant separate parliament to Ireland, which says that she is o oppressed. But with us at home the different elements ave been more perfectly welded into one whole than an as yet be the case in a colony, and from that it omes to pass that our leading statesmen are taken from ıe country at large, and not as a rule from one favoured art of the country. There is hardly a suspicion that ondon receives more than it gives because of the action f parliament, and such a suspicion could hardly be well ounded, as London has a thinner representation in paraament than any other part of the country. There are ıose who complain of this, not perceiving that what ondon loses in representation she gains by the presence f the entire parliament. But in the colonies there is no ıch balance of advantages,—and I shall hardly be unjust o colonial statesmen generally in saying that the condion of the colonies does not yet admit of the produc-on of men capable, from education, position, and habit, regarding the country as one whole which, as a whole, confided to their patriotism,—as is I believe the case ith us. Time and wealth have with us produced a race f statesmen and a race of legislators, and the feeling ith us is general that the interests of the country will e fairly dealt with, let the men who deal with them come

whence they may. Now and again there may be a gradual shifting of representation;—but, as a rule, Devonshire is not suspicious of Yorkshire, nor Lancashire of the metropolitan counties. In the colonies it is certainly otherwise; and the provincial governments of New Zealand have a tendency not only to allay the suspicion, but to prevent the injustice which has occasionally produced it. I must confess that at first I was tempted to ridicule these provincial parliaments, but before I left New Zealand I was reconciled to their action.

I found, however, in the colony generally, and, as I think, among the best men in the colony, a prevailing opinion antagonistic to the Provincial Councils, and from this I am led to imagine that they will gradually be deprived of their powers, and be ultimately abolished. They will by that time have perhaps done the work demanded of them.

The first elections under the new constitution took place in 1853, and the provincial parliaments at once went to work. The General Assembly did not sit till 1854, when it was convened by Colonel Wynyard, who acted as governor for twenty months, between the first reign of Governor Grey and that of Governor Browne. The Legislative Council at first consisted of ten members. In 1857 it was increased to twenty, and it now consists of forty-five, a number which seems to be out of all proportion to the size of the colony. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent the Governor and the Ministers of the day together from increasing the number as they may please,—as there is nothing to prevent the Queen and her Ministers from increasing the number of peers indefinitely in England. The number of the representatives was at first thirty-seven and is at present seventy-eight, which seems to be large for a population hardly

f at all, exceeding 300,000,—the Maoris included. By he census of 1871 the European population was found o be 256,393,—whereas the Maoris are estimated to be nder 40,000 in all the islands.

I have found it difficult, in more than one of the olonies, to ascertain the exact condition of the public ourse in reference to revenue, annual expenditure, and ublic debt; and though in New Zealand the greatest ourtesy was shown in supplying me with everything that ad been published on these subjects, I have not been ble altogether to understand the figures thus supplied o me. I imagine that a special education is necessary o the easy comprehension of Treasury accounts. Addi- ions and deductions have to be made to and from all he totals before the real fact sought for can be attained; nd though, no doubt, the necessary information for uch additions and deductions is given,—if the seeker fter financial facts only knew as much as the compiler f the accounts,—it generally occurs to the poor tyro, when he begins to manipulate his figures, that he finds imself in the position of a man who should attempt to drive a locomotive without having learned the first prin- iples of a steam-engine.

I think, however, that I can collect without doubt rom the pages before me that the total revenue for New ealand for the year 1871, exclusive of money borrowed, vas £1,342,116. The total expenditure for that year is given as £2,657,586; but from this has to be deducted, s far as I can understand, something like £250,000 for money repaid,—so that the expenditure for the year would xceed the actual revenue by about £1,100,000, in a ommunity consisting of less than 300,000 persons. I an state at any rate with certainty that the amount of he public debt *up to* June 30th, 1872, was £9,983,341

—in round numbers, ten million pounds. I doubt whether any community ever got together has shown the same energy in obtaining and spending money on public purposes.

The circular published under the authority of the Colonial Office for the year gives the following details as to the population, revenue, and expenditure of certain colonies; but in looking at these figures the reader should remember that the column in which the revenue is stated can hardly be taken as affording accurate information, as the sums named contain not only the year's actual revenue but the amounts borrowed during that year for the year's wants. The population and the sums expended may no doubt be taken as exact:—

	Population.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
Canada	4,283,000	£4,500,000*	£4,574,000*
Victoria	731,000	3,175,000	3,273,000
New South Wales .	485,000	3,890,000	3,494,000
Jamaica	441,000	414,000	355,000
New Zealand . . .	283,000	1,864,000	3,890,000

This certainly gives to New Zealand a grand pre-eminence. With a population not quite a fifteenth that of Canada, she can spend an amount of public revenue less than that of Canada by not quite a ninth. While Canada spends little more than £1 a head, New Zealand spends more than £13 a head. But Canada with its partly French population may be thought to be a sleepy place. Victoria, however, is wide awake, and is supposed to know the value of stirring business. She spends about £4 10*s.* a head; and New South Wales, who flattered herself that she was certainly not deficient in spirit during

* In regard to Canada the amounts are stated in dollars, and for the sake of ready reckoning the dollar has been computed as 4*s.*

that year, spent something over £7 a year. Poor Jamaica had not even £1 a head to spend, and lacked the spirit to spend all she had. There can be no doubt that if audacity, dash, and a true adherence to "go-a-head" principles will make a colony, New Zealand ought to flourish.

There is perhaps no subject more open to argument on both sides than that of the expenditure of public money;—no question on which a public orator would find it easier to declaim, first in one direction and then in the other, than the expediency of public economy and the expediency of public liberality. In private life it is the same. One man will tell you that you should never put out your arm so far as to lose the power of drawing it back, and that you should never owe more than you can pay,—while another will assure you that he who nothing dares will nothing have, and that no man can thrive as a merchant who trusts solely to ready money and ignores a system of credit. And then the same man will give you both the one lesson and the other almost in the same breath.

It must, I think, be conceded in reference to new countries, such as are our Australian colonies and New Zealand, that it would not only be impossible that they should develop their resources without borrowing money on the security of the wealth to be produced,—but also that it would be unjust to the present generation to make the attempt, were it thought possible that success should be so achieved. In an old country, such as our own,—or at any rate in the old country, which is our own,—the government is not called upon to develop its resources. I will take railroads as an illustration of what I mean when I speak of the resources of a country. Railroads with us have been made by private companies, the *members of which* have considered that they saw

the means of turning their capital to good account in such enterprises. Whether they have been right or wrong in so considering, the capital and the spirit to spend it have been sufficient, and the railways have been made. But in the colonies such a state of things is out of the question. The capital does not exist, and the fact is patent to all men that the railroads when made would not pay a fair interest,—very often that they would pay no interest whatsoever,—on the money to be expended on their construction. It is equally patent that nothing tends so quickly to enrich a country and to enable a people to use the wealth which God has placed within their reach, as a ready conveyance for themselves and their goods. Wheat is not grown because it cannot be conveyed to market. Copper and iron and coal are left unworked because they cannot be profitably conveyed away. Wool-growers dare hardly venture to distant pastures, awed by the same difficulty. The young colony therefore demands a railroad,—which the government only can make, and can do so only by the means which its parliament shall grant to it. Then arises the question whether the present or a future generation shall pay for the railroad,—and it becomes at once apparent to the shallowest thinker that, even were it possible to saddle the country with immediate taxation sufficient for the purpose, it would be most unjust to do so. Why should we, who are struggling here to-day, make a railroad for the benefit of those who are to come after us, and who in all human probability will be much better able than we are to bear the expense? This same argument applies to roads, harbours, bridges, public buildings, and all institutions as to which the public will possess the completed property. Therefore the money is borrowed, and the present generation [illegible]

that it bears its fair share of the burden by paying the interest as it accrues.

The argument is good, and the practice will probably have the adherence of all sagacious statesmen, as long as the value of the property actually created by the expenditure does not sink below the amount of the debt incurred. As long as such a state of things is preserved, the colony or country cannot in truth be said to be in debt at all. Its assets are equal to its liabilities, and its annual revenue in such a condition will infallibly preserve it from any inconvenient pressure upon its means. The colony of Victoria now owes a debt of twelve millions, but very nearly the whole of this sum has been expended in railways, and the remainder on works of similar permanent value,—and Victoria is in truth not indebted. That unfortunately is not the case with New Zealand. Her wars with the Maoris, which have been declared by competent authority at home to have cost England twelve millions, have cost that colony nearly four millions and a half.

And again, in considering the matter of borrowing money for public works it must be remembered that, unfortunately, inducements other than those of the direct public good may allure ministers to ask for loans, and may allure members of parliament to grant them. Or even if the motives of ministers and of members be as pure as Patriotism herself, there may be lacking the sagacity necessary for the profitable expenditure of public funds. Or, as is much more commonly the case, the motives, and the sagacity also, may be mixed. A minister may assure himself that his sole object is his country's good, that he is spending himself night and day on her behalf, that he is remunerated, by a clerk's *beggarly salary*, for energies and intellect which

would make a fortune for him if devoted to trade; and in this way he may be as sure of his own virtue as were Pitt and Peel. But not the less does he teach himself to think that the one thing most necessary for his country's welfare is his own continuance in office, and to effect that,—simply for his country's good, and to his own personal ruin,—he will make compromises with dishonesty, or perhaps rush into a policy of which the only value to his country will consist in the fact that it will obtain for himself a popularity among voters outside sufficient to keep him in office.

When a minister achieves the power of handling millions in the manufacture of railways, the temptation to waste hundreds of thousands is very heavy on him. Each portion of a colony, each district, or each province, wants its railway. "A railway for you gentlemen down south!" says a northern member. "Certainly,—but on condition that we have one here, up north." To an eager politician, anxious to please his own constituency, it matters little that it be shown to him that there will be nothing for the northern railway to carry, while the other may be expected to do a fair business. Votes are counted, and the northern gentleman has his way. Then, again, it comes to pass that a large part of the population in a new country finds so great a benefit from the immediate expenditure of the money,—labourers who get the government wages, and of course vote, and tradesmen who cater for the labourers, and of course vote,—that the patriotic minister, anxious only for his country's good, finds that the country will certainly be robbed of his services unless he maintain this popular condition of things. In such circumstances a minister is apt,—I will not say to become unscrupulous,—but to allow a great *latitude* to his scruples.

And then there is also the danger,—from which nations, as well as colonies, have suffered,—of there arising some Cagliostro in politics, some conjuror in statecraft, who shall be clever enough to talk steady men off their legs by fine phrases, and to dazzle the world around him by new inventions in the management of affairs. Such men can invest democratic measures with tendencies purely conservative, can run into debt upon theories of the strictest economy, and commingle patriotic principles with cosmopolitan practices in a manner very charming to weak minds. A statesman of this class is of necessity unscrupulous, and to a young community may be ruinous. It is his hope to leap to great success by untried experiments,—and being willing himself to run the risk of extermination if he fail, he does not hesitate to bind his country to his own chariot-wheels as he rushes into infinite space. Such a minister in a colony, should he get the power of the purse into his hands, will throw his millions about without any reference to the value of the property acquired. He will learn the charm of spending with profusion, and will almost teach himself to measure the prosperity of the community which is subject to him, by the amount which it owes.

When I reached Wellington, a vote of want of confidence in the present ministry had just been brought before the House of Representatives by Mr. Stafford, so that I had the opportunity of hearing a debate in which the ministry and their opponents were fighting for the possession of immediate political power. The same thing had occurred when I was at Sydney, and there the minister had been forced to resign,—after having obtained the Governor's sanction for the dissolution of the House, and having tried what a new parliament would do for him. I had again been present at a similar battle

in Melbourne, in which the minister was defeated also,—and had been driven to resign, after a t conflict, at the close of which the Governor refu him the privilege of dissolving the House, for wh had pleaded. These facts doubtless affected the tions of the combat in New Zealand. It was fe the Governor would not dissolve the House, and th ministers, if beaten, would not risk the chance of fusal. There was therefore no immediate mea effacing their defeat within their reach, should th beaten by the vote then to be given; and the figh therefore signally one of life and death. Both at S and at Melbourne the ministry had been beaten very narrow majority, and the tendencies of men's were sufficiently well known to make it certain th numbers would be very nearly equal at Welli When I reached the capital general opinion ga ministers a majority of three or four. As days by this imagined superiority dwindled to a sup tie. On the morning of the day on which the di was taken it was believed that there would b against them. On that night they were beaten by jority of two.

Three adverse resolutions were proposed t House, but, as is usual in such cases, they wh tacked the ministers assailed their entire polic did not require a long sojourn in the colony to e an observer to understand that distrust of Mr. was the feeling which first made the attack po and then rendered it successful. Mr. Fox was Pr but I think that I shall not be held by that g man to do injustice to his position as a minister say that Mr. Vogel was regarded in the colony a acting spirit of the cabinet. Mr. Fox held no por

hereas Mr. Vogel was, as we say, Chancellor of the xchequer, or Colonial Treasurer as he is called at the ntipodes. Now New Zealand had latterly been pre-minently conspicuous for spending money,—and con-picuous also for the amount of money which she in-ended to spend. It had seemed to be Mr. Vogel's heory of government that blood should be infused into he veins of a young community, and energy given to he action of the heart, by an open-handed, and I may erhaps say, profuse liberality. Railways were to be reated throughout the colony. Railways in Auckland, ailways in Wellington, railways as I have before said ven in Marlborough, railways from the southern point f the Middle Island through Otago and Canterbury, up o Nelson were to leave no district in the colony un-atisfied. And the natives were to be kept quiet by a ood-humoured liberality, which would leave them no-hing to gain by rebellion. That a colony should have ife in it all New Zealanders were willing to allow,—for hey are an energetic people. And they were ready to dmit that public credit is too grand a thing not to be sed for raising this life,—for they are a sanguine people. Mr. Vogel's theory had had its charms for them,—as is roved with sufficient clearness by the money which he as borrowed. But that which at first was taken for lash and good courage, seemed to many after a while o become recklessness and fool-hardihood. Mr. Vogel vas playing a great experiment,—at the expense of the ommunity,—and the colony began to ask who was Mr. Vogel, that it should trust him. I am constrained to ay, looking back at the figures on the previous page, hat I think the colony trusted him too far.

The old ministry was beaten, and a new ministry ame in. But when I left New Zealand it was held to

be doubtful whether the new ministry could stand since I have returned home Mr. Vogel has been re to his seat on the Treasury Bench. A majority o for purpose of defeat does not give assurance of a ing majority,—and it was said at once that there dissensions. As I have given my own opinion o Vogel as a minister, I am bound to say that many in the colony believe in him,—that they think t new prophet has arisen whose absence of timidity enable him to manage politics as they have never managed before, and who will create prosperity expenditure. Mr. Vogel is now again in a positi throw his money broadcast over the land, and it m that he will continue to do so,—while the credit colony lasts.

I was often asked in New Zealand whether th of parliamentary debate in that colony did not co favourably with that which I had heard in the Aust parliaments. I am bound to say that at Wellin heard no word to which any Speaker of a House take exception, and that this propriety of languag maintained while very hard things were being sa members, one of another. This is, I think, as it s be. The life necessary for political debate cann maintained without the saying of hard things; bu use of hard words makes debate at first unbearable after a time impracticable. But I thought that the m of talking practised in the New Zealand House o presentatives was open to censure on another hea have never in any national debating assembly,—not at Washington,—seen so constant a reference to p on the part of those who were speaking as was ma this debate. It seemed as though barrows full of p must have been brought in for the use of gentlem

ne side and on the other. From this arises the great vil of slowness. The gentleman on his legs in the louse,—when custom has made that position easy to im,—learns to take delight in delaying the House while e turns over one folio after another either of manuscript hich has been arranged for him, or of printed matter hich he has marked for reference. And then, to show ow very much at home he is, while gentlemen are aping around him, he will look out for new references, uttering perhaps a word or two while his face is among ne leaves,—perhaps repeating the last words of his last entence, and absolutely revelling in the tyranny of his osition. But while doing so, he is unconsciously losing ne orator's power of persuasion. I doubt whether Demosthenes often looked at his papers, or Cicero when e was speaking, or Pitt. Judging from what I have een from the stranger's gallery at home, I should say nat a New Zealand minister had learned to carry to an bsurdity a practice which is authorised, and no more nan authorised, by the usage of our House of Commons. A Speaker, on observing such fault, can hardly all the offender to order,—but he might have the power f putting out the gas.

I cannot conclude my remarks about the Wellington ssembly and the debate which I heard there, without aying that the four Maori members discreetly split their otes, two supporting, and two voting against, the inistry.

The province of Hawkes Bay I did not visit at all, r even look upon its coast. It was separated from Wellington in 1858, and now contains a population of 6,059 ouls,—exclusive of natives,—of which 2,179 belong to s capital, the town of Napier. The staple industry of

the province is the growth of wool on artificial g
Hawkes Bay possesses nearly as many sheep as the
of the remainder of the North Island put together
considerably more than either Nelson or Marlborou
the Middle Island;—but it produces little else.
told that the province is prosperous. It has not
disturbed by war with the natives, as have Auc
Wellington, and poor little Taranaki. Its land h
longed to a great tribe, the Ngatikahungunu, who
been friendly to the Europeans,—so that the grass fa
of Napier, Clive, and the Wairau, have been al
carry on their operations in comparative peace. It
be remembered by those to whom the pastoral co
of New Zealand are a matter of interest, that the
farming of the North Island is not at all like th
Australia. In Australia sheep are chiefly pastur
original grasses, at perhaps an average allowan
three acres to the sheep. In northern New Zealan
are pastured on artificial English grasses, at an a
of perhaps five sheep to the acre. In the Middle
of New Zealand the Australian system prevails, bu
here the growth of English grasses is being adopt
the greatly increased value of the land. Perha
most noticeable fact in reference to Hawkes
the circumstance that a rental of £12,500 a y
paid to the Maoris for pastoral lands used by the
peans.

CHAPTER XIX.

Taranaki.

By the constitution of 1852 New Zealand was d
into six provinces, of which New Plymouth w
smallest in area, in white population, and in the a

f land purchased from the natives by the Europeans; ut in native population it ranked next to Auckland and Vellington, and among all the native tribes there were erhaps none so hostile to the settlers as those of Tara-aki. In 1858 the province of New Plymouth assumed, y Act of the General Assembly, the old native name of 'aranaki, keeping the English appellation for its capital. n 1853 the native population of the province was stimated at 3,000, and the Europeans were counted to e 1,985. In 1871 the Europeans had increased to ,480, having something more than doubled themselves. n the province of Auckland they had increased sixfold; n that of Wellington, including Hawkes Bay,—a new rovince formed out of Wellington,—they had increased ore than fourfold; in that of Nelson,—including Marl-orough, formed out of it,—nearly sixfold; in that of anterbury,—including the county of Westland, formed ut of it,—nearly sixteenfold; and in that of Otago ventyfold. In the meantime, the Maori population has ertainly decreased in every province except that of 'aranaki,—in which, owing to the shifting of the tribes n consequence of the wars, it has not improbably in-reased. As by far the greater portion of the province not at present accessible to Europeans, as we have no ettlements in those districts, occupy no land, and as, n fact, the Queen's law does not run there, no informa-on can be obtained with any precision as to the number f natives there located. The figures above given are ufficient to show that of all parts of New Zealand, this as been the least progressive, and that in the improbable vent of a further Maori war, property here would be ore precarious than elsewhere.

I was informed at New Plymouth,—during the few ours that I stayed there,—that the settlers are presumed

to own about 150,000 acres, claiming to have bought that amount from the natives; that of this about 80,000 were in the possession of persons preparing to occupy them,—that is, ready to go on their property when things should be sufficiently settled to enable them to do so,—but that no more than 22,000 acres were actually at present in permanent use. I find that in 1870 no acre of country land,—as distinct from urban and suburban land,—was bought by the settlers in Taranaki, though in that year such land in all the other provinces was either bought, or given to immigrants, or made over to military settlers. Wool-growing is the trade of the Middle Island rather than of the Northern; but from every other province in both the islands rent is received by the government for pastures. But no such rent is received by the government from Taranaki.

And yet when the New Zealand Land Company planted a young community of settlers here in 1841, New Plymouth was called the garden of New Zealand. The land is said to be good, but light. Hitherto the people have not grown wheat enough for their own consumption. The little town is beautifully situated under Mount Egmont, which is 10,000 feet high,—with a lovely summit of snow, sharp almost as a church steeple. The land around Mount Egmont is grandly timbered, and said to be of high quality; but, at thirty miles distant from the town, it is held by the natives, and is inaccessible. And then there is no harbour at New Plymouth,—a want which must itself go far to mar the prosperity of the settlement.

All along this coast the sand is composed chiefly of iron, or, as the people there say, of steel;—so that when you handle it, though it be as soft as sand, it is almost as heavy as iron. I was told that from some of it 70

per cent. of pure metal has been extracted. Works have been established at New Plymouth for utilising the iron, and making steel,—but have never as yet prospered, from the want of a proper flux for the metal. I heard the matter discussed there, at Auckland, and elsewhere, and the opinion seemed general that ultimately these sands would become the source of great wealth. They are found along the east shore of the North Island as far as Manukau harbour, in the province of Auckland. The sensation of weight when the soft stuff is gathered in the hand is very remarkable.

Of the way in which the Maori troubles originated in Taranaki, of the original difficulties as to the purchase of land from the natives, and of the manner in which those troubles were perpetuated by the war, I have spoken in a former chapter. The miracle is that the settlement should have survived after the perils to which, in its isolated position, it was subjected,—and that the inhabitants did not flee from it as they did from Kororareka, when Heke for the third time cut down the flag-staff. But they did not flee, but are still there, expecting golden days and future prosperity. "I do not quite see," said I, to one of the leaders among the citizens, who was kindly showing me the place, "how ordinary trade can hold its head up in a place so small and so remote." "It does," said he, "and we never have any bankrupts." I could not continue my ill-nature by remarking that there can be no bankruptcy without credit.

But there is the province, with its own little House of Commons, with its own Superintendent, and its own three members in the General Assembly at Wellington; and if it lives,—as it surely now will live,—till the Maoris have melted, it will have scope for its energies, and land *on which to grow* its own corn.

CHAPTER XX.

Auckland.

AUCKLAND still considers herself to be, and certainly has been, the leading province of New Zealand. In the old days, before the colony had been divided into provinces,—before the colony was a colony,—the northern portion of the Northern Island was the only part of New Zealand with which Europeans were acquainted. It was here that the Pakeha Maoris settled themselves and dwelt with the natives. It was here that Governor Hobson fixed the seat of the government. It was here —up at Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands,—that Heke cut down the flag-staff. It was here that Bishop Selwyn was settled when there was only one bishop in New Zealand, and it was here that all the governors have lived, and here the general parliament was held, till the seat of government was moved to Wellington in 1864. The province of Otago is now the most populous of the provinces, and its capital, Dunedin, the most populous of New Zealand cities. And as Otago is also the most southern province, and is therefore far removed from Auckland; and as Canterbury, also in the south, has grown in power and population; there came to be the same feeling in regard to Auckland that existed in Canada respecting Quebec,—and therefore the capital was removed to the central, but comparatively small town of Wellington.

Because of its age, and old history, and early dealings with the Maoris, I regard Auckland as being the representative city of New Zealand,—as Melbourne is of Victoria, or Sydney of New South Wales. Dunedin, which hardly knows the appearance of a Maori as well as does

n where the interesting stranger has been seen at
Hall, has no title to be considered. Dunedin is
ch town and Christchurch an English town, here
l,—and Wellington is a chosen site for a parlia-
—but Auckland is redolent of New Zealand. Her
are still traversed by Maoris and half-castes, and
ceha Maori still wanders into town from his distant
ent in quest of tea, sugar, and brandy.
d the councils by which New Zealand has been
ed as a colony in the perilous days which she
ssed, were all held at Auckland. It was here that
nd over again peace with the natives has been
l upon as the policy of the day, till peace was no
possible and the colony drifted into war. Though
arties desired peace,—and such I believe was the
of each party,—peace was impossible because they
t desire it on the same basis. "Peace, certainly,
of course we must hold our own;" said the white
The Maori said identically the same thing,—but
ssession claimed as "our own" was one and the
namely, the right to decide questions of property,
cording to his own laws. It may be imagined that
kland there is a feeling that Dunedin and Christ-
are interlopers, as New Zealand towns. The
war has been the great feature of the colony of
ealand, and Otago and Canterbury have had no
o do with the war than Buckinghamshire and
re. Therefore Auckland still considers itself to
capital of the colony,—and it has much reason
laim.
nay be well to notice here the fact that as Auck-
nsiders herself to be the cream of New Zealand,
s New Zealand consider herself to be the cream
British empire. The pretension is made in, I

think, every British colony that I visited. I reme
that it was insisted upon with absolute confidenc
Barbadoes; that no Demeraran doubted it in B
Guiana; that it was hinted at in Jamaica with as
energy as was left for any opinion in that unhappy is
and that in Bermuda a confidence in potatoes, on
and oleanders had produced the same effect. In Ca
the conviction is so rife that a visitor hardly can
dispute it. In New South Wales it crops out ev
those soft murmurings with which men there regret
mother country. In Queensland the assertion is al
supported by a reference to the doubtful charms o
perhaps too luxurious climate. In Victoria the bo
made with true Yankee confidence in "our institut
Victoria declares herself to be different from Eng
and therefore better. But in New Zealand the assu
is altogether of a different nature. The New Zeala
among John Bulls is the most John-Bullish. He a
the supremacy of England to every place in the w
only he is more English than any Englishman at h
He tells you that he has the same climate,—only s
what improved; that he grows the same produce,—
with somewhat heavier crops; that he has the
beautiful scenery at his doors,—only somewhat gra
in its nature and more diversified in its details; tha
follows the same pursuits and after the same fashio
but with less of misery, less of want, and a more ge
participation in the gifts which God has given to
country. He reminds you that at Otago, in the s
the mean temperature is the same as at London, wh
at Auckland, in the north, he has just that improve
necessary to furnish the most perfect climate in
world. The mean temperature of the coldest mon
London is 37°, which is only five degrees above fre

as at Auckland it is 51°, which enables growth to
nue throughout the whole year. Of the hottest
h the mean temperature at Auckland is only .68°,
,—says the Aucklander,—neither hinders a Euro-
from working, nor debilitates his constitution. All
things have been given to this happy land, and,
the Maori has melted, here will be the navel of
arth. I know nothing to allege against the assur-
It is a land very happy in its climate;—very
y in its promises. The poor Maori who is now the
e of all Auckland poetry, must first melt; and then,
coal-fields can be made productive,—for she has
ields,—and if the iron which is washed to her shore
g the sands of the sea, can be wrought into steel,
no reason why Auckland should not rival London.
st specially observe one point as to which the New
nd colonist imitates his brethren and ancestors at
,—and far surpasses his Australian rival. He is
fond of getting drunk. And I would also observe
e New Zealander generally, as I have done to other
ists, that if he would blow his trumpet somewhat
oudly, the music would gain in its effect upon the
at large.
old-fields, in which I do not believe much as the
e of permanent prosperity, Auckland has already.
Zealand gold was first found in 1852 at Coro-
el, in the province of Auckland, on the peninsula
e farther side of the Frith of Thames, about forty
east of the town;—but the diggings here did not
productive. In the southern provinces gold "broke
to use the diggers' phrase, in 1860; but in the
ern Island the business did not really commence
867, when gold was found on the Thames River.
ity of Graham's Town, which is now the capital

of the Auckland gold-fields, was founded in 1868. to the 31st December, 1871, counting from the finding of the metal, gold to the value of £11,207 had been exported from the province of Otago; to value of £6,343,835 from the county of Westland, w includes Hokatika; to the value of £4,458,340 the province of Nelson;—and to the value onl £2,193,946 from the province of Auckland. But the year ended 31st December, 1871, Otago expo only £619,760; Westland, £531,648; Nelson, £439 whereas Auckland exported, as the produce of that £1,888,708. As I had seen many gold-fields in tralia, and gone down many mines,—to the great dist ance of my peace and happiness,—and had gene come away with the impression that I had learned little by my personal inspection, I did not visit Thames gold-fields. I am, however, able to say, inquiry on the subject, that the miners as a body duct themselves with that general courtesy of man which I found to be universal among the Austra mining population. I own that I had thought be visiting the colonies that contact with gold made rough. I am bound to say that, as regards the wo themselves, it seems to have the opposite effect.

Kauri gum—an article of trade found, as far am aware, only in the province of Auckland,—has of material service to the colony. It is used in glazing of calico, and as a cheap substitute for c varnish in the preparation of furniture; and also,—if assertion be not calumny,—for the manufacture of an mouthpieces. I chipped a morsel of kauri gum one with my penknife in a merchant's store, and then chip the mouthpiece of my tobacco pipe. The chipping see to be identical. I don't see why kauri gum should

y good mouthpieces for pipes; but, if so, the ought to have the advantage. Kauri gum, at sale price, is worth from 30*s.* to 40*s.* per cwt.; is very light, a great many pipes could be made with a hundredweight of kauri gum. In 1870 nt exported fetched £175,074; and in 1871,

kauri gum exudes from the kauri tree, but is y any process of tapping, or by taking the gum tree while standing. The tree falls and dies, as fall and die in the course of nature;—whole ll and die;—and then when the timber has ay, when centuries probably have passed, the ound beneath the soil. Practice tells the kauri ers where to search for the hidden spoil. Armed ng spear the man prods the earth,—and from he knows the gum when he strikes it. Hun- thousands of tons probably still lie buried the soil;—but the time will come when the n will be at an end, for the forests are falling by the slow and kind operation of nature, but he rapid axes of the settlers.

taken out from Auckland by a friend to see a st. Very shortly there will be none to be seen e searcher for it goes very far a-field. I was id for my trouble, for I doubt whether I ever trees grouped together; and yet the foliage of either graceful nor luxuriant. It is scanty, and tufts like little bushes. But the trunks of the l the colour of the timber, and the form of the are magnificent. The chief peculiarity seems to he trunk appears not to lessen in size at all till out its branches at twenty-five or perhaps thirty *the ground*, and looks therefore like a huge

forest column. We saw one, to which we were taken by a woodsman whom we found at his work, the diameter of which was nine feet, and of which we computed the height up to the first branches to be fifty feet. And the branches are almost more than large in proportion to the height, spreading out after the fashion of an oak,—only in greater proportions.

These trees are fast disappearing. Our friend the woodman told us that the one to which he took us,—and than which he assured us that we could find none larger in the forest,—was soon to fall beneath his axe. When we met him he was triumphing over a huge monster that he had felled, and was splitting it up into shingles for roofing houses. The wood as it comes to pieces is yellow and resinous with gum, and on that account,—so he told us,—was super-excellent for shingles. The trees are never cut down for their gum, which seems to be useless till time has given it a certain consistency. Very soon there will not be a kauri tree left to cut down in the neighbourhood of Auckland.

Many of us still remember the kind of halo which surrounded Bishop Selwyn when he first came out to New Zealand. People thought more about him and his mission than they ever thought of any colonial bishop,—till their thoughts, from quite other causes, were given to Bishop Colenso. This arose partly from his reputation, partly from his being much loved by many good men, partly, no doubt, from the fact that his episcopate was an experiment among a more than usually savage race of savages,—who also, as savages, were more than usually powerful and intelligent. Bishops who went to Calcutta and Sydney were sent out simply to guide the churches of England established for the use of exiles from our own shores. They certainly did not go out to

ıries. The proselytism of Hindoos and Mahome-
s ever been looked upon with disfavour at home,
he Australian savage has generally been regarded
nd the reach of the Christian teacher. There
en exceptions in both cases, but I think that I
ı the general, stated the truth. But the Bishop
Zealand went out, not only to guide the Church
and on behalf of colonists, but also to Chris-
the Maori. There can be no question of the
intellect, and the sagacity with which he did
k.

o the colonists, there can be as little question as
uccess. I doubt whether there be any part of
sh dominions in which the Church of England
, proportionally, a greater part of the population
New Zealand. Taking the whole island, she
in February, 1871, 102,389 out of 256,393,—
than two-fifths of the whole. In the province of
d,—which on the bishop's arrival was the scene
irst labours,—she claims 28,210, out of 62,335,
ming very near to the same proportion. The
s of the Presbyterian and of the Roman Catholic
s, which are the next most numerous, do not
amount to the numbers of the Church of Eng-
ther in the colony at large, or in Auckland in
ır. I am not saying that these people became
s of the Church of England through the exertions
ıp Selwyn,—but I think that their numbers show
Church of which he was the first guide and
ras well shepherded.

perhaps his work, as missionary to the natives,
ırer to his heart even than that of ruling the
of his countrymen. No question is more fiercely
in New Zealand than that of the success of

these endeavours. That there was great apparent success, achieved by great labour, and with results of a certain class very widely visible, is certain. It is impossible to arrive at correct numbers with regard to the Maoris, but, undoubtedly, a very large proportion of them became professing Christians. They learned to read, and read the Bible more than any other book. They attended churches, and sung hymns,—and took delight in calling themselves Christians. While I was in the province, a Maori of the name of Wiramu, fifty years old, was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England. But I fear that these efforts, though they have been unceasing, have in truth but availed little in bringing the very pith of Christianity home to the minds of these people. They have many virtues. They are too proud for petty dishonesty; they are good-natured, and have a manly respect for themselves and for others; they are, in the main, truthful and brave; and their hospitality is proverbial. But these were their virtues of old,—before we came to them; and many who know them will say that these virtues are fading under their assumed Christianity. The virtue of so living, or of striving so to live, that a man's life shall be beneficial to others, and not a curse,—which I regard as the very essence of Christianity,—they have not learned. And that which they did learn very quickly, the forms of the Church, Bible history and Bible stories, the singing of psalms, and especially the ceremonial observance of the Sabbath, is departing from them. Prolonged contact with Europeans has dimmed in their eyes the lustre of European observances,—and there is no longer any pride in being a Christian because the Pakehas are Christian. Familiarity has bred contempt. Very many have professedly dropped their Christianity, and, assuming a new form of

ship, call themselves Hau-Haus. Among the King-
I am told that there remain vestiges of Christian
hing, but joined to forms of worship quite opposed
he lessons they had received from Christian pastors.
n among the friendly tribes the zeal for the thing
died out, and with most of them I think but little
ains but a not uncomfortable understanding that
day should be more thoroughly devoted to idleness
other days.

I was surprised to find that in New Zealand generally
cation progresses less favourably than in the Austra-
colonies. New South Wales, with a population in
nd numbers of half a million, has 74,503 boys and
at school, of whom 59,814 are at the common or
lic schools, and 14,689 at private schools. This
s something over one in seven for the whole popula-
New Zealand, with a quarter of a million in-
tants, has 18,180 scholars at the common or public
ools. I have not the means of getting at the number
cated at private schools, but, presuming the propor-
to be the same as in New South Wales, the number
ld be about 4,000. This would give a total of 22,180
ll schools,—or something less than one in eleven.
he North Island the average at the public schools
e is not much above one in twenty,—that in the
dle Island about one in nine.

It is fair, however, to observe with reference to New
and generally, that I got no information as to the
ic schools later than that for 1870. None later had
published. For the province of Otago the number
risen from 6,227 scholars in 1870 to 8,662 in 1871,
by more than one-third. If the two statements be
ect,—and I have no reason to doubt either,—the
ress shows that the province will very soon be open

to no reproach on this head. I fear, however, that such progress as this has not been in the Northern Island. In Auckland I found that the province made no public provision whatever for the education of its children.

A supreme court, with one judge, is held in each of the provinces,—and a court of appeal, at which the judges sit together, is held at Wellington. The chief justice of the colony, Sir George Arny, is, at any rate at present, attached to the province of Auckland. This apparent anomaly has arisen from the removal of the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington.

Auckland is becoming an agricultural province. In another chapter I shall speak of what has been done in the Valley of the Waikato. 2,702,582 acres of land are now held within it by Europeans, with titles confirmed by government; but, nevertheless, it is not a corn-growing country. Meat and wool are its staples. While it contains 181,521 acres under artificial grasses, it had in 1871 but 2,455 acres under wheat. In the year, up to the 30th June, 1872, it imported bread-stuff to the value of £59,392. It may, therefore, be accepted as certain that hitherto the farmers of the Northern Island have not found the growth of wheat a profitable employment, and that meat and wool are the produce of the land from which the best return can be had. I may add here, that in the province of Auckland the Maoris still own 11,275,036 acres, of which they hold 2,587,350 acres with a title that has been fixed by passing through the courts and which is recognised by the Crown as enabling the owners to sell the land;—and that they hold 8,687,686 without any such authorised record, which land, therefore, they cannot sell so as to give a recognised title to the purchaser. But in regard to all the land comprised under the latter head, no difficulty would be made by the land com-

conferring the title, if the tribes who hold it would consent among themselves to have the property individualised. The ownership by the Maoris is not contested by the European government. At the close of the war, 3,006,905 acres in the province were confiscated from the natives in retaliation for the injury done by the Maori rebels. A small portion of this has been sold;—a portion was restored to the natives. The greater portion of it remains in the hands of the government. Much of it is at present nearly worthless.

When at Auckland I had the pleasure of meeting Sir George Grey, whose name has been so intimately connected with the fortunes of New Zealand, whether in peace or war. He is now residing at the island of Kawau, some miles from the harbour, and is there turning a wilderness into a garden. I have endeavoured in my remarks about the colonies to abstain from offering opinions as to the conduct of governors who are still living. From many I have received kind hospitality, and I think that a writer for the public should not praise when he feels himself to be deterred by friendship from censure. But, as to Sir George Grey, I may fairly say, without expressing any opinion of my own as to his conduct as governor, that he certainly managed to endear himself in a wonderful way to a population with whom it was his duty to be constantly fighting. There can be no doubt of Sir George Grey's popularity among the Maoris.

The harbour of Auckland is very pretty,—though hardly so picturesque as those of Lyttelton or Wellington;—and it is trustworthy for ships. The immediate harbour is landlocked by the island called Rangitoto, and the bay beyond, called Hauraki Gulf, is again guarded by two further islands, called the Great and Little Barrier. Its *ports have been* the making of Auckland, which stands

on so narrow a neck of land, that it has another harbour, called the Manukau, within seven miles of the city on the western coast,—Auckland itself being on the eastern. This double seaboard has given the place a great advantage, as a portion of the intercolonial trade is made by the eastern route. Thence is made the quickest route to Wellington, Nelson, and Hokatiki, and to Melbourne; —and by this route the passengers from Otago and Christchurch generally reach the north. But the direct course from Auckland out to the world at large is by Rangitoto and the Barriers. Till within the last few years, the direct course from Great Britain to New Zealand was round the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Isthmus of Suez and the Australian colonies;—and the direct route home was by Cape Horn, or back by Suez; but now a line of American steamers has been established direct from San Francisco to Auckland, which carries the mails under a contract with the New Zealand government, and which will be a popular route for passengers as soon as a certain prejudice is overcome which in British minds is apt to attach itself to American enterprises.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Auckland Lakes and Hot Wells.

THE scenery of the Middle Island, though perhaps as fine as anything in Europe, is, I think, altogether unknown even by character, to English travellers. At any rate, I heard little or nothing of it till I was on my way to New Zealand, and was preparing myself by inquiry for the journey. But I had heard much of the geysers or hot springs of the province of Auckland, and was aware that I could see in the North Island [illegible]

water and of steam,—such as could be found elsewhere only in Iceland. One of my first anxieties was to be put in the way of making an excursion into the hot-water territory in such a fashion that I might see whatever was worth seeing,—and this, through the kindness of the Governor, I was enabled to accomplish.

It must be understood that at present there is no road into this country, which lies south of the city of Auckland,—or I may perhaps more accurately say south of the Bay of Plenty, which forms a considerable bight in the very irregular north-western coast-line. There is at present no completed road, but roads to it are being made in three directions. There is the route north from Napier, the capital of Hawkes Bay, by which a coach runs,—with a short intermediate space of ten miles, over which passengers were still carried on horseback in September, 1872,—as far as Lake Taupo, which is the centre of the island and the largest of the New Zealand lakes. But, though there are hot springs near Lake Taupo, and though the grandest jet of all, when it pleases to disport itself, is on Tongariro, a mountain to the south of Taupo, the traveller will see but little of that which he desires to see at the big lake. Lakes Tarawera and Roto Mahana are in truth the spots of which he is in search, and they lie forty miles north of Lake Taupo. The second route is by the valley of the Waikato River, up which a coach runs from Auckland, as far as Cambridge, making the journey in two days. But Cambridge is ninety miles from Taupo, and about fifty from the district of the hot springs. The third route is by Tauranga, a seaport on the Bay of Plenty, which is reached by steamer from Auckland in about twenty hours. From Tauranga, the lakes I have named lie about forty or fifty miles. In *either direction, either* from Taupo, Cambridge, or Tauranga,

the journey must be made on horseback,—or on foot. Such was the condition of the places at the period of my visit,—but the road from Tauranga was being made through to Taupo, and when this is finished, the lakes and hot springs will be easily accessible. I went by steamer from Auckland to Tauranga, thence I rode through the lakes down to Taupo and back to Cambridge, and returned to Auckland on wheels, having taken a fortnight for the excursion, during seven days of which I was in the saddle. We rode something over thirty miles a day, carrying such baggage as we required on our horses before us,—carrying also, during a portion of the journey, our provisions also. I was informed that any one desirous of seeing the lakes could hire horses and a competent guide at Tauranga. The trouble of doing this was taken off my hands, as I was accompanied by Captain Mair, of the Native Contingent, and by two orderlies, one a Maori and the other a European. There can, however, be but little doubt that in a year or two the trip will be made easy to all lovers of scenery, and that Roto Mahana and Tarawera will be reached from Auckland, if not so quickly, still as readily as Dartmoor or Windermere from London.

At Tauranga, on the Bay of Plenty, I found myself close to the Gate pah, which was the scene of the massacre of European soldiers on April 29th, 1863, of which I have before spoken. That was the most fatal day throughout the unfortunate Maori war. The pah is now but the relic of a ruined earthwork,—in viewing which one requires to be told that the sand-holes covered with briars were rifle-pits, and the stranger, ignorant of strategy as I am, fails to understand how the poor creatures within it could have lived under the storm of iron that was rained upon it. Three miles from the pah, on the very beach of the sea,—so close that a sea-wall has been

necessary to prevent the inroad of the waves,—there are the graves of the sixty men, British soldiers, who fell on that unfortunate day. They lie in two lines, and the name of every man is given. But the visitor is chiefly struck by the number of officers who were killed. I counted, I think, the names of eleven on the tombs in the graveyard.

From Tauranga we rode eighteen miles along the beach to Maketu, when I found myself in the midst of Maoris. These Maoris belong to the Arewa tribe, who were always friendly,—whereas, at Tauranga the natives were hostile. Consequently the land round Tauranga has been confiscated, and divided among military settlers, whereas the Arewas still hold their ground,—not at all as far as one can see to the advantage of humanity at large. At Maketu I walked up among their settlements, and shook hands with men and women, and smiled at them, and was smiled upon. At the inn they came and sat alongside of me,—so near that the contiguity sometimes almost amounted to an embrace. The children were noisy, jovial, and familiar. As far as one could judge, they all seemed to be very happy. There was a European schoolmaster there, devoted to the Maori children,—who spoke to me much of their present and future condition. He had great faith in their secular learning, but had fears as to their religious condition. He was most anxious that I should see them in school before I departed on the next morning, and I promised that I would do so. Though I was much hurried, I could not refuse such a request to a man so urgent in so good a cause. But in the morning, when I was preparing to be as good as my word, I was told that the schoolmaster had got very drunk after I had gone to bed, had smashed the landlord's windows, and had been carried away to his house by two policemen,—greatly, I

hope, to the sorrow of those Maori scholars. After this little affair, it was not thought expedient that I should trouble him at an early hour on the following morning. I cannot but remark here that I saw very much more of drunkenness in New Zealand than in the Australian colonies;—and I will remark also, for the benefit of those who may ever visit these lakes, that there is a very nice little inn at Maketu.

On the following day we rode thirty-five miles, to Ohinemutu, through a very barren but by no means unpicturesque country. The land rises and falls in rapid little hills, and is tossed about in a wonderful fashion—but there is no serious ascent or descent. The first lake seen is Roto Iti, at the end of which we had to swim our horses across a river, passing over it ourselves in a canoe,—as we had done also at Maketu. And here at the end of the lake, we found a very fine Maori house, or whare,—I believe the word is properly so spelt, but it consists of two syllables. And by the whare was a huge war-canoe, capable of carrying some sixty men at the paddles. These, as far as I could learn, were the property of the tribe, rather than of any individual. The whare was a long, low room, with high pitched roof, with an earthen floor, and ornamented with grotesque and indecent carvings. I may, however, as well say that I doubt whether I should have discovered the indecency had it not been pointed out to me. I don't think any one lived in the whare,—the chief of the tribe, as is usual, preferring his own little hut. No doubt had I wished to stay there, I might have slept on one of the mats with which a portion of the floor is covered.

Roto Iti, as I saw it, was very pretty, but I did not stop to visit the farther end of it, where, as I was told, the chief beauty of it lay. It may be as well to remark that Roto is the Maori word for lake. We were on

tu, passing a place called Ngae, on the lake
a,—whence, according to the Maori legend, a
amsel, hearing the flute of her lover in the
Iokoia, swam off to him. As the distance is
nore than a mile, and as the Maoris are all
s, the feat did not seem to me to be very wonderful,
:ard that the flute was made out of the tibia of a
. At present there is a telegraph station at Ngae,
nd an unfortunate telegraphist living in solitude,
g a small office on the lake side. Of course one
opportunity of telegraphing to all one's friends;—
isitors to Roto Rua are as yet but very scarce, I
ly think that the station can pay its expenses.
he farther side of Roto Iti I had seen great jets
at a distance. At Ohinemutu, on Roto Rua, I
the first hot springs which I saw closely, and I
n that at first they were not especially pleasing.
eaching the spot, we had to take our horses
the edge of the lake up to their bellies, at a
ere the water was so impregnated with sulphur
almost unbearable on account of the stench. I
wn the smell of sulphur before,—but here it
as though the sulphur were putrid. Ohinemutu
a poor little Maori village, which seems to have
itself round the hot springs, close on the borders
ke, with a view to the boiling of potatoes without
ble of collecting fuel. Here was a little inn,—
modation-house, as it is colonially called,—kept
opean with a half-caste wife, at which the traffic
very small indeed. He appeared to be the only
habitant of the place, and I cannot say that I
him *happily placed* in regard to his neighbours
ourhood. At Ohinemutu there is nothing pretty.
itself has no special loveliness to recommend

it. But close upon its edge, there are numerous s
of boiling water,—so close that some of them com
cate with the lake, making the water warm for
distance from the shore. There were half-a-dozen
within a couple of hundred yards of the inn, in
you could boil potatoes or bathe at your will, ch
the heat which you thought desirable. Close besi
gate was one pool which is always boiling. My
panion told me that a Maori man had come to l
that spot, desiring to be enlisted in the Maori
tingent. He was bound to refuse the recruit as
too old,—whereupon the disappointed man threw
self into the pool and was boiled to death. Alo
path thence to the bathing-pool mostly frequent
the Maoris, there were various small jets here and
some throwing up a little water, and others a little
—very suggestive of accidents in the dark. Su
cidents are not at all uncommon, the thin crust o
not unfrequently giving way and letting through t
of an incautious wanderer into a small boiling ca
below. Farther on there is the small square pool,
and in which Maoris are always clustering;—on
no European would, I should imagine, ever de
encroach, for the Maoris are many, and the wat
not much. Above and around this, flat stones hav
fixed on the earth over steam-jets,—and here the
squat and talk, and keep themselves warm. The
to become so fond of the warmth as hardly to
stir out of it. A little to the left, there is a small
locked cove of the lake in which canoes were
and into which a hot spring finds its way,—so t
water of the whole cove may perhaps average
degrees of heat. Here on the following mor
bathed, and found myself able to swim without

iled. But on the previous evening, about nine, when was quite dark, I had bathed in another pool, behind inn. Here I had gone in very light attire to make first experience of these waters, my friend the Cap- n accompanying me, and here we had found three aori damsels in the pool before us. But this was thing,—nothing, at least, in the way of objection. e night was dark; and if they thoroughly understood e old French proverb which has become royally Eng- h, why should we be more obstinate or less intelligent? crept down into the pool, and as I crouched beneath e water, they encouraged me by patting me on the ck. The place was black, and shallow, but large ough for us all. I sat there very comfortably for half- -hour while they conversed with the Captain,—who s a Maori scholar. Then I plunged into a cold river ich runs into the lake a few yards from the hot spring, d then returned to the hot water amidst the renewed lcomings of the Maori damsels. And so I passed my st evening among the geysers, very pleasantly.

At Ohinemutu I saw nothing of uplifted columns of iling water;—nor throughout the district did I see ything of the kind at all equal to the descriptions ich I had read and heard. Indeed, I came across thing which I could call a column of water thrown and dispersed in the air. At some spots there were dden eruptions, which would rise with a splutter rather an a column, perhaps six or eight feet high,—throwing iling spray around, and creating an infinite quantity steam; but these were not continuous,—lasting per- ps for a minute, and remaining quiescent for four five, during which the rumbling and boiling of the ters beneath would be heard. In other places, jets *steam would be thrown* up to a considerable height,

—probably over twenty feet. As to the jets of w
I was told that I was unfortunate, and that the geysers
very tranquil during my visit. I have, however, observe
the world over, that the world's wonders, when I
reached them, have been less than ordinarily wond

But I had not yet come to Roto Mahana, and
therefore not disappointed with Ohinemutu. Any
ficiency in the geysers had been made up by the co
of the girls,—and it had been something to bathe
lake, in water almost boiling me. On the next mo
we rode up to a place called Wakarewarewa, about
miles from the lake, at which the sulphur, and
steam, and the noisy roaring boiling processes,
going on with great ferocity at various holes. Pe
in some respects the thing is better realised as I s
than when columns of water are thrown up. I
stand and look down into the holes, and be
thoroughly aware that a very slight spring, a step
ward, would not only destroy me, but destroy me
terrible agony. All around me were small boiling p
—for the most part delightfully blue,—each of
had its own boiling spring at the bottom. And a
the pools were great holes in the rocks, crusted
sulphur, out of which the geysers ought to have been li
their heads, but down which instead I could look, and
and hear the ferocious boiling waters. At Wakarewa
there were no Maoris, and no inhabitants of any kin

From thence we rode on past a beautiful little
of water called the Blue Lake to Kaiteriria, on an
lake,—Roto Kakiki. Kaiteriria is the spot at whi
certain number of the native contingent force,—
Maori soldiers in the pay of the government,—an
I cannot say in barracks, but in what I may perh
a Europeanised pah. The men live in hou

but the huts are surrounded by a palisade, at the ates of which Maori sentinels are stationed. The re under the command of a European officer, who vo other Europeans with him in the depôt. There d to be no danger of any disturbance among the As long as they are paid, and fed well, and not orked, these Arewa Maoris are too well alive to lvantages of their military service to risk them by or disobedience. The value attached to the may be understood by the act of the man who himself to death because he could not be admitted. ie entrance to Roto Mahana is by a beautiful tream, which empties that lake into Tarawera, and era is about four miles from Kaiteriria. At the of Tarawera,—which, in point of scenery, is by finest of all these lakes, as Roto Mahana is the interesting, — much had been done to form a d settlement of Maoris. There was a church, gyman's house, a corn-mill, and a considerable of cleared land lying amid the beautifully broken l. The church was empty, and deserted. The nan's house was falling into decay, and was ed by a Maori woman and a Frenchman. The ill was choked up, and in ruins. On the land was no sign of crop, or of preparation for crops. trees had been planted in abundance,—and here here patches were bright with the pink peach- n. English primroses were in full flower up at rsonage. But everything was going back to the ness of the wilderness. The attempt had been and had been made among a friendly tribe;— *had failed, and the* failure seemed to have been *ledged. There* were Maoris in plenty,—a village *Maoris. When I* asked how they lived, I was

told that they were Friendlies, and that therefore the government fed them. This Maori chief had a salary,—and that Maori chief. Then there were men on the roads who received wages,—and the sugar-and-flour policy was prevailing. It might be better to feed them than to have to fight them.

I do not at all intend to find fault with the policy at present pursued in regard to the Maoris,—neither with the existing policy nor with any previous policy. I know the great difficulty of the subject,—arising from our desire to do, after some fashion that shall be as little unjust as possible, a thing which according to our light seems to be radically unjust from the beginning. The attempt at justice has been so earnest that adverse criticism is stopped. And any one presuming to criticise should have had much more opportunity of mastering the subject than has come in my way. But I think that I could see that the race was not progressing towards civilisation, either with or without Christianity, as it was our thought that they would progress. The people are dying out,—and thus, and thus only, will the Maori difficulty be solved.

The deserted church and parsonage, with the Maori village, which no longer wanted a corn-mill because rations of flour and rations of biscuit were at their command, were most picturesquely placed among the hills from which we descended to Lake Tarawera. Here we found a canoe with three natives, our own party consisting of the Captain, two Europeans under his orders, and myself. The passage across the lake to the mouth of the little stream coming out of Roto Mahana, took us four hours. The shape of the lake is so fine, the mountains so well grouped, and the timber so good, that the spot will undoubtedly become famous with tourists on some future day, even if there were no hot lake near.

and no geysers to attract holiday wanderers. Tarawera has this advantage among lakes,—that it is almost equally lovely on all sides. At the mouth of the river the Captain and I got out and walked to Roto Mahana, while the men worked the long canoe against the sharp stream, one or two of the natives getting into the water for the purpose. Before leaving the larger lake the water had gradually become warm, and in the river which came out from Roto Mahana it was almost tepid. For the hot springs round Roto Mahana are sufficiently numerous to warm the whole lake, which is small and irregularly formed, being perhaps a mile long and half a mile broad.

Here we found an incredible number of ducks,—as to which I was told that the Maoris do not approve of their being shot. In fact they are "tapu," or sacred by Maori law,—in order that they may be the better preserved for a great slaughtering and preserving process, which takes place once a year, in December. But the "tapu" in these days has become, even to Maoris themselves, a thing very much of pounds, shillings, and pence, or of other material conditions. The "tapu" was taken off the ducks for the Duke of Edinburgh, when he visited Roto Mahana,—and might, I think, be lifted for awhile to accommodate any one who would pay high enough for a day or two's shooting.

It was nearly dark when we reached the lake,—there being just light enough for us to see the white terraces as we passed across the lowest part of them. We were to eat our supper and sleep in a whare on the side of the lake, a little away from the terraces, in the midst of various steam-jets and water-jets. As I followed my leader through the bush I was cautioned not to step aside here, or to make a blunder there. In one place the Governor's aide-de-camp's dog had been boiled alive

in a mud-jet, and in another a native girl had dropped a baby, and had herself plunged in after the poor infant,—hopelessly, tragically gone for ever amidst horrible torments. I heard more, however, of the Governor's aide-de-camp's dog than I did of the girl and the baby. These mud-jets, or solfataras, are to be seen throughout the whole district, and are very far from being lovely. By some infernal chemistry, probably not very low beneath the surface, earth and water are mixed and are sent up in a boiling condition. When the aperture is small the mud simply boils and bubbles. When the mouth is large it is thrown up, and lies around in a great bubbling ring of dirt, soft and hot, and most damnable to any one who should place a foot upon it. Solfataras is a very pretty name, but the thing itself is very ugly both to the eye and to the imagination.

Our whare was close upon the lake-side, close also to various boiling springs. Here we cooked our bacon and potatoes, and then, when it was dark, crouched into a warm pool, and sat there and enjoyed ourselves. When the water became too warm I crept out into the lake, which was close at hand, with a barrier of stones dividing them, and which was warm also, though less warm than any of the pools. And then I got back again into the pool, conscious of the close vicinity of a naked Maori, who was supposed to see that I fell into no difficulties. But here the companions of the bath were of the less interesting sex, and I almost wished that they were away. The bathing was certainly good fun, but the night in the whare afterwards was less enjoyable. The ground was hard, the adjacent stream made the air hot and muggy,—and I had a feeling as of many insects.

The glory of Roto Mahana is in the terraces. The

the white terraces on the side on which we had
, and the pink terraces across the lake. I will
avour in describing these to avoid any word that
seem to savour of science, — being altogether
rant in such matters, and will endeavour simply to
what I saw and felt. These terraces are formed of
ft friable stone, which is deposited by the waters
ming down from the hot pools above. The white
ces are in form the finer of the two. They are
it three hundred feet in width, and rise nearly two
lred in height from the lake. As you ascend from
bottom you step along a raised fretwork of stone,
ne as chased silver. Among this the water is flow-
so that dry feet are out of the question, but the
ork, if the feet be kept on it, assists the walker, as
water, though it runs over it, of course runs deeper
igh it. As you rise higher and higher, the water,
h at the bottom is hardly more than tepid, becomes
ier and warmer. And then on one terrace after
her there are large shell-like alabaster baths, hold-
water from three to four feet deep,—of different
eratures as the bather may desire them. Of course
basins are not alabaster, — but are made of the
sit of the waters, which is, I believe, silica;—but
are as smooth as alabaster, only softer. And on
outside rims, where the water has run, dripping
century after century, nature has carved for herself
derful hanging ornaments and exquisite cornices,
that prolific hand which never stints itself in space
use of expense, and devotes its endless labour to
and rear with equal persistency. On the top terrace
boiling lake from whence the others are filled.
e had swum in Roto Mahana early in the morning
d not bathe at the white terraces, having be

specially recommended to reserve ourselves for those on the other side. So we crossed the lake to the pink terraces. In form, as I have said before, the white terraces are the finer. They are larger, and higher, and the spaces between the pools are more exquisitely worked,—and to my eye the colour was preferable. Both are in truth pink. Those which have the name of being so are brighter, and are salmon-coloured. They are formed after the same fashion, and the baths are constructed,—of course by nature,—in the same way. But those which we last visited were, I was told, more delicious to the bather. I can, indeed, imagine nothing more so. The bather undresses on a piece of dry rock a few yards distant, and is in his bath in half a minute without the chance of hurting his feet,—for it is one of the properties of the stone flooring which has here been formed that it does not hurt. In the bath, when you strike your chest against it, it is soft to the touch,—you press yourself against it and it is smooth,—you lie about upon it and, though it is firm, it gives to you. You plunge against the sides, driving the water over with your body, but you do not bruise yourself. You go from one bath to another, trying the warmth of each. The water trickles from the one above to the one below, coming from the vast boiling pool at the top, and the lower therefore are less hot than the higher. The baths are shell-like in shape,—like vast open shells, the walls of which are concave and the lips of which ornamented in a thousand forms. Four or five may sport in one of them, each without feeling the presence of the other. I have never heard of other bathing like this in the world.

And from the pink terraces, as you lie in the water, you look down upon the lake which is close beneath you, and over upon the green broken hills which en

upon the lake. The scene here, from the pink
es, is by far the lovelier, though the white terraces
elves are grander in their forms. It is a spot for
e sensual enjoyment, and there comes perhaps some
on to the feeling from the roughness you have
ntered in reaching it;—a delight in dallying with
om the roughness which you must encounter in
g it. The time probably will soon come in which
will be a sprightly hotel at Roto Mahana, with a
l'hôte, and boats at so much an hour, and regular
s for bathing. As I lay there, I framed the pro-
ie of such a hotel in my mind,—and I did so, fix-
e appropriate spot as I squatted in the water, and
ating how much it would cost and what return it
give. I was somewhat troubled by the future
g arrangements. To enclose the various basins
spoil them altogether to the eye. To dabble
in vestments arranged after some French fashion
spoil the bathing to the touch. And yet it must
en to men and women alike. The place lies so
to the world's eye that I fear no arrangement as
rs, no morning for the gentlemen and evening for
lies, would suffice. Alas, for the old Maori sim-
and perfect reliance on the royal adage! The
indeed, might have the pink, and the men the
terraces; but the intervening lake would discourage
intercourse,—and there would be interlopers and
ers who might break through the "tapu" of modern
ety. After bathing we went to the top, and walked
the hot spring from which the water descends. It
rmed a lake about a quarter of a mile in circum-
, *the waters of which* are constantly boiling, and
fectly blue. In the centre it is said to be many
. *The colour is* lovely, but in order to see

we had to get behind the wind, so that the steam should not be blown into our faces. As we came down we found parts of the crusted floor perfectly yellow with pure sulphur, and parts of the fretted stone-work on the under curves of the rocks, where they were not exposed to the light, as perfectly green. Then there were huge masses brightly salmon-coloured, and here and there delicately-white fretwork, and the lips and sides of the baths were tinted with that delicate pink hue which we are apt to connect with soft luxury.

We returned across the small warm lake, and down the rapid river,—which has some Maori name meaning the "breaking of canoes," derived from the accidents occasioned by the rapid windings of the stream; and we were rowed again across the great lake Tarawera to the deserted chapel and the broken corn-mill,—and thence we walked to Kaiteriria, where I slept amidst the Native Contingents.

Having done this I had really seen the hot springs of the province of Auckland, and I would advise no traveller who is simply desirous of seeing them to go farther south. One cannot travel through any part of that wild country without seeing much that is worth seeing, and south of Roto Mahana or of Kaiteriria there are very many steam-jets and geysers. As I have said before, the greatest geyser of all, when it chooses to play, is on Tongariro, south of Lake Taupo. But jets of boiling water, and jets of steam, and jets of mud, though they are wonderful, are hardly in themselves beautiful;—and in the neighbourhoods of Ohinemuta and of Roto Mahana there are enough to gratify even an ardent curiosity. But I had made my plans to see Lake Taupo, and to return by the Valley of the Waikato, and this I did. From Kaiteriria to Taupo it was a long

work,—the distance of which we increased from ive to fifty miles by losing our way. On the route ıssed a hot river in which we bathed,—a river became hot at a certain point by the operation oiling spring, and then cooled itself by degrees,— t the bather might wade into hotter or into cooler as he might wish. Fifteen miles beyond this we d, for the first time, the Waikato River, which in wer part of its course had been the scene of so fighting, and here we left the friendly Arewa tribe ot among the Wharetowa, who in the time of the ere our foes. When we crossed the river we found ge, and another close to the lake,—looking poor, ble, and dirty. At ten o'clock at night we crossed over the Waikato, and found ourselves at the of Tapuaeharu, which consists of a large redoubt by European armed constabulary, and of an inn. were a few Maori whares round about, but they red chiefly on the side of the river we had just left. crossed the lake, which is about twenty-five miles nd twenty-two broad, in a boat rowed by six con- s, and put up for the night at the Maori village of o at the other end. The country all around,—as been indeed since we left Maketu, with the ex- n of small patches at the head of Tarawera,—was nly uncultivated but apparently barren and poor nature. The ordinary growth is a low stunted which sometimes gives place to tufts of thick yel- rass. I was told that sheep had been tried upon places, but that they had fallen off and had ed. The attempt had been a failure. At Tokano was a large village, and here I found in the valley river some potato patches. The land was better it had been beyond the lake; but I saw nothing

that savoured either of prosperity or of civilisation. Old tattooed natives came and grinned at me. Young women, tattooed, as are all the women, on the under-lip, sat close to me and chattered to me; and young men kindly shook me by the hand. I encountered nothing but Maori friendship;—but at the same time I encountered no Maori progress. As I had not time to go on to Tongariro I returned on the next day to the other end of the lake,—and during the following three days I rode to Cambridge, a new little town on the Lower Waikato.

The distance is about ninety miles, and a more desolate country it would be hard to imagine. In the first eighty miles there is not a sign of cultivation. The land is fern-covered, and is very poor, and is not yet in the hands of Europeans. During the whole distance we descended the course of the Waikato, though at some places we were miles away from it. Our first night we spent at another depôt of the native contingent force, in a collection of huts similar to that at Kaiteriria. Here again we bathed in a warm spring close to the river, and here again we crossed the Waikato in a canoe.

Some of the scenery on this route was certainly very fine. We passed through one winding gorge, with the rocks high above our heads, which seemed to be the very spot for another Thermopylæ. And at certain places the river had made for itself a grand course, rushing down rapids, and cutting a deep channel for itself between narrow banks. But the desolation of the country was its chief characteristic. There were no men or women, and nothing on which men and women could live. There were no animals,—hardly even a bird to be seen, till as we came near to European haunts, we occasionally put up one of the pheasants with which the Lower Waikato has been stocked. There is perhaps no

country in the world more destitute of life than
wilder parts of the Northern Island of New Zeala
During one long day a wild cat was the only anin
we saw after leaving the neighbourhood of the pla
rom which we started. On that night we slept at
Maori pah, which we did not reach till dark,—and b
ore reaching it we had to pass through a dense woo
n darkness so thick that I could not see my hand.
nention the fact in order that I may express my
onder at the manner in which my friend the Captain
ade his way through it. That night I had a small
aori hut all to myself,—one in which were deposited
the tokens of recent Maori habitation. There was a
le door just big enough for ingress,—hardly big
ough for egress,—and a heap of fern-leaves, and a
king-glass, and a bottle which looked like perfumery,
nd the feeling as of many insects. In the morning two
women cooked some potatoes for us,—and I rode away,
nding never to spend another night among the Maoris.
They are certainly more highly gifted than other
ge nations I have seen. They are as superior in
ligence and courage to the Australian Aboriginal
ey are in outward appearance. They are more
e and nearer akin in their manners to civilised
nd than are the American Indians. They are
manly, more courteous, as also more sagacious
he African negro. One can understand the hope
e ambition of the first great old missionaries
d dealings with them. But contact with Euro-
does not improve them. At the touch of the
race they are poisoned and melt away. There
for poetry in their past history. There is room
anthropy as to their present condition. But
to their future,—there is hardly a place for hope.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Waikato.

In 1864, when the war in the Waikato was o
though no final victory had been won, and no p
proclaimed, we assumed the power of conquerors,
confiscated in the North Island the lands from w
we had driven the fighting Maoris. In this way
took possession of nearly four million acres, and,
regards this territory, we have so far settled the l
difficulty that we have held the ground ever since. M
than half of these acres are in the province of Auckl
and nearly a million and a quarter lie in the Valley
the Waikato. Now the Waikato tribe were among
enemies. Most of them we have killed, and the
have receded among a tribe who were still more bitt
inimical to us, the Ngatimaniapoto,—who are
enemies, though at present quiet enemies, who have
king among them, and live according to their own l
and will not allow our telegraph posts to be put u
and are altogether a great nuisance to the young col
But the Waikato tribe, as a tribe, is exterminated.

The acquisition of the Valley of the Waikato, w
contains excellent land, was a great thing done.
natives by the treaty of Waitangi, had been declared
be the owners of the land,—and the difficulty in buy
land from them was great. There was trouble in gett
it from them unfairly;—more trouble in getting it fa
But acquisition by war settled all this. A great por
of the acquired land was divided out among mili
settlers, and the remainder kept for sale to select
The military settlers have not generally succeeded
farmers in New Zealand;—but the general process
been successful. After a short period of occupation,
old soldiers were enabled to sell their lands, and h

ıerally done so. The purchasers have gone upon true colonising intentions, and now the upper the Lower Waikato and the Valley of the Waipa ıns into it, the districts round the new towns of lge, Alexandra, Hamilton, and Newcastle, are with English grasses. I was there in 1872; the ıupation of it by Europeans had been in 1865; wilderness had become a garden. I do not at I have ever seen the effects of a quicker agri- transformation. This has been effected on the natives who had been hostile and had fought , and who had therefore lost their possessions. the Arewas, "the Friendlies," I did not see one d patch of ground.

ing down the Waikato during our last day's king's country had been on our left, just over . I had been told, and I believe truly, that a n might now travel through it safely if he wore ›rm or were not ostensibly armed. And among gites, as they are now called, a certain amount ulture is carried on. They want potatoes and d cannot get them by other means. The ques- v is whether they shall be allowed to die out on n territory,—which is claimed by us as British , but in which the British law, or the law of the does not run, in which we cannot put up a tele- ire or make a road,—or whether we shall make ır claims to political dominion. In the mean- natives in these parts still hold the escaped Te Kooti, in endeavouring to retake whom we ent something like half a million of money, and any day make a raid on our advanced settlers Waikato and Waipa. All politicians in New find consolation at any rate in the reflection,

that while the matter is being considered the Maoris are melting. The flour-and-sugar policy,* joined with the melting policy, will probably carry the day to the end.

A party of gentlemen from Auckland met me at Cambridge, which is as it were the frontier settlement of civilisation in that direction. From thence we were driven by Mr. Quick, that gallant American coach proprietor and true descendant of the great Cobb, through Ohaupo to Alexandra, thence to Hamilton, Newcastle, Rangariri, fatally known to British arms during the war, and then on through Mercer and Drury back to Auckland. During the earlier part of this journey, and down to the junction of the Waipa and Waikato at Newcastle, we were for the most part among fields green with English grasses. The fern, which throughout the district had occupied the land, is first burned off, the land is then ploughed, and grass seeds are sown. Then in two years' time it will carry five, six, and on some ground seven sheep to the acre. I saw very little wheat farming, and was told here,—as I was in all parts of the Northern Island,—that it did not pay to grow cereal crops. A man might produce what oats he could use,—and what wheat he wanted if he had a mill near him. But the high rate of wages,—averaging over 4*s.* a day,—and the cost of transit combined, make the farmers afraid of wheat. Though the land is excellent for the purpose, and the climate not unpropitious, I saw on the road flour, imported into Auckland, on its way up to these agricultural settlements. As in most of the Australian colonies, so in most of the New Zealand provinces farmers who no doubt know what they are about, are afraid of growing wheat. They cannot get in their seed

* The flour-and-sugar policy is the nickname given to the practice by which the Government bribes the tribes into submission.

get their crops off without hired labour,—and for
labour wheat at 5*s*. a bushel will not enable them
y. The labourer with his 4*s*. a day will get more
f the crop than the farmer who employs him. Meat
present the great produce of the Waikato valley,—
heep and oxen will feed themselves if there be
and will then carry themselves kindly to the market.
nglish fruits grow there, and all vegetables. It is
ntry of great abundance,—and the day will come
the valley will be yellow with corn.

t Alexandra, which is the European outpost in the
tion of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe and the Kingites,
d which is so near the "King" country that a
rate walk of three or four miles would place you
s Majesty's dominions,—we found a large fort or
bt in the course of construction. It was being
, we were told, as a place of refuge for the in-
ants, should the king's people ever attempt to make
d upon the town. "It would be saving of the lives
l the women and children," said one of my com-
ns. I could not help thinking that I would not
to live in a place where such refuge might be neces-
—and that it was a pity that it should still be
ssary in any part of her Majesty's dominions. The
itants, however, seemed to fear nothing, and were
inion that the Kingites would not come down upon
. I found the feeling to be general throughout the
ds that if the property now left to the natives were
cted,—not only in regard to those rights of property
belong to individual owners in all civilised lands,
lso as to political rights,—if the Europeans should
nsist on extending their dominion, as they would
r instance, if they were to continue their attempts
take *Te Kooti*,—*then* there would be peace; but

that the Kingites would surely fight, should we practically assume dominion over the small portion of the Northern Island still left to them. Some time since the Governor thought that it would be expedient that he should meet the king, on friendly terms. But the king thought otherwise,—"What have I to do with the Governor, or the Governor with me?" So there was no meeting.

Rangariri, where the fighting took place in 1863,—where the natives held two redoubts when General Cameron attacked them, and escaped from the one in the night, surrendering the other on the following morning, after a terrible slaughter inflicted on our men,—is on the Waikato, below Newcastle. Here again I saw the crowded graves of British soldiers, and the wooden memorials, bearing the name of each, already mouldering into dust. The redoubts are now but heaps of earth, one of which is already hardly discernible by the remnants of the rifle-pits which remain.

From this, down to Mercer, and nearly as far as Drury,—so called from my old friend and schoolfellow, Captain Drury, Lord Byron's godson, who surveyed the coasts in these parts, and selected the site of the capital,—the land is again poor. There is now a railway in course of construction from Auckland up to Mercer, and from thence there is water-carriage by the two rivers to Cambridge and Alexandra. That the colony can afford to make these railways, I will not take upon myself to say. The making of them is a part of that grand go-ahead policy of which Mr. Vogel is the eminent professor. That the Waikato district will be benefited by the railway when it is made there can be no doubt whatever.

I returned to Auckland under Mr. Quirk's able guidance, and then my wanderings in these colonies were over. Three days afterwards I shipped myself

on board the famous American steamer "Nebraska," Captain Harding, and was carried safely by him as far as Honolulu, among the Sandwich Islands, on my way home.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Conclusion.

I HAVE now finished my task, and have very little, I may almost say nothing, to add in a final chapter. My ideas as to the general condition of the colonies I have given in the introduction; and I have, I hope, told plainly,—have certainly told at full length,—the impressions which I received of each of them as I went on. I am aware, indeed, that I have endeavoured to tell too much; and that in a work which from its nature must necessarily be desultory and hurried,—conditions which are obligatory on a writer who desires to produce his descriptions fresh by writing them as he goes,—I have been tempted to details the value of which depends on their accuracy. I have striven to be accurate, but I know that I must often have failed. I think, however, that the general result of the figures which I have given will be found to be correct.

The phenomenon in regard to the Australian colonies which most powerfully strikes the observer is the intensity of the feeling of separate interest which divides one from another. There is at present very little tendency among them to that combination which seems to me to be essential to their future greatness. That they will at some time combine themselves I look upon as certain. When the leading politicians of the colonies are "colonial born" there will rise up among them a feeling of *Australian patriotism*,—rivalling, and at last exceeding, *that British* patriotism which is at present *felt as a passion among* the people. Regard for the

country of their birth will lead them to look for Australian greatness, and the way to that condition can be found only in Federation. And, as certainly, Federation will lead to ultimate Separation from the mother country. Here, in these few last words, I will not trouble the reader by repeating what I have already said on this tender subject. I will not again argue that they who love Great Britain well, may, without offence to her or to her Colonial Empire, look forward with satisfaction to the future separation of Australasia. But I agree with those who think that the day for such a step has not yet come, and that much has yet to be done before it can arrive. Holding this view I can see with less regret that present fashion among the colonies of holding themselves aloof from each other of which I have spoken.

But there is a step which I regard as precursive of Federation which I think should be taken at once, and as to which I would hope that action might be commenced in aid of it by our Colonial Office in Downing Street. The immediate prosperity of the colonies is greatly injured, and their career impeded by the want of a customs union among them. They cannot consume the produce one of another, and therefore cannot lay themselves out for the productions for which they are best qualified, because prohibitory customs duties exist among them. Sugar from Queensland, wine from New South Wales, flour from South Australia, and fruit and hops from Tasmania cannot reach the Victorian consumers without a customs duty,—and consequently the producers of those articles, each in his own colony, are restricted in their work of producing. Consequently also the people of Victoria are restricted in their consumption. My first immediate wish for the colonies is that they should join in establishing a customs union.

Here, in England, we naturally regard the colonie
chiefly as the recipients of our redundant population
In that respect they are invaluable to us. We may
probably be justified in saying that our great increase
of people has been given to us in order that we might
populate such lands. But we have much redundant
population for which they are not fitted. The penniless
young man who wants a genteel position, and who bases
his claim to that condition of things on his education,
will not generally find his claim allowed. If he go out
with his position assured to him by interest it may be
well with him, otherwise he will descend into the lowest
grade of servitude, and will probably find himself a
shepherd. The same fate in a different form will be
he fate of ladies who emigrate hoping to earn by their
alents and acquirements that bread which a too crowded
narket makes it difficult for them to find here. For
heir wares, excellent as they are, the market is also
rowded there. Such are not the emigrants that Great
Britain should be most urgent to send.

But for men who can and will work with their hands,
r women who can cook and be generally useful about
household, for girls who are ready to learn to cook
d to be generally useful, these colonies are a paradise.
ey will find the whole condition of life changed for
m. The slight estimation in which labour is held
e will be changed for a general respect. The humble-
s, the hat-touching, the servility which is still in-
ntal to such work as theirs in this old country, and
h is hardly compatible with exalted manhood, has
d no footing there. I regard such manhood among
masses of the people as the highest sign of pros-
which a country can give.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE SOU SOUNDS OF NEW ZEALAND.

We left Wellington on the 4th of last February, but t delayed at first by baffling winds, and afterwards by a with a heavy sea. We reached Milford Sound on the there, thoroughly examining that extraordinary inlet, unt

Admiral Richards has observed* that the only har large ships along the West Coast of the Middle Island of tance of five hundred miles—are the thirteen sounds or trate its south-western shore between the parallels of south latitude, including a space of little more than They are, counting from the north, and according to the by the adventurous whalers, who alone have frequente regions, as follows:—1. Milford Sound: 2. Bligh Sound 4. Caswell Sound; 5. Charles Sound; 6. Nancy Sound; 8. Doubtful Inlet; 9. Daggs Sound; 10. Breaksea Soun 12. Chalky, or Dark Cloud Inlet; 13. Preservation Inlet. Secretary of State for the Colonies, these arms of the Ge cleaving their way through the massive sea wall of ste reach far into the wild solitudes of the lofty mountai cordilliera, or "dividing range," of the Middle Island. Th their highest elevation further north, in Mount Cook, 13,200 feet above the sea level, and visible in clear wea more than a hundred miles to the mariner approaching forming a noble monument of the illustrious navigato mended the planting of an English settlement in this co ford Sound far surpasses the others in stern magnificence lets have many features in common. To quote Admiral of the surrounding country from the summit of one of th ing the coast, of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet in elevation, is most grand and magnificent spectacles it is possible to im on such an elevation rising over the south side of Cas description of this region was forcibly called to mind.

most bewildering; and even to a practised eye, the possibility of recognising any particular mountain, as a point of the survey from a future station, seemed almost hopeless."

The following extract from Dr. Hector's account of Milford Sound shows the probable mode of its formation:—"Three miles from the entrance of the sound it becomes contracted to the width of half a mile, and its sides rise perpendicularly from the water's edge, sometimes for 2,000 feet, and then slope at a high angle to the peaks that are covered with perpetual snow. The scenery is quite equal to the finest that can be enjoyed by the most difficult and toilsome journeys into the Alps of the interior; and the effect is greatly enhanced, as well as the access made more easy, by the incursion of the sea, as it were, into their alpine solitudes. The sea, in fact, now occupies a chasm that was in past ages ploughed by an immense glacier; and it is through the natural progress of events by which the mountain mass has been reduced in altitude that the ice stream has been replaced by the waters of the ocean. The evidence of this change may be seen at a glance. The lateral valleys join the main one at various elevations, but are all sharply cut off by the precipitous wall of the sound, the erosion of which was no doubt continued by a great central glacier long after the subordinate and tributary glaciers had ceased to exist. The precipices exhibit the marks of ice-action with great distinctness, and descend quite abruptly to a depth of 800 to 1,200 feet below the water level. Towards its head the sound becomes more expanded, and receives several large valleys that preserve the same character, but radiate in different directions into the highest ranges. At the time that these valleys were filled with glaciers, a great "ice lake" must have existed in the upper and expanded portion of the sound, from which the only outlet would be through the chasm which forms its lower part."

On account of the great depth of water in these inlets, and of the sudden storms of wind rushing down from the mountains above, vessels are generally obliged to moor to trees or pinnacles of rock, whenever they reach a cove in which an anchor can be dropped. Accordingly, while we were in Milford Sound the "Clio" lay at anchor in Harrison's Cove, only a few yards from the shore, and moored head and stern to huge trunks of trees. Immediately above rose Pembroke Peak to the height of nearly 7,000 feet, covered with perpetual snow, and with a glacier reaching down to within 2,000 feet of the sea. The lower slopes of the mountains around are covered with fine trees, and with the luxuriant and evergreen foliage of the tree-fern and the other beautiful undergrowth of the New Zealand forests. Two permanent waterfalls, one 700 and the other 540 feet in height, add picturesque beauty to the gloomy and desolate grandeur of the upper part of Milford Sound. During a storm of wind and rain, mingled with snow and sleet, which, though it was the middle of summer, raged during three days of our stay, avalanches were often heard thundering down, with a roar as of distant artillery, from the snow-fields above; while a multitude of foaming cascades poured over the face of the lower precipices, hurling with them into the sea masses of rock and trunks of trees. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the charm of the few fine days which we enjoyed during our voyage.

Appendix No. II. p. 200.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER FROM MR. GODLEY TO MR. GLADSTONE.

Plymouth, December, 12, 1849.

On the eve of leaving England for one of our most distant colonies, I cannot resist the desire of saying a few words before I go, to the British public,

on the subject of colonial politics, under the new aspect which they have lately assumed; a subject in which I have long been speculatively interested, and in which I am now about to acquire a deep and immediate personal concern. I have ventured, with your kind permission, to prefix your name to my observations. . . . . A year or two ago I thought, as perhaps you think now, that, though a system so absurd in theory, and so unsuccessful in practice, as that by which our colonies are ruled, must break down sooner or later, still it might last indefinitely; for ten years to come, perhaps for twenty; and that our efforts might safely be directed to a gradual amelioration of it. I am convinced now that I was wrong. The real danger is, not that the despotism of the Colonial Office will last ten or twenty years,—not that the colonists will be oppressed by it for an indefinite time to come,—but that it may last just long enough to break up the British Empire, a consummation which, at the present rate of progress, will not perhaps take a great deal more than ten or twenty months. I shall be very glad now to be as sure that the flag of my country will not be hauled down during my lifetime in any part of the Queen's dominions, as I am that the hours of "Mr. Mother-Country's" reign are numbered. The point, therefore, which I am most anxious to urge upon you, as upon all colonial reformers, is, that whereas they have hitherto pleaded in the interests, as they thought, of suffering colonies alone, they must now plead in the interests of British honour and British supremacy . . . . Many causes have contributed to this change in the aspect of the question; but the chief of them are these—first, the increased strength of the colonies, or rather, perhaps, their increased consciousness of strength; and secondly, the growth in England of a political school holding the doctrine that the colonies ought to be abandoned. . . .

The best argument perhaps against separation is to be found in the strength and prevalence of a moral instinct which separatists do not recognise, and which they hardly understand, though they bear a strong testimony to its truth in the remarkable reluctance which they manifest to avow their doctrine. A true patriot personifies and idealises his country, and rejoices in her greatness, her glory, and her pre-eminence, as a loving son would exult in the triumphs of a parent. Doubtless such greatness and glory may be too dearly bought; but that is not the question. I say that, independently of reasoning, they are felt to possess a great and real although an immaterial value, and that they are the more keenly so felt in the most heroic periods of a nation's history, and by the best and noblest of its sons. Nay, I maintain, that the love of empire, properly understood,—that is, the instinct of self-development and expansion,—is an unfailing symptom of hasty and vigorous life in a people; and that, subject to the conditions of justice and humanity, it is not only legitimate, but most laudable. Certain I am, that the decline of such a feeling is always the result, not of matured wisdom or enlarged philanthropy, but of luxurious imbecility and selfish sloth. When the Roman eagles retreated across the Danube, not the loss of Dacia, but the satisfaction of the Roman people at the loss, was the omen of the empire's fall. Or, to take an illustration nearer at home, it is unquestionable that notwithstanding the disgraceful circumstances under which America was torn from the grasp of England, we suffered less in prestige and in strength by that obstinate and disastrous struggle, than if, like the soft Triumvir, we had 'lost a world, and been content to lose it.' Depend upon it, the instinct of national pride is sound and true; and it is no foolish vanity which makes Englishmen shrink from the idea of seeing their country diminished, and consequently in the eyes of the world.

But the case of those who defend the preservation of our colonies [illegible] not rest on any such instance alone; it rests also on perfectly tangible and material grounds. . . . By making "foreign conditions" of our existence

should cut off on the one hand the best part of the British nation from colonisation, and on the other we should abandon the plain duty of building up society in its best form, throughout those wide regions which are destined to be peopled by our descendants. We should deliberately provide for the construction of hostile democracies out of the worst materials which compose the British people.

Again, the union of the provinces which make up the British empire, constitutes a positive element of material strength. It is perhaps true, that now the value of our colonies may be counterbalanced by their cost; but such has been the case only since the invention of the Colonial Office—that is, since we have made colonies effeminate by our protection, and disaffected by our tyranny. . . .

I am not going to write arguments in support of the municipal system as applied to colonial government, because, in fact, everything has been said that can be said on that side of the question, whilst, literally, nothing worth notice has been said on the other. Besides, we really have passed the argumentative stage in this part of the business. That the central system, whether right or wrong, will be speedily abolished, no man with a grain of political foresight can doubt. I repeat, that the only question which remains to be settled is, whether its abolition shall be the result of a dissolution of our colonial empire or not. . . .

But it is necessary for me to state what I mean by local self-government; as the phrase, though hackneyed, has been much abused. I do not mean, then, mere powers of paving and lighting and road-making; nor the privilege of initiatory legislation; nor the liberty of making subordinate official appointments; I do not mean a regimen involving the reservation of civil lists, or the interposition of votes, or any other of those provisions in virtue of which ministers in Downing Street are in the habit of interfering with the internal concerns of colonies. I mean by local self-government, the right and power to do, within the limits of each colony respectively, without check, control, or intervention of any kind, everything that the Supreme Government of this country can do within the limits of the British Islands—*with one exception*. I made to the prerogative of regulating relations with foreign powers. This the prerogative, the concentration of which is essential to imperial unity, the colonists themselves would gladly see reserved, in exchange for the privilege of the security of being identified with the empire; but more than this it is ther beneficial nor possible for us to retain. I need hardly say that my of self-government includes the power of making and altering local conernment whatever, even to start with. When we shall have duly authorised tions. We ought not, I am sure, to impose upon the colonists any form of to act for themselves, our function with regard to their internal affairs ld end. Paper constitutions drawn up by amateurs without personal in- t in the subject, never answer. All the best of the old colonial constitu- were framed by the colonists. . . . .

as a matter of course, colonies enjoying, as those of New England did, erfect administration of their own affairs, ought not to cost the mother ry a shilling for their government; and I am confident that, like Mas- etts and Pennsylvania of old, they would regard total pecuniary in- dence of the mother country as an important means of preserving their ipal privileges.

INDEX TO VOL. III.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Aboriginals at Work, 79, 80
Acres under Cultivation for various Crops, 54
Act of Parliament under which the Colony was formed, 17
Adelaide, Capital of the Colony, 25, 27, 36
Albert, Lake, 10
Alexandrina, Lake, 10
Angus, Mr., 17
Ballot, 93
Barker, Captain, Mountain named after him, 11
Burra Burra Copper-mines, 72, 73
Church of England, 31
Cockatoo Farmers, 41
Constitution given to the Colony, 22—25
Coorong River, 10
Copper, 70
Darling River, 9
Debates in Parliament, 95
Droughts prevalent, 47, 55
Early History of the Colony, 7
Farming badly done, 39
Gambier-Town, 68
Gawler, Colonel, second Governor, 18
Gold, 70
Gordon, A. L., the Poet, 69, 70
Goyder's Line of Rainfall, 47
Great Northern Railway through the Colony, 88
Grey, Captain, Governor, 19
Hindmarsh, Captain, first Governor, 18
Hutt, Sir William, 17
Kapunda Copper Mines, 72
Kooringa-Town, 73
Land, Price of, as regards the Colonies generally, 15
Land, Sale of, 45—47
Legislature, 90
Light, Colonel, Surveyor-General, 8
Mail Coach "Bushed," 82
Meat, Price of, and Exportation, 64
Moonta Copper-mine, 74, 76
Mount Gambier, 68
Murray River, 9
Murrumbidgee River, 8
Nepean Bay, 18
Nobs and Snobs, 73
Northern Territory, 82
Pastoral Rents, 66
Population, 25
Portalloch Cattle Station, 67
Port Darwin, 90
Port Wallaroo, 75
Religious Sects, 32
Revenue, 98
Robe, Colonel, Governor, 21
Salt-bush, Pasture for Sheep, 62
Sheep, Loss of, for Want of Rain, 56
Sinnett, Mr., his Account of the Colony, 18
Smelting Works at Wallaroo, 80
Strathalbyn-Town, 68
Sturt, Captain, his Discoveries, 8
Telegraph Wire from Adelaide to Port Darwin, 84
Torrens, Colonel, 17
Torrens River, 34
Victoria, Re-emigration to, from South Australia, 20
Vineyards, 51
Wakefield, Mr. Gibbon, 13—16, 46
Wallaroo Copper-mine, 75, 78
Water Supply, 34
Wheat, Staple of the Colony, 37
Wine, 52
Wool, 54, 58

NEW ZEALAND.

Adderley, Mr. Godley's Letter to, 261, 262
Arowa Tribe, 253, 262

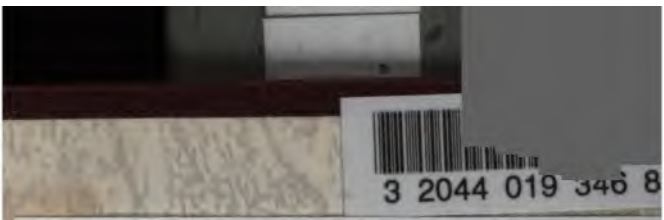
INDEX.

uckland, Capital of the Colony, 161
uckland Gold-fields, 293
uckland Harbour, 301
uckland, a Province, 290
aring, Francis, 151
ay of Islands, 237
lenheim, Town, 222
usby, Mr., 149
ambridge, Town, 324
ameron, General, 243
annibalism, 145
anterbury, Land, Price of, 208
anterbury, Parliament, 214
anterbury Pilgrims, 205
anterbury Plains, 207
nterbury Provincial Council, 214
nterbury Settlement, 193
nterbury Wheat, 210
ptain Cook, 146, 147
ristchurch Cathedral, 204, 213
ristchurch Town, 212, 215
urch of England, 297
lonial Expenditure, 276
lonial National Debt, 279
nfiscation of Land, 301
nstitution first declared, 161
nstitution of New Zealand, 269—271
bates in Parliament, 284
e Thiery, Baron, 149
nedin, Bishop of, 182
nedin, Capital of Otago, 179, 181
rham, Lord, 150
rly History, 143
rnshaw, Mount, 173
ucation, 299
ice, Russell, 151
roy, Governor, 235, 238
, Mr., his Actions as Premier, 265,
2
Mr., his History of the War, 156,
ral Assembly, 274
tone, Mr., Godley's Letter to,
200
y, John Robert, 191, 202
s, English, 324
Sir George, Governor, 234, 238,
nd Gunpowder, 237
Dr., Curator of the Museum, 217
Dr., Primate of New Zealand,
s, 299
whence the New Zealanders
43
y, a Province, 285
Hector, Dr., 174
Heke, Maori Chieftain,
Hobson, Captain, Lieu
nor, 153
Hokitika, 219
Hongi's Army, 146
Horokiwi Valley, 261
Hot Wells and Springs,
Hutt, Sir William, 151
Invercargill, Capital o
163
Jewish Colony, Suggestio
Kaiteriria, Barracks for
diers, 310
Kauri Forest, 295
Kauri Gum, 294
Kawau, Escape of Maori
246
King chosen in New Zea
242
Kingstown, 170
Kororeka Flag-staff, 237
Land League, 158, 241
Land, Price of, 208
Language, same as that spok
Sandwich Islands, 144
Legislative Council, 274
Lyttelton, Lord, 192, 205
Lyttelton, Port, 218
Maid-Servants, 215
Maketu, 305
Manipori, Lake, 174
Maoris, 145, 231, 249
Maoris, Members of Parliame
Maori Population, 258
Maori Superstition, 256
Marlborough Province, 221
Marsden, Mr., 149
Martin's Bay, 174
Matutaera, King Tawhiao, 25
Missionaries, 149, 250
Moas, Extinct Birds, 164
Mokoia Island, 307
Molesworth, Sir William, 151
Morality of the Women, 258
Mount Cook, 219
Nelson, Bishop of, 225
Nelson Province, 225
Nelson Town, 229
New Plymouth, Town, 157,
286
New Zealand Association, 151
New Zealand, first claimed
lish, 148
New Zealand Land Comp
234

New Zealanders, Description of, 144
Ngatimaniapoto Tribe, 241, 325
Ngatihau Tribe, 251
Oamaru Town, 189
Ohinemutu Hot Baths, 307
Okaikau Pah, 238
Otago Province, 161
Otago Travelling, 168
Otago Settlement, 168
Pah, Description of, 239
Pai Marire Religion, 250
Pakeha Maoris, 232
Parliament, Creation of, 160
Petre, Lord, 151
Picton Town, 221
Provincial Assembly, 271
Provincial Government, 179
Provincial Legislators, Payment made to them, 185
Queenstown Gold-fields, 171
Queenstown, Travelling from, to Dunedin, 175
Railways, 187, 210, 222, 261, 283
Rakaia River, 206
Rangariri Pah, 246, 326
Rangitata River, 206
Rauparaha, Maori Chieftain, 224, 261
Representation, System of, 273
Representative Government, 198
Revenue, 275
Roto Iti Lake, 306
Roto Kakiki Lake, 310
Roto Mahana Hot Lake, 313
Roto Rua Lake, 367
Ruapekapeka Pah, 238
Selwyn, First Bishop, 155, 296
Selwyn Town, 212
Simeon, Sir John, 192
Smith, John Abel, 151, 192
Soldiers, Withdrawal of, 263
Southland formerly a Province, 167
Stafford, Mr., 281
Stewart Island, 161
Supreme Court, 300
Taranaki Province, 157, 225, 242, 265, 286
Tarawera, Lake, 311
Tasman, Van, First Discovery of New Zealand, 146
Taupo, Lake, 318
Tauranga Gate Pah, 247
Tauranga, Starting Point for the Hot Springs, 303
Teanau, Lake, 174
Te Kooti, Rebel Maori, 253
Terraces under the Hot Lakes, 311
Te Whero Whero, King Potatau, 236
Thompson, Dr., his History, 28, 233
Tuapika Town, 177
Volkner, Mr., murdered, 252
Vogel, Mr., 211, 282
Waikato River, 243, 319
Waikato Tribe, 241
Waikato Valley, 322
Waikonaito, Coach Breakfast, 188
Wairau Massacre, 225, 233
Waitangi, Treaty of, 154
Waitaki River, 189, 205
Waitara Lands, 244
Wakarewarewa Geysers, 316
Wakatip Lake, 166, 170
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 15, 191, 201
War of 1863, 246
War, Beginning of, 238
Wellington, Capital of the Colony, 155, 259
Woolner, his Statue of Godley, 294
Wellington Province, 229
Wiremu, Maori ordained Clergyman, 298

THE END.

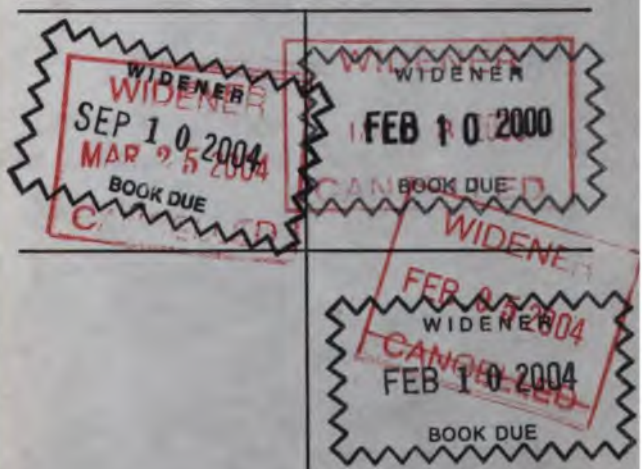
PRINTING OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER.



The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does ***not*** *exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve *library* collections at Harvard.